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THE CONFESSIONS OF AUGUSTINE

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THE CONFESSIONS

OF

AUGUSTINE

EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

WITH the exception of Dr Pusey's edition of the year 1838, which contains a number of parallel passages and a few notes in Latin, no annotated text of Augustine's *Confessions* has hitherto been published in this country, and only one in Germany, which appeared as far back as the year 1856 under the editorship of Karl von Raumer. One might have expected that the most famous volume in the whole library of the Fathers would have had no lack of editors. But editors may have been deterred from laying hands on the *Confessions* by a feeling that the book tells its own story in a manner which renders editorial comments superfluous if not intrusive. Of certain passages this is undoubtedly true, and the present editors have endeavoured to maintain silence on those occasions when it seemed more fitting than speech. There is, however, not a little both in the language and in the thought of Augustine, as these appear in the *Confessions*, which for their complete elucidation demand a knowledge of the times in which he lived, and especially of the Literature and Philosophy by which his mind and character were formed. An attempt has been made in this edition to supply the

information most likely to be useful, and the editors are not without hope that with the help here offered, some who have hitherto contented themselves with translations may be induced to read one of the greatest of Christian Classics in the language in which it was originally written.

During the progress of their work the editors have had the advantage of the constant guidance of the General Editor, and have derived much assistance from his suggestions. They also desire to acknowledge obligation for help on special points to Professor A. A. Bevan of Trinity College, and to Mr T. R. Glover of St John's College. The text of this edition is, with a few variations, that of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, which appeared in the year 1896 under the editorship of Pius Knöll. For the kind permission of the Academy to use this text, which is superior to all its predecessors, the editors tender their grateful thanks. A detailed account of it will be found on p. lxxii of the Introduction.

JOHN GIBB.
W. MONTGOMERY.

CAMBRIDGE,
March 1908.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

The *Confessions* were written about the year 400, when the author was Bishop of Hippo[1]. They are therefore later in date by some thirteen years than the events with which their record closes. This circumstance, that the author is writing of a somewhat distant past, as we shall have occasion to point out more fully afterwards, must be taken into account when reading the *Confessions*. Augustine wrote at the request of friends who begged him to commit to writing those recollections of his former life to which he often referred in private conversation. He consented for the characteristic reason that he desired his friends to mourn and rejoice along with him as they followed his retrospect of past years, and on his behalf to give thanks to God[2].

[1] The date of the *Confessions* can only be fixed approximately. The following facts point however to a date not much before or after 400. (1) In the *Retractationes*, in which Augustine professes to preserve the chronological order of his works (*Retract. Prolog.* § 3), he places the *Conf.* sixth in the series of works written after he became a Bishop (*Retract.* ii 1 and 6), *i.e.* subsequent to 396. Two of those which preceded, the *de Diu. Quaest. ad Simplicianum* and *de Doctrina Christiana*, are works of considerable length and would take some time to write, and considering the constant demands upon his time as Bishop, the *Confessions* can hardly be placed earlier than 398. On the other hand they were written before *c. Faustum*, for the date of which there is a vague indication in Augustine's letter to Jerome (*Ep.* lxxxii 17), in which he says that *c. Faustum* was written long before he received the letter of Jerome to which *Ep.* lxxxii is a reply. The letter of Jerome was written about the year 405.

[2] *Conf.* x 4 and 5; xi 1. (References to the *Confessions* are given by book and paragraph, omitting the chapter-number.)

On one occasion, in later life, he made use of the book to silence the voice of unwelcome praise; for although not indifferent to praise, his finely strung and truth-loving spirit winced under the fulsome adulation to which he was often exposed. On sending the *Confessions* to a friend, he wrote: "In these behold me, that you may not praise me beyond what I am. Believe what is said of me, not by others, but by myself[1]."

The *Confessions* were widely read during Augustine's lifetime[2]. The memoirs of the bishop and preacher, whose name was on the lips of every one, would not lack readers, not among friends only, for personal or doctrinal hostility and even gossiping curiosity would find something to please them in their frank avowals of past errors and present imperfections.

The contemporaries of Augustine, however, like those of Dante, are remembered for the most part because their names occur in his pages; their estimate of the *Confessions*, favourable or otherwise, goes but a small way to account for the lasting fame of the book. Alone of all the writings of the Fathers of the Church, the *Confessions* belong to the literature of the whole world, having been read in the original, as a recent writer

[1] *Ep.* ccxxxi, *Dario comiti.* Augustine admits that he was fastidious in the matter of the praises he received. "Nam et contristor aliquando laudibus meis, cum uel ea laudantur in me, in quibus mihi ipse displiceo, uel etiam bona minora et leuia pluris aestimantur quam aestimanda sunt." *Conf.* x 61.

[2] Augustine's biographer gives a description of the friendly interest which even heretics manifested in the writings and sermons of Augustine. *Vit. auctore Possidio* vii: "et hos eius libros siue tractatus ipsi quoque haeretici concurrentes cum catholicis ingenti ardore audiebant et quisquis, ut uoluit, et potuit, notarios adhibens, etiam ea quae dicebantur excepta descripsit." For an instance of the friendship of a heretic towards Augustine, *Secundini Manichaei Ep. ad A.* For examples of contemporary hostility towards his opinions, see *c. Faustum*, passim. For hostility to his person, *c. Litt. Petil.* iii 16. 19, *Retract.* ii 25.

has remarked[1], more than any Latin book with the exception of Vergil, and having been translated into the speech of every cultivated people. Those changes in the spirit and language of devotion, which have taken place during the fifteen centuries since Augustine wrote, while they have consigned to oblivion many works of devotion once in universal use, have left the *Confessions* in an unchallenged position, as a religious classic, as a classic of Theology, and, it may be added, of Psychology.

A number of causes have contributed to give the *Confessions* their position. They owe something to the rhetorical training of the author. Augustine often spoke slightingly of his former profession; and his discipline in the Schools of North Africa was not altogether an advantage even for his style. But it made him a master of words, those "chosen and precious vessels" of thought[2]. It also trained him in the art of skilful presentation. A rhetorician of the Fourth Century had to gain the attention of his audience to subjects remote from ordinary life, for, unlike the Greek and Roman orators of the great periods, he was debarred from dealing with political themes. He had therefore to compel attention and to awaken interest by his manner of treatment. This quality of the *Confessions* has been acknowledged by

[1] T. R. Glover *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* p. 195.

[2] "Non accuso uerba quasi uasa lecta atque pretiosa." *Conf.* i 26.

Harnack, *Augustins Konfessionen* (*Reden und Aufsätze* I iii 59), writes of Augustine's style: "In der grossen schriftstellerischen Kunst, einem allgemein bekannten Spruch die wirksamste Fassung zu geben, hat ihn kein anderer erreicht. Wunderbar ist auch sein Vermögen in kurzen Sentenzen und Antithesen, in prägnanten Sätzen und neuen Begriffsbildungen, die Erscheinungen des Lebens und die Rätsel der Seele zusammenzufassen. Vieles ist aus den Konfessionen in die Sprache der abendländischen Völker übergegangen."

all. A writer profoundly versed in the literature of the Italian Renaissance has remarked that Augustine wrote his *Confessions* in obedience to the promptings of a theatrical nature[1]. A passionate lover of the theatre in his youth, as a Christian Bishop he gratified his old tastes, it is said, by placing his soul upon the stage, and giving a theatrical representation of his conversion. The remark proves that a mere literary critic may easily mis-read the motives which govern religious men, but it is incidentally a tribute from an unsympathetic reader to the dramatic force with which Augustine presents the story of his inner life.

The chief power of the *Confessions*, however, to rivet attention is derived from their contents, which appeal to every man who has experienced the struggle between good and evil in his own soul. The Italian poet Petrarch, who greatly prized the *Confessions* and made them his companion on his many journeys, recognised that their power lay in the personal appeal. Addressing Augustine, who is supposed to appear to him in vision, he says: "Whenever I read your *Confessions*, I am moved by two feelings, by hope and by fear (although not without tears at times). I seem to be reading the history of my own wanderings, and not of another's[2]." Multitudes, like Petrarch, have recognised themselves

[1] Voigt (Georg) *Die Wiederbelebung d. class. Alterthums oder d. erste Jahrht. d. Humanismus* i 86 (ed. 3).

[2] *de Contemptu Mundi* Dial. 1. Cp. St Teresa *Autobiography* ix 9: "When I began to read the *Confessions* I thought I saw myself there described. When I came to the Conversion and read how he heard that voice in the garden, it seemed to me nothing less than that one had uttered it for me. I felt so in my heart."

E. Norden, *Die lateinische Literatur im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter*, writes: "Es ist das ewig Menschliche, das an Kraft durch die Jahrtausende nicht gebrochen, mit einer Unmittelbarkeit ohnegleichen aus ihm zu uns herübertönt." (*Die Kultur der Gegenwart* I viii 393.)

in Augustine, and all the more readily that he was a saint whose temptations were of an everyday character. A great English critic has spoken of the inaccessible cold heights of the *Imitation*[1]; no one would apply those epithets to the *Confessions*. Augustine, as seen in them, is not a saint of the Fra Angelico type, seeking to scale the loftiest peaks of holiness, but a young passion-tossed ambitious man wrestling with temptations common to all, and long conquered by them.

The inspiration of hope, of which Petrarch speaks, arises not solely from the narrative, but from Augustine's interpretation of the story of his life. In many accounts of conversion God is represented as a distant, almost as a hostile power, until He intervenes in mercy at the final crisis to save the sinner. It was not in that fashion that Augustine interpreted the story of his life. Looking back on the past with the gaze of faith, and with the eye of genius, he recognised that God had been all along the unseen pilot of his course. The books which awoke in him nobler and wiser thoughts, were put into his hands by God. From Him came those friends who helped him in his intellectual and spiritual perplexities. The disappointments and disillusions which weaned him from sin and worldliness proceeded from the same severe but loving Father. Augustine's profoundly assured trust in God was thus rooted in his conviction, that God had been his Friend from the beginning. His deep sense of his own sinfulness, and the elegiac tone of his thanksgivings, are due to the same cause; for although he knew that he was forgiven, he could not pardon himself for his past ingratitude. The pathetic exclamation, "Sero te amaui," gave expression to a

[1] "Those wonderful, inaccessible, cold heights of the *Imitation*, eternal in their aesthetic charm." Walter Pater *Essays from the Guardian* p. 62.

sentiment that was never absent from the mind of Augustine after his conversion[1].

Some have come to the conclusion, from Augustine's vehement self-upbraidings, that before his conversion he was a notoriously wicked person[2]. This is an exaggerated view. For a short time, when he was a very young student in Carthage, he lived an irregular life; but at the age of seventeen he formed an attachment to a woman who became the mother of his son Adeodatus. To her he remained faithful. They were not, it is true, united in the bonds of legal wedlock; but such unions were at the time hardly censured at all by the society in which he moved. A friend of Augustine in his Carthage days, afterwards a Christian Bishop, described him as a man of high character, devoted to liberal studies, although as yet not a Christian[3].

On the other hand Augustine has been ridiculed for his self-reproaches, especially for the manner in which he blames himself for having longed for marriage, honours and wealth. His desires, it has been pointed out, were not inordinate, only the natural and legitimate ambitions of every professional man in his day and in ours. Augustine's ascetical opinions regarding marriage and the goods of this life account for some of the exaggerations of his language; but the deeper reason of his self-accusation lay in his poignant regret

[1] *Conf.* x 38 "sero te amaui, pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam noua, sero te amaui!"

[2] "Ein erst von wildem Lebenstaumel, dann von flammender Glaubensbegeisterung trunkenes Gemüth, wie es aus Augustins Konfessionen spricht, hat seines Gleichen nicht im übrigen Alterthum." Mommsen *Röm. Geschichte* v 659 (=E. Tr. *Provinces of Roman Emp.* ii 345).

[3] "Cum optime, inquis, nouerim te longe adhuc a fide christiana sepositum, et studiis olim deditum litterarum, quietis et honestatis fuisse cultorem." *Ep.* xciii *Vincentio.*

for having so long shut out God from the plans and purposes of his life[1].

As if to make amends for former forgetfulness, in the meditations on his past life contained in the *Confessions* he addressed himself exclusively to God. During the whole of the long monologue, the reader is conscious that the words are addressed not to him, but to God. It was this constant sense of the presence of God that checked in Augustine the ordinary egotism of the autobiographer, and silenced self-apology. So intensely is the presence of God felt throughout, that some readers may be disposed to agree with the critic[2] who expresses surprise that the *Confessions* were intended from the first for publication. One might think in reading them, he remarks, that they had been uttered on a lone island of the ocean by one forgetful of all existences save God and himself. This is not entirely true; for at times Augustine is evidently thinking of the needs of his readers, but it is true that the sense of God as the supreme listener is never absent.

Christ is frequently named in the *Confessions* and always with profoundest reverence, but it is to the Father, not to the Son, that Augustine addresses his prayer. In this respect his practice differs widely from the later Latin mystics such as Bernard and à Kempis. There is also less of vision and of ecstasy, although ecstasy is not entirely wanting, than in the works of later mystics; for Augustine's piety, like his genius, rested upon a foundation of plain good sense, which made him reject the abnormal and the fantastical.

The *Confessions* have a human no less than a

[1] "Inuoco te, deus meus, misericordia mea, qui fecisti me et oblitum tui non oblitus es." *Conf.* xiii 1.

[2] Count von Stolberg. Quoted by Rauscher, *Augustinus*, p. 434.

religious interest. Augustine's self-upbraidings cannot hide from the reader that he possessed those qualities which win admiration and love. His domestic character is summed up in the words of his dying mother, who acknowledged that to her he had never addressed an ungentle word, although at one time she forbade him her table because of his opinions. Wherever he went, friends gathered around him, some of whom followed him over land and sea, from Church to heresy, and from heresy to the Church[1]. Among the many descriptions in prose and verse of University life, and of the gatherings of young intellectuals, none surpass Augustine's picture of his friendly circle in Carthage. "What charmed me in their intercourse was the talk, the laughter, the courteous mutual deference, the common study of the masters of eloquence, the comradeship now grave now gay, and differences that left no sting, as of a man differing from himself, the spice of disagreement which seasoned the monotony of consent. Each by turns would instruct or listen ; the absent were always missed, the present always welcome. Such tokens springing from the hearts of mutual friends, and displayed by a word, a glance, an expression, by a thousand pretty complaisances, supply the heat which welds souls together, and makes one of many[2]." Augustine did not belong to the class of brilliant attractive men who easily win affection and admiration, but give very little in return. He loved his friends with an almost feminine tenderness. What the loss of a friend meant to him is shown by the passionate grief he felt for the death of a friend and

[1] The name heresy is frequently given to Manichaeism by Augustine. *Conf.* iii 21: "inflatus nouitate haeresis illius." Cf. *de Util. Cred.* xiv 30.

[2] *Conf.* iv 13. We have here availed ourselves of the spirited version of Dr Bigg. (*The Confessions of Saint Augustine.* Newly translated by C. Bigg, D.D. London, 1898.)

former school-fellow, which made him flee from Thagaste that he might escape haunting memories. His correspondence also gives evidence of his genius for friendship in old age, as well as in youth.

II.

The *Confessions* possess a theological as well as a biographical interest; for Augustine was the chief creator of the theology of Western Christendom, and although the main sources for our knowledge of his theology are his doctrinal and polemical treatises, the *Confessions* contribute to a fuller understanding of it[1]. In them we observe its rise and its earliest phases; and by their aid we can perceive that there was a unity, in spite of all its transformations, in Augustine's thought. His nature was receptive as well as creative; and when writing in after years on theological and ethical subjects, his former experiences were never long absent from his mind. The reader of his doctrinal works has often reason to remember that the author had been a Manichaean, a sceptic of the Academy, and a scholar of the Neo-Platonists. We shall therefore give some account of the religious influences and philosophical systems

[1] The doctrines usually termed Augustinian were not of course altogether unknown to the Church before his time; but from him they received new forms and so much persuasiveness that his name is commonly associated with them. Hermann Reuter writes: "Gar manche Momente der bisherigen traditionellen, lediglich auktoritativen Doktrin sind durch ihn in wirklich religiöse Grössen verwandelt; er hat in den Kreisen, auf die er wirkte, eine Umstimmung des religiösen Bewusstseins bewirkt, ohne doch die Katholicität desselben gefährden zu wollen. Er selbst wurde durch die Macht des vulgär Katholischen beherrscht und verkündigte doch das eigentümlich Augustinische als Katholisches." *Augustinische Studien* p. 494–5.

which he encountered during his progress towards the Faith.

The period of unconscious infancy, for the knowledge of which he depended upon others, contributed something to the shaping of his future. In his infancy he was not baptised, for the custom of deferring baptism was widely prevalent, lest its grace should be lost through subsequent sin. He was however "signed with the sign of Christ's Cross, and seasoned with His salt[1]," rites by which he set great store, recalling in after days, not without self-upbraidings, that Christ's name was named upon him when he was an infant[2]. In his boyhood he received instruction in the Christian religion[3]; and he appears to have attended the services of the Church[4]. He must also have acquired a certain knowledge of the Scriptures either from reading, or, as is more probable, from hearing them read; for we cannot otherwise account for the disappointment he felt at not finding the name of Christ in the *Hortensius* of Cicero[5]. According to his own testimony he was, until he passed over to the Manichaeans, a Catholic Christian[6]. He seems never to have quite lost the sense that he belonged to the Church, and at times he was haunted

[1] *Conf.* i 17.

Cf. *de Peccat. Merit.* ii 26. 42: "Non unius modi est sanctificatio; nam et catechumenos secundum quemdam modum suum per signum Christi et orationem manus impositionis puto sanctificari: et quod accipiunt, quamuis non sit corpus Christi, sanctum est tamen." Cf. *de Cat. Rud.* xxvi 50. See also Canon 5 of the Third Council of Carthage (cited in note on i 17).

[2] *Conf.* iii 8, vi 5.

[3] *de Duab. Anim.* i: "Religionis uerissima semina mihi a pueritia salubriter insita."

[4] When he joined the Manichaeans he missed the solemn Catholic celebration of the Easter Festival. *c. Ep. Manich. Fund.* viii 9.

[5] *Conf.* iii 8.

[6] *de Util. Cred.* i 2: "Sed de me quid dicam, qui iam catholicus christianus eram?"

by the suspicion that only in his early faith would he find the object of his search. A proof of this is his resumption of his place as a catechumen at a time when he was as yet unable to accept the creed of the Church, and when his morals were unreformed[1].

It was not from Scripture nor through the voice of the Christian preacher that the first call to the higher life came to Augustine with the force of a personal appeal. At the age of nineteen, in the ordinary course of his rhetorical studies in Carthage, he read the *Hortensius* of Cicero[2]. The words of Cicero awoke within him an ardent desire to become a seeker after Wisdom[3]. They also kindled the spirit of devotion and led him to pour forth his heart in prayer to the God Whom he had been taught to regard as the Bestower of Wisdom.

It was no uncommon occurrence in antiquity for a young man of idealistic temperament to be won by the promises of Philosophy, and to abandon folly and vice at her call. The exceptional feature in Augustine's case was the intimate union of this love for Philosophy with Christian aspiration and prayer.

The incident has more than a personal interest. It is memorable as an early example of a friendly meeting, in the mind of the man destined to influence for centuries the religious thought of Europe, of rival and hitherto almost hostile powers—the Spirit of Antiquity and the Spirit of Christianity. Augustine never forgot his debt to Cicero[4]. He combated the ideals of anti-

[1] *Conf.* v 25. [2] *Conf.* iii 7.

[3] "Let us not forget that the guide on the way to the city was kind, clever, wordy, vain old Marcus Tullius Cicero." Andrew Lang *Adventures among Books* p. 167.

[4] References to Cicero, for the most part, although not always, respectful, abound in Augustine's writings; he also cites among the Latins, Vergil, Terence, Lucretius, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, and Seneca.

quity, especially in his work on the City of God, but he recognised that ancient Literature and Philosophy are inalienable heritages of the Christian thinker[1]. The example of Augustine was followed by the Church of the Middle Ages, and by the modern Church, so that at the present day the latter is in closer alliance with the literature of antiquity than with any of the literatures which have arisen within Christendom itself.

Augustine found one thing lacking in the *Hortensius*. The name of Christ was not there. "Whatever," he writes, "was without that name—cultivated, polished and true as it might be—took not entire hold of me[2]."

He turned therefore to the Scriptures; but here one of the numerous disappointments of his life awaited him. They appeared to him unworthy to be compared with the stately prose of Cicero. He read them of course in the rude "Old Latin" version. In the light of what followed, we may conjecture that the accent of authority in Scripture was likewise distasteful to him; for at this period he desired to inquire for himself, rather than to be taught by any authority however venerable[3].

[1] See *de Doct. Christ.* ii 40, 60, 61. Some of the Fathers gave other counsels, *e.g.* Tertullian. Gregory the Great (Greg. *Dial.* ii *Prolog.*) praises Benedict for having abandoned the study of letters, and having departed from Rome "skilfully ignorant and wisely unlearned"—"scienter nescius et sapienter indoctus." See also Greg. *Ep.* xi 34, the reproof of a bishop for having lectured on profane literature.

[2] *Conf.* iii 8: "Quidquid sine hoc nomine fuisset quamuis litteratum et expolitum et ueridicum, non me totum rapiebat."

[3] There is perhaps a hint of this in the words (*Conf.* iii 9) "ego dedignabar esse paruulus et turgidus fastu mihi grandis uidebar."

III.

In the same year in which he read the Scriptures and was disappointed in them, Augustine joined the Manichaean sect[1]. As his conversion to it occupied a few days only, it is probable that his mind was already in revolt against authority. When writing of the change in after years, he says that he joined the Manichaeans because they offered to deliver from error by reason alone, without the exercise of "terrible authority[2]."

Although the name heresy is given to Manichaeism by Augustine and by other Fathers, it was not a heresy in the same sense in which Arianism and Pelagianism are heresies. It did not originate within the Church.

[1] Mânî wrote a number of works, but their titles only survive. Among them are: *The Gospel*, *The Book of the Giants*, *The Book of Making Alive*, *The Book of First Principles* (probably identical with *Epistola Fundamenti*, from which Augustine gives some extracts. See Aug. vol. viii ed. Bened. pp. 266—306). The titles are known of seventy-six Epistles written by Mânî and by his successors. These were addressed to nations, to cities, and to individuals. The chief authority for the earliest form of Manichaeism is the Fihrist, a history of Arabian literature written about A.D. 988, in which an account is given of Mânî and of his opinions. See *Mânî: Seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Aus dem Fihrist. Im Text nebst Uebersetzung.* Von Gustav Flügel, Leipzig, 1862. Next in importance is the Arabic treatise by Albiruni, *The Chronology of the Ancient Nations*. (English translation by E. Sachau. Trübner's Oriental Series, 1888.) The numerous anti-Manichaean writings of Augustine (ed. Bened. vols. i and viii) describe the Manichaeism of North Africa at the beginning of the fifth century. The *Acta Archelai*, professedly a discussion between Mânî and the Bishop Archelaus, is pure romance, and is of no value as an historical source. The principal modern authority is K. Kessler *Mânî: Forschungen über die manichäische Religion.* By the same author: *Mânî: Manichäer.* Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie, Zwölfter Band. "Manichaeism" by Professor A. A. Bevan, Trinity College, Cambridge, in Hastings' *Dictionary of Ethics and Religion*, contains important criticisms of Kessler's views by an English Orientalist. Harnack has an appendix on Manichaeism, *History of Dogma*, vol. iii English translation, pp. 318—336. There is a good account of Manichaeism in *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, von F. Spiegel, Bd ii.

[2] *de Duab. Anim.* 1, *de Util. Cred.* i 2.

The founder Mânî (215—277) is said to have been of Iranian descent, but born in Babylonia. In the year 242 A.D., during the reign of Sapor I., he appeared in public in Persia, proclaiming himself to be the herald of a new religion. The religion of Mânî was perhaps to some extent derived from the old religion of Babylon[1]. His purpose was to supplant the effete Zoroastrianism which was at the time all-powerful at the Court of Persia. Finding himself unable to overcome the resistance of the Zoroastrian priesthood, he left the Persian empire and travelled for many years as a missionary of his faith. He visited Turkestan, Western China, and possibly India. Mânî spoke many languages, and as he possessed remarkable powers of persuasion, he gained adherents everywhere. He also sent forth apostles, who preached the faith and founded congregations of Manichaean believers all over the East. Epistles were written by Mânî to confirm the faith of the converts[2]. More than once he returned to Persia, where his disciples

[1] Authorities differ as to the extent to which Mânî borrowed from the religion of Babylonia. According to Kessler, his religion was mainly derived from it; and he minimises Jewish and Christian influence. Others maintain that Mânî's was an eclectic religion, and that the Babylonian influence was slight. Spiegel writes, *Erânische Alterthumskunde* ii p. 230: "Werfen wir zum Schlusse nochmals einen Blick auf den Manichäismus, so glauben wir, dass die grosse Verwandtschaft desselben mit der érânischen Religion, trotz aller wesentlichen Verschiedenheit zu einleuchtend ist, um eines weiteren Beweises zu bedürfen. Es hat seine Richtigkeit, dass Mânî besonders aus dem Parsismus, dann aber auch aus dem Christenthume entlehnt hat, wie der Fihrist behauptet. Wir glaubten dazu noch das babylonische Alterthum fügen zu müssen, welches dem Mânî durch seine Geburt und Erziehung bekannt sein musste und wir glaubten Spuren babylonischer Einwirkung, namentlich in der Schöpfungsgeschichte, zu entdecken, welche zwar der biblischen Erzählung vielfach ähnlich ist, aber doch so eigenthümliche Umbildung enthält, dass dieselben kaum aus willkürlichen Veränderungen hervorgegangen sein können."

[2] Mânî employed a peculiar character, invented by himself, in his Epistles and other works. They appear to have had illustrations. Hence the tradition that he was a painter. See G. Flügel *Mânî: Seine Lehre und seine Schriften* p. 166.

had increased in number during his absence. On one of those visits he gained the ear of the Persian monarch, who granted toleration to his followers within the empire. On his last visit to Persia, however, he fell a victim to the machinations of his enemies. By the order of the new King Bahrâm I. he suffered death, according to one account by crucifixion, in the year 276 or 277. His death was followed by a cruel persecution of his disciples. The persecution, however, only gave wings to his faith; for his followers fled to other lands, carrying along with them the memory of their crucified master, and of his teaching.

Mânî's system was Dualism in an extreme form. There have been from the beginning two beings or principles, the Light and the Darkness. From these are derived all other existences. The first he named "The Glorious One," "The King of the Paradise of Light." This Light-King is endowed with all goodly and noble attributes, such as knowledge, wisdom, love and gentleness. The kingdom of Light, in addition to the special realm of the supreme Light-King, embraced a Light-Ether and a Light-Earth. The Light-Earth was presided over by a ruler also eternal, although he appears to have derived his being from the supreme Light-King. The "members" or attributes of the ruler of the Light-Earth were the gentle air, the wind, the light, the water, and the fire. But in the Light-Earth none of the hurtful qualities belonged to those elements which they have in our earth. In this Manichaean Paradise everything was to be found which gives beauty and charm to the present world, only in greater abundance, and of higher quality. The ruler of this realm, like the ruler of the upper realm, was surrounded by a company of glorious beings who ministered to his will.

The Prince of the Kingdom of Darkness does not receive the name God in the system of Mânî, although he is conceived of as a person. To his kingdom an Earth also pertained, but an Earth of Darkness. In it there was everything that is hideous and destructive in the present world—precipices, abysses, swamps, and poisonous springs from which rose pillars of fire and smoke.

There was no dividing wall between the two kingdoms. A fearful being, sprung from the eternal elements of darkness, who is named *Iblis* by the Arabs (διάβολος) —he resembled in form the dragon *Tiamat* of the old Babylonian religion—having in his career of destruction caught a glimpse of the realms of light, assailed with violence the Light-Earth.

The King of the Paradise of Light did not choose to employ for the defence of his kingdom the aeons who surrounded him, who were ministers of holy peace. He created the "First Man," who went forth clad with the armour of light, to battle with the foe, who was armed with the elements of darkness. The "First Man" was, however, worsted in the conflict, and the Powers of Darkness made him their captive. He was delivered by the power of the Light-King, but during his captivity the powers of darkness absorbed portions of his ethereal essence. It was to deliver those imprisoned elements that the present world was created. The angel to whom the task was entrusted had perforce to fashion it from mixed materials, for the light was now commingled with darkness. The five elements of which this world was composed were at once good and evil. The gentle air was united with vapour, the fire of heaven with the destructive flame of conflagration, light with darkness, the gentle breeze with the scorching wind, the pure water with mist.

As gathering places for the recovered elements of light, the Sun and Moon were created, and these were made of light, as far as was possible. The Sun became the home of the "First Man," and of other beneficent beings, the Moon of the "Mother of Life." To these luminaries, which sailed like ships in the ocean of heaven, the rescued elements of light and the souls of good men were periodically transported by means of a huge machine carrying twelve buckets. Around the earth a trench was dug to which was consigned the darkness after its separation from the light, and a great wall was erected to prevent it from returning to the world.

After Sun and Moon have rescued, as far as their powers enable them, all the imprisoned light, the present world, having served its purpose, will be destroyed. The King of Light will then manifest himself, surrounded by a company of glorious beings, and of redeemed Manichaeans. A fire will rise out of chaos, which will burn for 1468 years. By this fire the light still remaining in the world will be separated from the darkness. The latter will be sealed up by a mighty stone; and the realm of Light thus made secure for ever. Sinners will be cast into hell, from whence they will cry in vain for deliverance to the Powers of Light.

Whether or not Mânî's teaching at the beginning of his career was mainly a revival of the old Babylonian religion, as Kessler maintains, he certainly borrowed much from the other religions with which he came into touch during his missionary travels—from Zoroastrianism, from Mandaeism, and, in ethics, from Buddhism. At one period of his life he only claimed for himself a place among the world's great prophets. He said on one occasion: "Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messenger of

God. So in one age they have been brought by the messenger called Buddha to India, in another by Zaraduscht to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. Thereupon this Revelation has come down in this last age, through me, Mânî, the messenger of the God of Truth in Babylonia[1]."

From the Jewish religion, to which he and his followers were hostile, Mânî took little, and what he did take he travestied. According to Mânî, Adam was begotten by the Powers of Darkness to aid them in hindering the work of the purification of the world. But to render him stronger for their purpose, they endowed his soul with elements of light, while his body was composed of darkness. In Eve, on the other hand, the representative of sensuality, the darkness predominated in soul as well as in body. Both Adam and Eve became degraded through sensual indulgence; and their offspring, with the exception of Seth, were evil. But Jesus was sent from the Kingdom of Light to instruct Adam regarding the difference between light and darkness. Then Adam cried: "Woe to him who created my body, the fetterer of my soul!" From that time he sought the light, and he was finally taken to Paradise, along with Seth, but Eve, who remained the willing servant of the Powers of Darkness, was cast into Hell. Towards the New Testament the attitude of Mânî was different. In the *Fundamental Epistle*—the Creed or Catechism of the Manichaeans—he names himself the apostle of Jesus Christ[2]. But the Jesus of Mânî was not the historical Jesus, nor did he accept the doctrine of the Incarnation. The Jesus of whom he spoke was the

[1] Albirunî *Chronology of Ancient Nations* p. 190.

[2] *c. Ep. Manich. Fund.* i 6: "Manichaeus apostolus Iesu Christi prouidentia Dei patris. Haec sunt salubria uerba, de perenni ac uiuo fonte."

same who visited Adam; he came from the God of Light to illuminate mankind by his teaching. His body was not a real body; nor was he crucified. He who was crucified was the "son of a poor widow," an evil spirit in disguise, whom the Jews in their mad fury mistook for the heavenly Jesus. Portions of the Gospels were accepted by Mânî, especially the Sermon on the Mount; but he alleged that the Gospels were not written by the disciples of Jesus, and were moreover largely interpolated. The epistles of St Paul were also interpolated, but Paul was the most enlightened of the apostles.

The disciples of Mânî were divided into two classes, the Elect or the Perfect, and the Auditors. The former, who were never numerous, were ascetics of the strictest order, abstaining from flesh-meat, from wine, and from marriage. They were forbidden to engage in any occupation which brought out the hurtful properties of fire or water. Vegetable food formed their sole diet, as this was supposed to contain particles of light, while dead flesh was composed entirely of darkness. The Elect were not permitted to pluck their food for themselves, lest in doing so they should inflict pain upon the light-elements within it.

The Auditors were those who, attracted towards the religion, yet felt unable to comply with all its rigours. They were called the guardians or soldiers of the faith. By them the Elect were supplied with needful nourishment. In return they received from the Elect benedictions, and obtained an interest in their intercessions. To the Auditors Mânî gave ten commands, or rather prohibitions, viz. to abstain from idolatry, lying, covetousness, killing in any form, fornication, theft, fraud, from a secret inclination to other religions, from indifference and

a want of joyfulness in religion. They were counselled to avoid, as far as possible, making themselves at home in the present world, not to plant trees nor to build houses, and, above all, not to accumulate riches[1].

The worship of the Manichaeans was of a simple character. Their houses of prayer contained no altars, pictures or statues. Their chief festival was observed in the month of March, in honour of their Founder. It was called the Festival of the Bema, an empty chair being placed in the assembly to recall the memory of the absent Teacher. Prayer was the religious duty on which most stress was laid in the Manichaean system. Four times a day the Manichaean prayed, addressing his supplications to the Powers of Light, and to the Master Mânî. Their creed contained four articles: faith in God, in His light, in His power, and in His wisdom. Hence the phrase: *ὁ τετραπρόσωπος πατήρ.*

"One can see," writes Kessler, "how harmless such expressions may have sounded in the ears of Christians. But in reality the God of the Manichaeans was the King of the Paradise of Light; His light the Sun and the Moon; His power the five angels—the members of the Light-Earth, the gentle air, the wind, the light, the water and the fire. His wisdom was the 'Holy Religion,' viz. the Manichaean Church[2]."

[1] To the Perfect an immediate salvation after death was promised. The Auditors would have to pass through painful experiences, but would in the end be saved. In *Fihrist*, in the German translation of Flügel, it is said: "Das sind drei Wege, lehrt Mânî, in Bezug auf welche die Seelen der Menschen eingetheilt werden. Der eine von ihnen führt in die Paradiese, das ist der Weg der Wahrhaftigen, der andere, in die Welt und ihre Schrecknisse, das ist der Weg für die Hüter der Religion und die Helfer der Wahrhaftigen, und der dritte zur Hölle, das ist der Weg für den sündigen Menschen." *Mânî*, p. 101, see Flügel's notes *in loc.*

[2] Herzog-Hauck, Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Zwölfter Band, *Mânî*, p. 214.

The Manichaeans whom Augustine knew in North Africa made much use of Christian language, and observed some of the Christian festivals. They claimed indeed to follow Christ more fully than the Catholics, whom they termed Semi-Christians[1]. Faustus, as reported by Augustine, defended himself with acerbity against the charge that he was not a Christian[2]. "Do I accept the Gospel? You ask me if I accept it, although it is apparent that I do, for I obey its commands. I should rather ask if you accept it, for I see in you no signs of your accepting it. I have left father, mother, wife, children, and all else required by the Gospel. Perhaps you do not know what is called the Gospel. It is nothing else save the preaching and the commands of Christ. I have parted with gold and silver, having ceased to carry money in my purse; content with daily bread, without care for the morrow, as to how I shall be fed or clothed. You see in me the beatitudes of Christ; and you ask, do I believe the Gospel?...But you say to believe the Gospel is not only to do what it commands, but also to believe all that is written in it, and especially that God was born. But neither is believing the Gospel only to believe that Jesus was born, but also to obey His commandments. If therefore you say that I do not believe the Gospel because I pass over the Birth, much more do you not

[1] *c. Faustum* i 3: "Augustinus respondit: Tu semichristianos cauendos putas, quod nos esse dicis; nos autem pseudochristianos cauemus, quod uos esse ostendimus."

[2] In the *Confessions* Augustine does scant justice to the ability of Faustus, who was a controversialist of no mean order. Augustine admits as much, *c. Faustum* i 1: "Faustus eloquio suauis, ingenio callidus." In the discussions reported by Augustine (*c. Faustum*), he has not always the best of the argument. The criticisms of Faustus on Augustine's lavish employment of allegory in interpreting the Old Testament are often just.

believe because you treat His commandments with contempt. If, as you say, belief in the Gospel includes faith in the genealogies and obedience to its precepts, why do you, an imperfect man, condemn me, another imperfect man? Let us suppose that you are right, that perfect faith consists of two parts, one consisting in word, of the confession that Christ was born, the other in deed, observance of Christ's precepts: mark that I have chosen the hard and painful part, you that which is light and easy. Why then do you assail me for taking upon myself the more difficult part of faith, leaving to you, as a weak brother, the easier task? Come, let us ask Christ Himself, and learn from His own mouth what is the chief means of salvation. Who shall enter into Thy kingdom, O Christ? *He that doeth the will of My Father in heaven.* That is His answer. Not 'he that confesses that I was born[1].'"

Manichaeism was perhaps the most formidable rival which the Church has encountered in the course of her history. It gained a footing in all parts of the world, in the far East, in the nearer East, and in Western lands as far as Spain. Roman Emperors sought to suppress it by edicts, Popes anathematized it; but in vain. Nor were Mohammedan persecutors more successful. For nearly

[1] *c. Faustum* v 1—3.

F. C. Baur remarks that the Manichaeans must have been a real thorn in the side of the worldly and self-indulgent clergy of the Church, whose lax lives were rebuked by the asceticism of the Manichaean Elect. *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche* ii 71.

Grave charges were made by Augustine and others against the morals of the Manichaean Elect. There was probably some truth in the charges, for secret licentiousness is the danger that besets ascetic communities. But such charges are always to be received with caution when found in the pages of the controversialist. Cf. the admission of Irenaeus when writing of Carpocrates and his sect in *c. Haereses* i 30. 5: καὶ εἰ μὲν πράσσεται παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄθεα, καὶ ἔκθεσμα, καὶ ἀπειρημένα, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσαιμι.

a thousand years it remained a living force, for the Catharists and Albigenses, who all but supplanted the Church in Southern France in the 12th and 13th centuries, held many of the same doctrines, although it is not certain that they derived them directly from the Manichaeans.

Like all religions which have spread rapidly and over wide areas, it owed its success to its being a response to the half-conscious longings of those who accepted it. At the time when Manichaeism entered the Roman Empire the complacent satisfaction of an earlier age in Roman Imperialism and in the Romana Pax was giving place to despondency. Misfortunes were befalling the Empire, and greater seemed to be impending. Something approaching to a sense of sin took hold of the popular consciousness. Men began to ask whence and why came those evils which followed one another in such quick succession. Manichaeism gave a bold, and what to superficial thinkers may have seemed a complete answer to those questionings—an answer which while it professed to disclose the causes of the evils existing in Nature and in the human race, exonerated from blame both God and man[1]. It offered a way of salvation not too onerous, save for the ambitious few who desired to tread the path of the Perfect.

Manichaeism was a Philosophy of the Universe, expressed in the terms of Mythology, and therefore the more readily welcomed by the majority of men because it made appeal to imagination rather than to reason. Its materialistic character, and its entire failure to distinguish between moral and physical evil, would not render it less acceptable, for most men are prone to

[1] This feature in the system gave great satisfaction to the youthful Augustine. See *de Lib. Arb.* i 2. 4.

blame Nature, or even their own bodies, for the evil they find within, rather than to acquiesce in the stern diagnosis which places its source in the human will[1].

For nearly nine years Augustine was a Manichaean Auditor. At first he was a zealous partisan who contended publicly for his new faith, and did not hesitate to ridicule the doctrines of the Church and especially the Old Testament Scriptures[2].

With the lapse of time his zeal cooled. The grandiose imaginings which had captivated the immature youth of nineteen assumed a changed aspect in the eyes of the man approaching thirty, who had in the meantime been a student of Aristotle, and had acquired a knowledge of the astronomical science of the day, which seemed to give a death-blow to the Manichaean theories regarding the heavenly bodies[3]. The interview with Faustus put the finishing touch to his disillusion. With the intellectual disdain of the cultivated man he turned his back on the fables which had deluded his youth.

During the years that succeeded his baptism Augustine was engaged in almost constant controversies with the Manichaeans. For the most part the controversy was carried on in writing, but he held oral disputations with Manichaean teachers who invaded his African diocese. He felt that having been himself a member of the sect, it became him to deal tenderly with

[1] "It is common to all the anti-Christian views of sin that at the last resort they make sin natural, a part of nature. It is characteristic of Christ's view of sin—of the Scriptural view of it—that it makes it unnatural. It is characteristic again of the non-Christian view that it makes the body, the material, the seat of sin. It is essential to the Christian view to find its seat and only source in the will." Gore *Lux Mundi*, Append. II.

[2] *de Dono Perseverantiae* xx 53: "Deo me conuertenti ad eam fidem, quam miserrima et furiosissima loquacitate uastabam." *Conf.* iii 18.

[3] *Conf.* iv 28, v 3—6.

those who had gone astray after the same fashion[1]. This thought gave at times to his language a gentleness and an elevation, rare in the theological controversies of Christian antiquity. But he found it hard to maintain the higher mood—hard to forgive the Manichaeans for the long years of intellectual imposture and spiritual barrenness spent among them[2]. Their claim to be Christians excited his anger, and he resented their presence in his diocese. His controversial manners not unfrequently sank to the customary level. If he did not actually employ force against them, he gave a plain hint on one occasion that he would not scruple to make use of it if his words proved ineffective[3].

IV.

After he left the Manichaeans, Augustine drifted for a time towards the Scepticism of the New Academy. A convinced adherent of the school he never became. His thirst for truth, his faith in God, which was never entirely extinguished, added to a natural optimism of temperament, forbade the acceptance of the conclusion

[1] Here is a specimen of Augustine's higher mood in the controversy. *c. Ep. Manich.* ii 2: "Illi in uos saeuiant, qui nesciunt cum quo labore uerum inueniatur, et quam difficile caueantur errores. Illi in uos saeuiant, qui nesciunt quam rarum et arduum sit carnalia phantasmata piae mentis serenitate superare. Illi in uos saeuiant, qui nesciunt cum quanta difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis ut possit intueri solem suum. Illi in uos saeuiant, qui nesciunt quibus suspiriis et gemitibus fiat, ut ex quantulacumque parte possit intellegi Deus. Postremo, illi in uos saeuiant, qui numquam tali errore decepti sunt, quali uos deceptos uident."

[2] *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.* xviii 34 "Nouem annis me ludificastis."

[3] He wrote as follows to a Manichaean teacher, probably Felix, *Ep.* lxxix "Discede hinc, et noli peruertere uias Domini, et illaqueare et uenenis inficere animas infirmas, ne adiuuante dextera Domini nostri, quomodo non putaueras erubescas."

that Truth, which he regarded as the Chief Good, must remain for ever beyond reach. In a letter to a friend he has described, in his own vivid manner, the thoughts which warred within him as he stood at the cross-roads.

"When I was in Italy, I often held converse with myself, as to the method by which Truth is to be discovered. How I sighed for Truth, no one knows better than yourself. Often it seemed to me that there was no finding of it, and the tide of my thought set strongly towards the position of the Academics. Again, on the other hand, when I considered the human mind, so vigorous, so sagacious, so far-sighted, it seemed to me that it was not the truth itself that was indiscoverable but only the method of seeking for it, and that this method must be accepted from some divine authority. It remained however to inquire what that authority was, seeing that so many dissentient teachers offered to produce it. Here I encountered an impenetrable wood and after a time I wearied of the attempt to struggle through it; yet in spite of all, my mind was unceasingly spurred on by the desire of discovering truth....Being thus beset by so many dangers nothing remained but to beseech aid from Divine Providence with tearful and pitiful appeals[1]."

While Augustine finally refused, as he expresses it, "to commit the care of his soul" to the Academics, he continued to speak of them with a respect which is a contrast to his language regarding the Manichaeans. In the Dialogue *Contra Academicos*, he argues against the Academic position that the search for truth is sufficient to confer happiness, without its possession. He

[1] *de Util. Cred.* viii 20.

suggests, however, in the course of the Dialogue, that the Academics did not seriously hold the doctrine commonly attributed to them. They spoke, he said, of Truth as hard of attainment, in order to warn off the sluggish from the sacred domain of philosophy, and to incite the ardent to a more diligent search[1]. In a letter written to a friend regarding the Dialogues he gives a similar interpretation of the motives of the Academics, adding, however, that it would be ill-judged to follow their example in his days, for were it noised abroad, that in the judgment of acute philosophers Truth is indiscoverable, men would sink into a lethargy from which the heavenly trumpet would fail to awaken them[2].

Augustine's interpretation of the motive of the Academics cannot be accepted in its entirety; he abandoned it himself in some of his later writings[3]. But it is an illustration—there are many others in Augustine's interpretations of Scripture—of his power of catching the spirit of an author or of a system, although the letter was imperfectly understood by him. The Sceptics with whose views he was familiar, were not the radical Sceptics, like Pyrrho and his disciples,

[1] *c. Acad.* ii 10. 24: "Mihi haec uocabula (probabilitas, uerisimilitudo) uidentur elegisse et ad occultandam tardioribus, et ad significandam uigilantioribus sententiam suam."

[2] *Ep.* i *Hermogeniano.*

[3] He seems to have still held it when he wrote the *Confessions. Conf.* v 25: "Itaque Academicorum more, *sicut existimantur*, dubitans de omnibus." But he writes in *Enchirid.* vii 20 (A.D. 421): "Apud illos (Academicos) ergo error omnis putatur esse peccatum, quod uitari non posse contendunt, nisi omnis suspendatur assensio. Errare quippe dicunt eum quisquis assentitur incertis, nihilque certum esse in hominum uisis, propter indiscretam similitudinem falsi, etiam si quod uidetur forte sit uerum, acutissimis quidem, sed impudentissimis conflictationibus disputant. Apud nos autem: *Justus ex fide uiuit.* At si tollatur assensio, fides tollitur; quia sine assensione nihil creditur."

who denied to men the possibility of a real knowledge of things in themselves, maintaining that the distinctions are illusory which are commonly made between the true and false, the good and evil, the beautiful and the hateful: the wise man therefore suspends his judgment, and becomes an indifferent spectator of the world and of all its concerns. Carneades, however, who was followed by Cicero, Augustine's teacher in philosophy, while denying to men absolute knowledge, said that it was possible to attain to a right judgment of what is probable, and that probability is the guide of life[1]. These Sceptics had no wish to paralyse action or thought. They desired, like Socrates, to take away the conceit of false knowledge, and especially to oppose the dogmatism of the Stoics.

From his Academic period dates Augustine's life-long devotion to questions regarding the relation of Faith to Reason and to Authority. Not at once, not without prolonged resistance, did he accept the principle commonly associated with his name: *Fides praecedit intellectum*, of which Anselm made so memorable a use[2]. He likewise accepted the principle *Auctoritas*

[1] Speaking of himself as an Academic Cicero writes (*Academ. Quaest.* ii 3. 8): "Neque inter nos et eos, qui se scire arbitrantur, quidquam interest, nisi quod illi non dubitant, quin ea uera sint, quae defendunt: nos probabilia multa habemus, quae sequi facile, affirmare uix possumus." *Ib.* 31. 99: "Quidquid acciderit specie probabile, si nihil se offeret, quod sit probabilitati illi contrarium, utetur eo sapiens: ac sic omnis ratio uitae gubernabitur. Etenim is quoque, qui a uobis sapiens inducitur, multa sequitur probabilia, non comprehensa, neque percepta, neque assensa, sed similia ueri; quae nisi probet, omnis uita tollatur."

[2] The exact words, "Fides praecedit intellectum," used by Anselm do not occur in Augustine. The thought is however of frequent occurrence. *Tract. in Ioan. Eu.* xxix 6: "Ergo noli quaerere intelligere ut credas, sed crede ut intelligas." *Ep.* cxx, *ad Consent.*: "Fides praecedit rationem." *Ep.* cxxxvii, *ad Volusian.*: "Intellectui fides aditum aperit."

praecedit rationem[1]. But he was too acute an observer of the processes of the human mind to carry it to the lengths to which some have carried it. Faith, he says, cannot be exercised except by those who possess rational souls, and the object of faith must always be apprehended in some fashion by the reason, ere faith can be exercised[2]. Nor can there be a voluntary submission to authority unless the reason is convinced that the authority is deserving of confidence[3].

With respect, however, to the personal faith by which the individual soul is united to God, Augustine taught that it was a special gift of God, and must be received as a gift. Reason may, and must to some extent, prepare the way for it, but reason cannot take the place of faith; for faith includes love, and the rebellious will of man will never surrender itself to God in loving confidence except through the operation of the grace of God[4]. But with no less emphasis did Augustine contend for the prerogative of reason within the sphere of religion. The Christian believer, in virtue of his faith and love, must desire to understand the things of God, and he feels that it cannot be the will of God that the truth He has revealed should remain an enigma to those whom He has called to His fellowship[5].

[1] *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.* i 25: "Unde illud exoritur, quod ab initio satagimus, nihil in Ecclesia catholica salubrius fieri, quam ut rationem praecedat auctoritas."

[2] *Ep.* cxx, *ad Consent.* i: "Etiam credere non possemus, nisi rationales animas haberemus....Si igitur rationabile est, ut ad magna quaedam, quae capi nondum possunt, fides praecedat rationem, procul dubio quantulacumque ratio, quae haec persuadet, etiam ipsa antecedit fidem."

[3] *de Ord.* ii 9: "Ad discendum item necessario dupliciter ducimur, auctoritate et ratione. Tempore auctoritas, re autem ratio prior est."

[4] *de Praedest. Sanct.* ii 6: "Operatur Deus fidem nostram, miro modo agens in cordibus nostris, ut credamus."

[5] *Tract. in Ioan. Eu.* xxix 6: "Intellectus merces est fidei." *Enarr. in*

Augustine confesses that he was so constituted that it was impossible for him to remain satisfied with a religion of mere feeling. His whole nature called out for the understanding of what he believed. In the earliest work he wrote after his conversion he said that he not only desired to believe, but to understand[1]. There were those among Augustine's contemporaries who looked with suspicion on all attempts to reason regarding the truths of religion. These scruples Augustine treated with contempt, asking whether it was likely that God is displeased with men for making use of the noblest faculty He has bestowed upon them—the faculty that distinguishes them from the lower animals[2]. To Augustine, therefore, the words of a great English divine are not applicable: "Pascal sympathises with Montaigne's merciless onslaught on the fatuity of human reason, and applauds it with almost ferocious exultation. But both do it by virtue of that very power which they are flouting; and neither the originality and easy freedom of Montaigne, nor the fervent earnestness and religious purpose of Pascal, can disguise the deep and cruel untruth of their declamations, or prevent us from feeling that such insolent scorn of the greatest of gifts they are

Ps. cxviii, Serm. 29: "Magnam spem Dominus Jesus dedit dicendo, Quaerite et inuenietis....An aliud eos Dominus quam sapientiam quaerere uolebat, quando eos inuenturos, si quaererent, promittebat?"

[1] *c. Acad.* iii 20. 45: "Ita enim iam sum affectus, ut quid sit uerum, non credendo solum, sed etiam intellegendo apprehendere impatienter desiderem."

[2] *Enarr. in Ps.* xlii, § 6: "Ipsa mens inuocabat lucem Dei et ueritatem Dei. Ipsa est, qua capimus iustum et iniustum; ipsa est, qua discernimus uerum a falso; ipsa est, quae uocatur intellectus, quo intellectu carent bestiae; quem intellectum quisquis in se neglegit, et postponit ceteris, et ita abiecit, quasi non habeat; audit ex Psalmo, Nolite esse sicut equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus."

Enarr. in Ps. ciii, Serm. 4 "Quod equo natura est, homini crimen est."

themselves using, does not become less unnatural and revolting even from the lips of genius or of faith[1]."

V.

In Milan certain books of the Platonists were read by Augustine. If these were the *Enneads* of Plotinus, as seems almost certain, he was introduced to the last great school of Greek philosophy through the writings of its noblest representative[2].

Plotinus was born in Lycopolis in Egypt A.D. 204[3]. After studying philosophy in Alexandria under

[1] R. W. Church *Miscellaneous Essays* p. 78.

[2] As the name of Plotinus is not mentioned in the *Confessions* the reasons for this conclusion must be given:

(1) Augustine read the Platonical books in a Latin translation (*Conf.* vii 9). Victorinus translated certain Platonical books into Latin, and these were in all probability the works of Plotinus, which were the "Canonical Scriptures" of the Neo-Platonists (*Conf.* viii 2).

(2) Augustine speaks of Plotinus as if he was familiar with his writings in those Dialogues which he wrote before his baptism but after his conversion. (See note, page xlix *infr.*)

(3) A friend writing to Augustine shortly after his conversion, and thanking him for his letters, remarks that his thoughts often sound like echoes from Plotinus. (*Ep.* vi "illae mihi Christum, illae Platonem, illae Plotinum sonabunt.")

(4) The *Confessions* abound in ideas and phrases which were unquestionably suggested by the *Enneads*. Examples of these will be found in the notes to the text of the present edition.

It is probable, however, that the reading of Plotinus led A. to acquaint himself with the works of the Master, Plato. In the Dialogues he speaks as if he knew some of Plato's works, and in his later writings, especially in the City of God, he frequently refers to him. He seems to have known, although perhaps for the most part at second hand, *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo*, *Philebus*, *Theaetetus*, *Charmides*, the first *Alcibiades*, the *Laws*. With *Timaeus*, which was translated into Latin by Cicero, he was familiar.

[3] The Life of Plotinus was written by his scholar Porphyry, who also collected and edited his works. The Life is prefixed to most editions of the works.

Ammonius Saccas, the Socrates of the Neo-Platonic School, he went to Rome, where, for twenty-five years, he lectured on philosophy to a large circle of disciples belonging to the upper classes of Roman society. Plotinus is the saint among Greek-speaking philosophers. He taught the doctrines of his mystic philosophy with the zeal of an apostle, for he regarded it as a message of consolation to mankind. Although he looked upon contemplation as the special work of his life, and himself lived as an ascetic, he did not turn a deaf ear to the calls of every-day duty; and, like some other saints, the unworldly philosopher manifested remarkable shrewdness in matters of this world. So beloved and trusted was he that dying parents often left their children to his guardianship. His home therefore was always full of children, on whose education he bestowed much care. He also paid scrupulous attention to the administration of their property, for he was accustomed to say, "Until they give themselves to philosophy they must have their incomes[1]."

It has been questioned whether Plotinus has a place in the line of legitimate succession from the Greek philosophers. He has been called an Oriental mystic, and a thinker who owed his inspiration to Christianity.

[1] *Vita Porphyr.* 9.

In their lives as in their thinking Plotinus and Augustine had much in common. The following characterisation of Plotinus might be transferred without the change of a word to the Bishop of Hippo: "In ein untrennbares Ganzes sehen wir hier eine bis zu schwindelnder Höhe aufsteigende Abstraktion und ein tiefinnerliches Gemüthsleben verschmolzen. Aber wenn darin schwere Widersprüche bleiben, es sind nicht Widersprüche der Seichtigkeit, die jeder flüchtigen Regung folgt, sondern Widersprüche einer grossen Natur, in der sich gewaltige Mächte aufarbeiten und miteinander ringen, ohne zur deutlichen Auseinandersetzung und völligen Ausgleichung zu kommen." (Rudolf Eucken *Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker* p. 232.)

This may be true of some of the later Neo-Platonists, who during the reaction under Julian adopted many Eastern ideas and rites, and even borrowed from the Church which they desired to supersede. But neither in the life nor in the works of Plotinus is there any trace of this tendency. He seems to have taken no part in the popular religion of his time[1], and in his works Christianity is not once named[2].

It cannot of course be denied that there is a wide difference between the philosophy of Plotinus and that of the earlier Greek thinkers, who, if we except Plato, for the most part confined their speculations to the world in which they lived, and when they turned advisers, gave counsels about conduct in the present life. The speculation of Plotinus on the other hand was mainly directed towards the unseen, and the burden of his counsel was that the human spirit must find sanctuary beyond the present shifting scene in the Eternal One. But the altered world to which this late-born heir of Greek philosophy belonged sufficiently accounts for the change. He did not live in an age proud of itself and hopeful of its future, but in times

[1] There is an anecdote to the effect that, being on one occasion invited to take part in a religious ceremony, he replied: "These gods of yours must come to me, I go not to them." *Vita Porphyr.* 10.

[2] It has been suggested, however, that Plotinus alludes to the Christians in the following passages:

Enn. ii 9. 9 *πολλὴ γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἡ αὐθάδεια, καὶ ὁ πρότερον ταπεινὸς καὶ μέτριος καὶ ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ εἰ ἀκούσειε· σὺ εἶ θεοῦ παῖς, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, οὓς ἐθαύμαζες, οὐ (θεῶν) παῖδες, οὐδὲ (θεῖα) ἃ τιμῶσιν ἐκ πατέρων λαβόντες, σὺ δὲ κρείττων καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐδὲν πονήσας....*

ii 9. 5 *ἀλλ' οὐ τιμῶντες ταύτην τὴν δημιουργίαν οὐδὲ τήνδε τὴν γῆν, καινὴν αὐτοῖς φασὶ γῆν γεγονέναι, εἰς ἣν δὴ ἐντεῦθεν ἀπελεύσονται· τοῦτο δὲ λόγον εἶναι κόσμου.*

ii 9. 15 *οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ εἰπεῖν 'βλέπε πρὸς θεόν' προὔργου τι ἐργάζεται, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ πῶς βλέψει διδάξῃ.*

See also ii 9. 14 and 18.

bankrupt of faith and hope on the spiritual as well as on the material side. If he was to remain an optimist—an optimist he always was—he had to invoke faith and hope from the invisible and the eternal.

Judging from his works Plotinus derived neither his doctrines nor his inspiration from any other sources than the classical philosophies of Greece, from Plato chiefly, but also from Aristotle and the Stoics; indeed he laid all the Greek systems under contribution with the exception of the Epicurean[1].

The First Principle in the system of Plotinus is called the One, the First Power, the Good[2]. It is only, however, in accommodation to human weakness

[1] Authorities differ on this question. The view given above is that of Zeller and of E. Caird. Mr Whittaker supports it in his work on the Neo-Platonists, pointing out that for a suggestion of the doctrine of ecstasy, we need not go beyond Plato. A diametrically opposite view is maintained by Vacherot (*Hist. Crit. de l'École d'Alexandrie*). J. R. Mozley in his article on Neo-Platonism in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* is inclined to the view of Vacherot, although he does not go so far. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in his recently published history of Greek literature, recognises the presence of the Greek spirit in Plotinus notwithstanding his Alexandrian type of thought: "Er stammte aus Alexandreia und gehört dorthin, wenn er auch seine Tätigkeit in Rom geübt hat. Man kann schwerlich leugnen, dass seine Philosophie auch den Stempel trägt, dass der wissenschaftliche Gedanke am Ende seines Lebens bei den Hellenen stand." *Die Griechische Literatur des Altertums.* (*Kultur der Gegenwart* I viii 193.)

[2] For Plotinus and his system the following works will be found useful:

Plotini Enneades cum Marsilii interpretatione castigata edidit et annotatione instruxit Fr. Dubner, Parisiis, 1855.

Plotini Enneades, rec. H. F. Mueller. Berlin, 1878–80.

Plotini Enneades, ed. R. Volkmann. Leipzig, 1883.

Les Ennéades de Plotin traduites par M. N. Bouillet. Paris, 1857.

Ueber Leben und Geistesentwicklung des Plotins, von A. Richter. Halle, 1864.

Plotins Lehre vom Sein, von A. Richter. Halle, 1867.

Die Theologie und Physik des Plotin, von A. Richter. Halle, 1867.

Die Psychologie des Plotin, von A. Richter. Halle, 1867.

that names are given to the Unspeakable. "For to say anything of it," writes Plotinus, "is to make it a particular thing[1]." Neither thought, volition, nor even being can be ascribed to the One; it is beyond them all; self-sufficing, it abides in absolute repose. Although it has no need to create anything, it is the source, by a timeless necessary process, of all existence, of all thought, and of all activity. Present in all creatures, it is yet separate and distinct[2].

The second hypostasis in the Trinity of Plotinus is Mind, which is the image of the One. It issues from the One as rays from the sun, but the One loses nothing of its essence by the emanation. Mind is inferior to the One in this respect, that in it "otherness" begins; for in it there is the distinction of subject and object; no longer perfect unity. Mind contains the whole intelligible world, the world of ideas, the originals of everything that exists, not only of general types but of individual existences. As Mind is wholly directed towards the One it is divine and unerring; its thinking, however, is not logical, but is pure intuition[3].

The third hypostasis is the World-Soul, which proceeds from Mind, as Mind from the One. It is the home of all souls who have not wilfully departed from it; they enjoy constant and blessed communion with one another, although without speech or language. All

Thomas Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists.* Cambridge, 1901.

J. R. Mozley, *Neo-Platonism. Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Vol. iv.

E. Caird, *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers.* Glasgow, 1904.

A. Harnack, *Neo-Platonism. Encyclopaedia Britannica* xvii.

[1] *Enn.* ii 9. 1; v 3. 13.

[2] *Enn.* vi 9. 2, 3; iii 9. 3; v 5. 6; iii 8. 8; v 1. 6.

[3] *Enn.* v 1. 7; v 6. 4; v 9. 8; v 7. 1—3.

things are transparent within the World-Soul, there is nothing dark, nothing resisting; light therefore is manifest to light. But while the World-Soul looks towards Mind, from which it receives ideas, it also looks towards the corporeal world; for it is its function to give form and beauty to the world of matter[1].

Matter, in the system of Plotinus, is not the creation of a hostile power, nor does it possess an independent existence. It is an outflow from the divine Source, but has degenerated owing to distance from its original. As light gradually fades into darkness, matter has degenerated into non-existence, or evil. By the power of the World-Soul it is partially redeemed, and all the order and beauty of the phenomenal world is the result of the action of the World-Soul on matter[2]. But evil has happened through the contact of the World-Soul with matter. Certain souls, from a desire to be independent, separated themselves from the World-Soul and descended into bodies[3]. These are the dwellers on our earth. In thus placing the beginnings of sin in a wrongful choice, Plotinus approached the Christian position.

In language whose pathos recalls the Christian preacher, Plotinus mourns over the sad estate of those fallen souls. Like children who have been long separated from their parents, they have forgotten their father, and have therefore ceased to know themselves[4]. They are absorbed in pursuits and pleasures unworthy of their high lineage. But in all men there is a desire to return, although in most it is unconscious, and often

[1] *Enn.* v 1. 7; iv 3. 1—9; v 8. 4.
[2] *Enn.* iii 8. 4; ii 4. 15; ii 3. 15.
[3] *Enn.* iv 8. 4; cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246.
[4] *Enn.* v 1. 1.

manifests itself in an evil fashion. There are others, however, who are conscious of their fall and have a longing to return to their Father. Plotinus tells them how they may re-ascend, and even surpass their original condition.

The first stage in the return-path consists of the practice of the "political virtues," or the ordinary virtues of Greek citizenship. These do not confer likeness to God, but they are the necessary preparation for the higher stages. The next stage is that of the "cathartic" virtues. By asceticism the soul is purified, weaned from objects of sense, delivered from all worldly desires and ambitions, from the love of life, and from the fear of death. After the "cathartic" virtues have done their work, and the eye of the soul is purged, the stage of positive virtue is gained, and it is acquired simply by looking to the reality which the soul finds within itself[1]. Those who reach this condition give themselves to the contemplative life, for, like Aristotle, Plotinus placed contemplation above action. Nothing save the plain call of duty will induce the contemplative sage to take any part in the concerns of this world. In the stage of contemplation communion with Mind is attained; but contemplation does not bring with it perfect blessedness, which can only be reached through ecstasy. In ecstasy thought and self-consciousness cease; the soul is perfectly united with the Source of all Being. Plotinus represents the soul in ecstasy as circling round the Centre of Being and singing an inspired Chorale, during which a vision is granted to it of "the source of life, the fountain of mind, the origin of being, the cause of good, and the root of the soul[2]." It is only, however, by way

[1] *Enn.* i 2. 1—7. [2] *Enn.* vi 9. 8, 9.

of illustration that the soul is described as having a vision, for in ecstasy the seer no longer distinguishes himself from what he sees. "This," writes Plotinus, "is the life of gods, and of godlike and happy men, a liberation from all the other things here, a life untroubled by human pleasures, a flight of the alone to the Alone[1]!" This condition is, however, seldom enjoyed upon earth. Plotinus attained to it only four times during the five years that Porphyry was with him[2], but these experiences remained with him as a blessed memory, and he looked forward to the permanent possession of it in the future state[3].

Plotinus sought to prove the truth of his philosophical system by means of observation, and by reasonings. He assumed as self-evident that the soul cannot be derived from matter; and that there must be a unifying principle in the universe[4]. A certain unity he found in things without life, a higher unity in the living body, and a still higher in the human soul[5]. But particular souls have so much in common that they must be derived from a common source. The common source is the World-Soul, but as it is the principle of life to the world, something other than itself, the perfect unity which the philosopher was in search of does not exist in it. A higher stage is reached in Mind, but even in Mind

[1] *Enn.* vi 9. 11. [2] *Vita Porphyr.* 23.

[3] His last words were: τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῖον ἀνάγειν πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ παντὶ θεῖον. *Vita Porphyr.* 2.

"Kein grösserer Kontrast als diese stille selige Seele in dem Mord und Brand, der über die Welt tobt, dem Hexensabbat all der neuen Götter, und der schellenlauten Torheit der Rhetorik. In dieser Welt war auch für die Seele des Hellenentumes keine Stätte mehr; aber sie hatte Gott geschaut: die Zeit konnte und kann ihr nichts mehr anhaben." U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Die Griechische Litteratur des Altertums* (*ut sup.* p. 194).

[4] *Enn.* iv 7. [5] *Enn.* iv 2. 1.

there is duality, as we have seen already. We must therefore ascend to absolute unity identical with itself, to discover the source and goal of being. The upward process, as Dr Caird remarks, depends upon a negative logic, like that of Spinoza, by which all difference and determination are removed as involving something finite and defective. But the process cannot be reversed, and it seems as if by ascending Plotinus had drawn up the ladder after him and left no possibility of descending again[1].

It is not probable that the belief of Plotinus in the reality of the One and the Good was founded on the above reasonings. It rested rather on what has been termed "transcendental feeling," which cannot be fully expressed in the terms of the understanding[2]. But this feeling craves for support from the understanding and, like most mystics, Plotinus constructed a reasoned system to serve his purpose. This explains how it came to pass that an abstruse philosophy, clothed in language which had little to attract, save a certain emotional fervour, became a fashionable creed in the latter half of the third century. The promises of union with the Source of all being expressed in the long drawn out discourses of Plotinus made a deeper appeal to uneasy restless spirits than did the Dialogues of Plato. There is in all men an inability to rest satisfied with the finite as its own ultimate explanation: and the desire to find an explanation, although often dormant, rises at other times to a

[1] *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers* ii 253.

[2] See J. A. Stewart *The Myths of Plato* p. 44. "It is in transcendental feeling that consciousness is aware of 'the Good'—of the Universe as a place in which it is good to be. Transcendental feeling is thus the *beginning* of Metaphysics, for Metaphysics cannot make a start without assuming 'the Good' or the Universe as a place in which it is good to be."

veritable passion, and men are willing to make every sacrifice, and without much inquiry to accept any philosophy which offers help towards the solution[1].

It is at least an apparent inconsistency in the philosophy of Plotinus — similar inconsistencies are frequent in Augustine—that he fully recognised the beauty of the phenomenal world on which he nevertheless exhorted men to close their eyes. In his treatise against the Gnostics he censures those who see no beauty in it and in the beautiful natures which it contains[2]. Natural objects, Plotinus maintains, are deserving of admiration when through the power of the λόγος σπερματικός they make their ideal forms perceptible to the senses. It is remarkable that this apostle of "World Flight" is the author of the most important contribution to aesthetics which has been handed down to us from antiquity[3].

[1] The union of emotional mysticism with an abstruse philosophy is a familiar feature in the history of thought. The high and austere speculations of Meister Eckhart were followed with eager interest by multitudes of emotional monks and nuns because they promised to conduct by the "Way of Godhead" to the mystical union.

[2] The title πρὸς τοὺς γνωστικούς of the Ninth Book of the Second Ennead was given to it by Porphyry, who expressly takes the responsibility for it (*Vita*, 5). The Gnostics are never named in the body of the book. There is little doubt however that the Gnostics are chiefly aimed at. Plotinus admits that many of their opinions are right, although he blames them for their insolence towards the Greeks, who had said all they had to say and said it better (*Enn.* ii 9. 6). Some however of the expressions in the polemic may have been directed against the Christians. See quotations, p. xli *sup.*, note. Plotinus probably made no very accurate distinction between the Gnostics and Christians. He was more likely to meet with the former than with the latter, who were indifferent to speculation.

[3] See especially *Enn.* i 6 περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ. Mr Whittaker gives a good account of the aesthetics of Plotinus, *The Neo-Platonists*, p. 88 f.

Erwin Rohde, *Psyche. Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, p. 689 (ed. 1), writes of the recognition of the beautiful by Plotinus:

"Die Welt, diese sichtbare Körperwelt, ist schön, sagt uns Plotin, denn

In the theodicy contained in the first three books of the third *Ennead*—they belong to the philosopher's last period—he argues against those who call the world evil, and blame providence. The Cosmos, he maintains, is governed by rational laws imposed on it by Mind: but in the world of mixture the pure ideals of Mind cannot be fully reproduced. A variety of reasons are adduced to prove this position. The absence of good in one place follows of necessity from its presence in another. Evil is necessary for the cultivation of the good, for were there no evil there would be nothing to call forth and stimulate virtue. Those who speak evil of the world and its government make the mistake of looking at the parts only, when they ought to contemplate the whole, which is good. In this he follows the Stoic tradition, and his theodicy becomes a sort of hymn in praise of Divine necessity; but he adheres to his original view that those who do evil are blameworthy, and will suffer for the wrong they have done.

Augustine's mind and heart alike were taken captive by Platonism as interpreted by Plotinus. How completely he fell under its spell is seen in his Dialogues and in other early writings in which he describes Platonism as an elder sister of Christianity, of the same spirit, only less perfectly instructed[1]. At the time when

sie ist das Werk und Abbild des in ihr nach seiner Wirkung anwesenden höchsten Göttlichen. Ein letzter Sonnenblick des untergehenden Griechensinnes bricht in den Worten hervor, mit denen er den christlich-gnostischen Welthass abweist. Aber im Reiche gestalteter Schönheit mag doch die Seele nicht mehr verweilen. Sie ist sich ihrer Herkunft aus dem Uebersinnlichen, ihrer Göttlichkeit und Ewigkeit so tief bewusst, dass sie, über alles Gestaltete hinaus, nur trachten kann nach dem Einen, das vor der Welt war und ausser ihr besteht."

[1] *c. Academicos*, *de Beata Vita*, *de Ordine* and the *Soliloquia*. He writes, *c. Acad.* iii 18. 41, "Os illud Platonis quod in philosophia purgatissimum est et lucidissimum, dimotis nubibus erroris emicuit, maxime in Plotino." *c. Acad.* iii 20. 43, "Apud Platonicos me interim quod

he wrote the *Confessions*, he no longer held this opinion, but he acknowledges that to Platonism he owed his deliverance from Pantheistic materialism[1]. In his childhood and early youth he had thought of God as in bodily form. This conception appeared to him unworthy when he got older, and he gladly exchanged it for that of the Manichaeans. The change, however, did not bring interior comfort; for now he could only conceive of God as a light-ether diffused through infinite space, whom therefore it was harder to trust and love than the homely God of his childhood. Platonism with its emphatic teaching that spirit is superior to matter, that the human soul has its source and goal in an eternal and unchangeable *One*, dispelled for ever from his mind the sun-fogs of materialistic Pantheism. The account given in the *Confessions* of his illumination

sacris nostris non repugnet reperturum esse confido." *de B. Vit.* 4, "Lectis autem Platonis [five MSS. read Plotini] paucissimis libris, collataque cum eis, quantum potui, etiam illorum auctoritate qui diuina tradiderunt, sic exarsi, ut omnes illas uellem ancoras rumpere, nisi me nonnullorum hominum existimatio commoueret." In *de Vera Religione*, 7—written after his return to Africa—he says, "Si hanc uitam illi uiri nobiscum rursum agere potuissent, uiderent profecto cuius auctoritate facilius consuleretur hominibus, et paucis mutatis uerbis atque sententiis Christiani fierent sicut plerique nostrorum temporum Platonici fecerunt."

[1] Augustine never entirely lost his regard for Platonism, which he often refers to in his writings and which influenced his thinking to the last. *de Ciu. Dei*, viii 5, "Nulli nobis quam isti (Platonici) propius accesserunt." *Ibid.* 9, "In quo autem nobis consentiunt de uno Deo huius uniuersitatis auctore, qui non solum super omnia corpora est incorporeus, uerum etiam super omnes animas incorruptibilis, principium nostrum, lumen nostrum, bonum nostrum, in hoc eos ceteris anteponimus." *de Trin.* xii 15. 24 "Plato ille philosophus nobilis." *de Ciu. Dei*, x 2, "Dicit ergo ille magnus Platonicus (Plotinus)."

Not Christian writers alone but enemies of Christianity have recognised its spiritual affinity with Platonism. F. Nietzsche writes: "In the great fatality of Christianity, Plato is the ambiguity and fascination called the ideal which made it possible for the nobler minds of antiquity to misunderstand themselves, and enter on the bridge which led to the cross."

bears evident traces in language and in thought of the *Enneads.*

"Being by these books admonished to return to myself, I entered into the inner chamber of my soul, guided by Thee, and I was able to do this, because Thou becamest my Helper. I entered, and I beheld with the eye of my soul, above the eye of my soul, and above my mind, the Light that changes not. It was not the common light visible to all flesh....Nor was it above my mind as oil is above water, or heaven above earth, but it was superior because it made me, and I inferior because made by it. He who knows the truth knows it, and he who knows it, knows eternity. Love knows it[1]." Again "I awoke in Thee and found Thee infinite, yet not in the manner I had thought; and this vision came not from the flesh....I marvelled to find that I loved Thee, and not a phantom instead of Thee. I could not remain at rest to enjoy my God, but I was wafted up to Thee by Thy beauty, and immediately torn away from Thee by my own weight, and rushed back with a groan to base things; and the weight which bore me down was carnal habit[2]."

The emancipation of Augustine by the Platonists was however only intellectual and emotional; in the moral sphere Platonism failed him. He likens the Platonists in the *Confessions* to those who see the end of a journey, but are ignorant of the way thither[3]. In another work written about the same time, he speaks of them as men who, having had a distant vision of a fair Fatherland beyond a sea, are nevertheless too proud to embark on the humble raft which would bear them to its shores[4].

[1] *Conf.* vii 16. [2] *Conf.* vii 23. [3] *Conf.* vii 27.
[4] *de Trin.* iv 15. 20.

"Neo-Platonism sought to solve the problem of the world by a double

Augustine's difficulty was not now, as formerly, to find a God Whom he could love and honour, but to render himself worthy of fellowship with the God Who, he knew, deserved his reverence and his love.

Light came to him, as to Luther, through the writings of St Paul, where in the seventh chapter of Romans he read of an experience which he recognised as identical with his own[1]. He also read in Paul of Grace, of which the Platonists had made no mention, and of a Deliverer from sin. This was likewise new to him, for hitherto he had thought of Christ only as the wisest of teachers[2].

Thus the path of freedom and safety seemed to lie open before him. But a final obstacle arose through

movement; first by starving out the passions by asceticism, and then rising through this asceticism by contemplation to the ecstatic vision of the Supreme One. But as this could be done only by killing out the natural instincts instead of yoking them in the service of virtue, the difficulty was solved only in the sense in which death solves the difficulties of life; and the ecstatic vision even when attained could give, as Augustine found, no steady and abiding support to the human spirit in its single-handed conflict with the world. The consequence was that when Christianity appeared, and reinforced the human soul in its conflict with sin by a power not its own, Stoicism and Neo-Platonism alike, and all other systems which depended on the unaided strength of the individual soul, had to go down before it." J. B. Crozier *History of Intellectual Development*.

[1] It is interesting to remember that it was in Augustine's treatise *de Spiritu et Littera* that Luther found the words (Rom. iii 21, 22) which brought comfort to his spirit. Of this reading of St Paul, Augustine gives a graphic account in another work, *c. Acad.* ii 2. 5, "Itaque titubans, properans, haesitans arripio apostolum Paulum...Perlegi totum intentissime atque cautissime."

[2] *Conf.* vii 24, "Ego uero aliud putabam tantumque sentiebam de domino Christo meo, quantum de excellentis sapientiae uiro, cui nullus posset aequari." These words may mean that he had adopted this view of Christ from the Manichaeans. He could hardly have been ignorant that Catholic Christians regarded Christ in a different light. The sermons of Ambrose and the controversies he had with the Catholics in his Manichaean days would have enlightened him on this point.

his own reluctance to make a complete break with his sinful past. It is a *locus classicus* in the history of Christian theology, this description in the *Confessions* of the strife between his old and his new will, and of the victory of the former, which left him a prey to moral despair, like a slave in chains. The recollection of this experience coloured all Augustine's subsequent thinking with regard to sin, free-will and grace, and made him in old age the protagonist in the Pelagian controversy.

VI.

The *Confessions* furnish a memorable illustration of the power of ascetical religion in the fourth century. It was the example of two young officials and their brides, whose story he learned from the lips of Pontitianus, that did for Augustine what the sermons of Ambrose and the Epistles of St Paul had failed to accomplish. "He permitted himself," writes Professor Loofs, "to be shamed into chastity by monasticism." The sneer is not deserved. The poignant shame which flooded Augustine's heart, when he contrasted the sacrifices of the young and inexperienced with his own career of self-indulgence, was entirely honourable to him. He never doubted, nor would any of his contemporaries have doubted, that the sacrifices were pleasing in the sight of God. Asceticism was everywhere in the ascendant; in the schools of philosophy, in the assemblies of heretics, and within the Church. Even those who did not submit to its restraints, acknowledged that celibacy was the highest, indeed the only perfect form of life. There was at the time so little difference in morals between the Church and the world,

that those who were in earnest about religion were inevitably attracted to a form of piety which bore upon its face the stamp of reality. All the Fathers of the Church were more or less imbued with the spirit of this cloistral piety. Augustine continued to pay homage to the ascetical religion which was his helper in the moral crisis of his life. On his return to his native Thagaste, his habit and manner of life proclaimed that henceforth he was to be separate from the society in which he had formerly moved[1]. When he went to Hippo he lived in what he speaks of as a monastery, neither he nor those who dwelt with him having anything that they called their own. As Bishop of Hippo he encouraged the growth of religious houses within his diocese[2].

The asceticism of Augustine however was humane and moderate as compared with that of some of his contemporaries. This was not altogether due to the circumstance that he was a man of education and culture; for ascetics of the strictest order have not unfrequently been men of high cultivation. But Augustine had at least a glimpse of the truth that ordinary human life may be so lived as to have a real, if an imperfect, relation to the life of heaven[3]. He likewise recognised that there was a danger of the solitary deserting the

[1] *Vit. auctore Possidio* iii "Ferme triennio,...a se iam alienatis curis saecularibus, cum iis qui eidem adhaerebant, Deo uiuebat, ieiuniis, orationibus, bonisque operibus, in lege Domini meditans die et nocte."

[2] See his Ep. to the nuns, *Ep.* ccxi. A number of religious communities arose in later times which called themselves after his name. Among these were the Canons Regular of St Augustine, founded about the middle of the 11th century; the Hermits of St Augustine or Begging Friars, founded by Pope Innocent in the 13th century. These communities had however no historical connexion with Augustine, and the *Regula Augustini* is the work of a later hand, although it contains extracts from his writings.

[3] "Ita nos uiuere oportere censemus in hac uita mortali, ut uitae immortali quodammodo coaptemur." *Ep.* xcv 2, *Paulino et Therasiae.*

duties which he owed to his fellow-men[1]. He did not therefore, like Jerome, flee into the wilderness after his conversion, although at one time the idea occurred to him. "Affrighted by my sins," he writes, "and the burden of wretchedness, I had thought and purposed to flee into the wilderness, but Thou forbadest me, saying, 'Therefore Christ died for all, that they which live may no longer live unto themselves, but unto Him that died for them[2]'."

Instead of burying himself in the wilderness Augustine retired after his conversion to a pleasant country house, where he divided his time between preparation for baptism, and literary and philosophical studies, in which he manifested undiminished interest.

The conventional language of monastic piety is of frequent occurrence in the writings of Augustine. He often complains of the misery of human life, and longs for deliverance from it, and for the joys of Paradise[3]. This language is the genuine expression of one side of his versatile nature; for his unresting spirit was constantly thirsting after higher spiritual attainments, and he felt at times wearied with the warfare against sin within and without. But another current of feeling also runs through his writings—sympathy with men as men, and an interest in the concerns of work-a-day life. This is especially seen in his voluminous correspondence, which is an important source for the social history of the fifth century[4].

[1] *Serm.* cccIv 2, "Perueni ad episcopatum: uidi necesse habere episcopum exhibere humanitatem assiduam quibusque uenientibus siue transeuntibus; quod si non fecisset episcopus inhumanus diceretur."

[2] *Conf.* x 70.

[3] *de Trin.* xiii 8. 11, *Ep.* lv 17. *de Ciu. Dei.* xix 10. *Enarr. in Ps.* cxviii, Serm. 19. 2.

[4] See the fine sketch of Augustine in Kingsley's *Hypatia.*

It is the custom to date the conversion of Augustine from that day in the late summer or early autumn of the year 386 when in the garden at Milan he heard the voice saying to him, "Take and read[1]." In recording the incident Augustine does not make use of the term conversion, though it occurs once or twice in the later books of the *Confessions*[2]. He had already experienced a spiritual change which must be reckoned as an important factor in his conversion, if the word conversion is employed in its more comprehensive sense. But the incident unquestionably marks a great dividing line in Augustine's spiritual history. Hitherto God had spoken to him by His Word, or by the words of others. Now, as Augustine believed, he received a direct call, like Abraham and St Paul[3]. And Augustine, on his part, now accepted Christianity, not only as a doctrine, which he had already done, but as a personal way of life; and until aspiration passes into practice, conversion cannot be said to have reached completion[4]. On the occasion of

[1] *Conf.* viii 29, "Tolle lege, tolle lege."

[2] In his other writings he frequently uses the word. Cf. *de Ord.* i 8. 23, *Serm.* ccclxviii 3. The following passage looks like a reminiscence of his own experience. *Enarr. in Ps.* vi 5, "*Conuertere, Domine, et erue animam meam.* Dum autem nos conuertimus, id est, mutatione ueteris uitae resculpimus spiritum nostrum, durum sentimus et laboriosum ad serenitatem et tranquillitatem diuinae lucis a terrenarum cupiditatum caligine retorqueri. Et in tali difficultate dicimus: Conuertere, Domine, id est, adiuua nos ut perficiatur in nobis *conuersio*...." Referring to the words *erue animam meam*, he says that the soul is pictured as lying amid the cares of the world and lacerated by the thorns of desire even while in the process of conversion: "spinas...desideriorum in ipsa conuersione patientem."

[3] We cannot feel sure whether Augustine regarded the voice as supernatural, or the voice of a child which God made use of to address the call to his servant. He certainly regarded the voice as the vehicle of God's message.

[4] The earliest name of the Christian religion was *The Way*. Acts xviii 25, 26; xix 9, 23; xxii 4; xxiv 14, 22.

his baptism, which took place at the hands of Ambrose during Eastertide, 387, Augustine experienced a fresh consecration, and was filled with spiritual joy and comfort by joining in the services of the Church[1].

In after years Augustine was a strenuous defender of the Church, of its doctrines, its ministry, its sacraments, and worship. Some of his arguments do not carry conviction at the present day; for no class of religious literature fades so soon as apologetics. But it will be observed that before he set himself to the task of offering arguments in their defence, addressed to the intellect, he had experienced the spiritual power of the Church as well as of the Scriptures. His testimony in the *Confessions* to the power of both is an abiding possession even to those whom his arguments fail to convince[2].

VII.

The Dialogues *Contra Academicos*, *De Beata Vita* and *De Ordine*, together with the *Soliloquia*, supply a missing chapter to the *Confessions*. They were written

[1] Regarding his baptism he writes (*Conf.* ix 14): "Fugit a nobis sollicitudo uitae praeteritae." Of the Church Services he writes (*Conf.* ix 14): "Nec satiabar in illis diebus dulcitudine mirabili, considerare altitudinem consilii tui super salute generis humani, quantum fleui in hymnis et canticis tuis suaue sonantis ecclesiae tuae uocibus commotus acriter! Voces illae influebant auribus meis et eliquabatur ueritas in cor meum et exaestuabat inde affectus pietatis et currebant lacrimae, et bene mihi erat cum eis."

[2] "Die Dogmengeschichte ist gar nicht die Geschichte des wirklichen religiösen Glaubens, welcher als selbsterlebter die Gemeinde beseligt hat. Diesen, gerade das Herrlichste in allen christlichen Weltaltern, wird keine noch so gesteigerte wissenschaftliche Forschung jemals ergründen können. Denn die Quellen, aus denen allein für diesen Zweck geschöpft werden könnte, die Herzkammern des inneren Menschen, sind der Natur der Dinge nach nicht zu erschliessen." Hermann Reuter *Augustinische Studien* p. 34, n. 1.

at Cassiciacum, the country house to which Augustine retired after resigning his professorship of Rhetoric in Milan. The first three consist of philosophical conversations between Augustine and a number of friends who had followed him to his retreat. The conversations were taken down by a shorthand writer; and were intended, one may conjecture, to serve as a farewell legacy to friends and pupils in Milan and elsewhere. Mention is made of them in the *Confessions*, but in a tone of depreciation. At the time they were written, Augustine says, his pen was already enlisted in the service of God, but his style still breathed the pride of the Schools. While the philosophical conversations at Cassiciacum are thus curtly and contemptuously dismissed, he dwells with affectionate remembrance on the devotional life he led there when preparing for baptism. He spent much time in prayer and in reading the Scriptures, especially the Psalms of David, and the Epistles of St Paul. Sorrow for sin and joy in God alternated in his heart[1]. In the *Confessions* a hint is given that he was in the company of friends, but only Monnica and Alypius are named[2].

A very different scene meets us in the Dialogues. Augustine is surrounded by a group of friends, including, besides his mother and Alypius, his son Adeodatus, his brother Navigius, two nephews of Monnica, and his pupils Trygetius and Licentius[3]. Augustine superintended the studies of his pupils, reading Vergil with them; and Licentius, the genius of the party, composed Latin verses for the amusement of the others[4]. The chief

[1] *Conf.* ix 10, "Mactans uetustatem meam, et inchoata meditatione renouationis meae sperans in te."

[2] *Conf.* ix 7, "Profectus in uillam cum meis omnibus."

[3] *de B. Vit.* i 6.

[4] *de Ord.* i 8. 26. *c. Acad.* ii 4. 10; iii 1. 1; iii 4. 7. *de Ord.* i 3. 8.

interest however of the friends lay in Philosophy. In the open air[1] or, when the weather was unfavourable, in the Bath Room[2] they discussed the philosophical questions debated in the Schools of the period. A joyous high-spirited company, the debating was conducted with animation, not without mirthful interludes. A comparison has been instituted between them and Cicero with his philosophical friends in the shades of Tusculum. But they were so youthful and exuberant that an apter comparison would be a Reading Party from an English University under the leadership of a sympathetic tutor. Augustine displayed as keen an interest in the discussions as the youngest there. He encouraged Licentius and Trygetius to take opposite sides, allowing perfect freedom of discussion as long as it remained good-humoured; nor was he shocked when his favourite Licentius maintained—anticipating a famous saying of Lessing—that pure truth is for God alone, or, if for man, only after he has left the bodily prison-house. Scripture is rarely quoted[3], but the names and opinions of the philosophers of antiquity occur in every page. Philosophy is praised by Augustine himself in language which recalls Cicero[4]. When Monnica demurs to these

[1] *de Ord.* ii 1. 1, "Exorto sole clarissimo, inuitauit caeli nitor, et quantum in illis locis hieme poterat, blanda temperies in pratum descendere, quo saepius et familiarius utebamur." *c. Acad.* ii 11. 9.

[2] *de Ord.* ii 6. 19, "At ubi refecimus corpora, quoniam caelum obduxerat nubes, solito loco in balneo consedimus."

[3] There are however allusions to or quotations from Scripture in the following passages: *c. Acad.* ii 3. 9 (Matt. vii 7); *de B. Vit.* 34 (John xiv 6); *de Ord.* i 11. 32; *Soliloq.* i 3 (1 Cor. xv 54, Matt. vii 8, John vi 35, xvi 8, Gal. iv 9).

[4] In dedicating the second book of *c. Acad.* to Romanianus he writes: "Nam cum praesens praesenti tibi exposuissem interiores motus animi mei, uehementerque ac saepius assererem, nullam mihi uideri prosperam fortunam, nisi quae otium philosophandi daret; nullam beatam uitam, nisi qua in philosophia uiueretur."

praises of philosophy, her son informs her that Philosophy is the Greek name for *Amor Sapientiae.* To despise Philosophy therefore is to slight that Wisdom of which St Paul so often speaks[1].

The contrast between Augustine of the *Confessions*, a stricken penitent, and Augustine of the Dialogues, the genial leader of philosophic debates, is so startling that some recent writers have come to the conclusion that one or other source must be rejected as unhistorical. The Dialogues being contemporary, a preference is given to them. When he wrote the *Confessions*, it is alleged, Augustine had passed out of the phase of thought and feeling represented by the Dialogues. In part unconsciously, in part by design, for he wrote for edification, he produced a transformation scene, and described himself not as he really was at Cassiciacum, but as he ought to have been; for at Cassiciacum he was not a Christian at all, but a Neo-Platonic philosopher whose morals had been reformed by Philosophy[2].

This view in its extreme form deprives the *Confes-*

[1] *de Ord.* i 11. 32.

[2] M. Gourdon, the most extreme representative of this view, thus summarises his conclusions:

"1. Augustin abandonne ses fonctions publiques de professeur, et se rend à la villa de Cassiciacum pour y rétablir sa santé.

"2. Dominé par des souvenirs classiques, il profite de ses loisirs et de la société de quelques disciples et amis, pour imiter, en leur genre de vie, quelques illustres maîtres de l'antiquité.

"3. Il ne rompt pas avec sa vie passée; il se nourrit encore de littérature, de poésie et de philosophie; il conserve les mêmes goûts et les mêmes besoins profanes.

"4. Il vit dans la chasteté.

"5. Il embrasse la philosophie néo-platonicienne.

Quelle a donc été la conversion de Saint Augustin, d'après les écrits contemporains de cette conversion? Si l'on nous presse de répondre, nous dirons: Augustin, en 386, s'est converti: (i) au neo-platonisme, (ii) aux bonnes mœurs." (*Essai sur la Conversion de Saint Augustin, par Louis Gourdon.*)

sions of all value as a history of Augustine's religious development. It can however be refuted from the Dialogues themselves. It must be remembered that Augustine admits, as has been already pointed out, that the writer of the *Confessions* was not in complete harmony either in spirit or in opinions with the interlocutor and author of the Dialogues. But to affirm that Augustine was not a Christian but a Neo-Platonist when he wrote the Dialogues, is in direct contradiction to words of his own, in which he avows himself to be a Christian believer in unambiguous language[1]. But Augustine was at this period of opinion that only unimportant differences separated Neo-Platonism and Christianity. He did not therefore scruple to clothe his thoughts in the language of Neo-Platonism rather than in scriptural language with which he was less familiar. Another circumstance may have led him to speak of Christianity in Neo-Platonic language. The young men to whom he addressed his words, were devoted to philosophy, but some of them appear to have cared little if at all for Christianity[2]. Augustine, mindful of his own experi-

[1] *c. Acad.* iii 20. 43 "Mihi certum est nusquam prorsus a Christi auctoritate discedere: non enim reperio ualentiorem."

[2] Licentius, who takes a leading part in the Dialogues, was the son of Romanianus, a native of Thagaste, the friend and benefactor of Augustine. Licentius appears to have led a wild life for some time; he was reformed by means of philosophy, to which he was ardently devoted. Some years afterwards Augustine wrote him a letter of advice and remonstrance, for he had received unfavourable reports regarding his conduct. Licentius had sent him a long poem after they left Cassiciacum, inscribed to his "Preceptor Augustine," in which he recalled the days they spent together in Italy amid lofty mountains, enjoying noble leisure and the fair possessions of the good. He adds that Augustine has only to speak the word, and he will follow him through cold, storm, and tempest, for nothing will deter him. Augustine quotes the poem in his own letter, and begs Licentius to fulfil his promise, and to follow him in following Christ. "Give yourself to my Lord, who is the Lord of us all. For what am I, but your servant for His sake, and your fellow-servant under Him?" (*Ep.* xxvi.)

ences, hoped to lead them to the truth by the pleasant paths of Platonism. If, as we have conjectured, the Dialogues were intended for the perusal of old friends and pupils in Milan and elsewhere, it would be his earnest wish to make it plain to them that although he had become a disciple of Christ he had not ceased to be a lover of the philosophy they had studied together. As he was at the time only a catechumen and himself imperfectly instructed in the Christian Faith he may have felt reluctant to assume the office of a Christian teacher. It is improbable that he spoke to his younger companions of the spiritual crisis through which he had recently passed. They were too unripe to understand it, and he might have been reluctant to talk to young men of the errors of his former life. The time had not yet come when he was willing to unveil his entire past to the gaze of all.

There are however indications in the Dialogues that devotion and spiritual exercises had their place in Augustine's life at Cassiciacum. He seems to have led a double life there—a life of philosophical discussion in which his companions shared—a life of devotion in which they had no part. He spent many hours of the night in silent meditation, and those who occupied the same room with him were not expected to disturb him when so engaged[1]. When left alone he often wept, and prayed, and with much earnestness[2]. Here we have at least a glimpse of the devotional life which is more fully described in the *Confessions*.

[1] *de Ord.* i 3. 6.

[2] *de Ord.* i 8. 22, "Interea post paululum dies se aperuit; surrexerunt illi, et ego inlacrimans multa oraui." *Ibid.* 25, "Deinde ego quoque surrexi, redditisque Deo quotidianis uotis...." *Ibid.* 10. 29, "Paene quotidianis fletibus Deum rogans." *Ep.* iii 4, "Haec mihi dixi, deinde oraui, ut solebam, atque dormiui."

Those who maintain that the narrative of the *Confessions* cannot be harmonised with the description given in the Dialogues of Augustine's life at Cassiciacum, make the assumption that Augustine's life must have been wholly one of philosophical discussion, or wholly a life of devotion. This assumption is untrue to human nature, and also to Christian experience. After the spiritual crisis was past, many of his old interests would naturally revive, especially his interest in philosophy, which had been his helper on the path to faith. He believed also that it would aid him to a fuller understanding of what he had already believed. Even at this early period, however, he was sometimes visited with misgivings regarding his exceeding fondness for speculations about the objects of faith. Either at this time or a little later, he wrote to his friend Nebridius: "When, after calling upon God for aid, I begin to rise to Him, and to those things which are real in the highest sense, I enjoy at times such a vivid realisation of things that abide, that I am surprised that I should require any process of ratiocination in order to persuade myself of the reality of things as truly present to me, as I am to myself[1]."

It cannot be denied that the *Confessions* give a one-sided account of Augustine's manner of life at Cassiciacum. Those who desire to have a complete narrative of his transition through Platonism to Christianity, must supplement the *Confessions* by the Dialogues. But it was with no purpose to mislead, that Augustine touched so lightly in the *Confessions* upon his philosophical studies; he had come to regard them as of little value, at all events for his readers. He did not write the *Confessions* to supply materials for historians of religious thought. He wrote them for the simple Christian folk among whom his lot was cast.

[1] *Ep.* iv 2.

VIII.

The theology whose beginnings we observe in the *Confessions* has entered into the very life-blood of Western Christendom. Gregory the Great, the most influential of the later Fathers, derived his theology from Augustine alone[1]. During the Middle Ages he was the acknowledged Master of the Schoolmen, and also of the Mystics; for he was one of those rare natures in whom the logical and the intuitional faculties are present in an almost equal degree. The founder of Scholasticism, Anselm, claimed Augustine as his chief teacher[2]. The Schoolmen continued to appeal to him, although the quaint maxim, *Augustinus eget Thoma interprete*, shows that some of his larger utterances did not quite gain the approval of logicians of the Schools. On the other hand the greatest of the Church Mystics, Hugo of St Victor, received the title *Alter Augustinus* from his admirers. Augustine was also recognised as their Master by the Teutonic Mystics, although he would hardly have known his own thoughts as transformed by them. More remarkable however is the position of Augustine in the sixteenth century and afterwards; for rarely since the Reformation have the theologians of the two great

[1] The influence of Gregory the Great on the Middle Ages was scarcely if at all inferior to that of Augustine himself; but in Theology Gregory was Augustine's pupil. Mr Dudden writes: "Gregory's debt to the great African was enormous; perhaps there never has been an author who owed more to the writings of another....There is indeed no portion of Gregory's work where Augustinian influence is not traceable; while there are many portions which, even to the wording, are taken directly from the books of the Bishop of Hippo." (*Gregory the Great*, by F. Holmes Dudden, ii 294.)

[2] "Nihil potui inuenire me dixisse, quod non catholicorum Patrum et maxime B. Augustini scriptis cohaereat." *Monologium* Praef.

communions agreed to acknowledge the authority of any one teacher. But the theologians of Trent on the one hand, Melanchthon and Calvin on the other, appeal with equal confidence and give equal honour to Augustine. The same custom has prevailed among divergent schools of thought within the Churches. Bossuet and Fénelon, Milner and Pusey, forget their differences in the presence of Augustine. The inconsistencies, real or apparent, of Augustine's thought account in some measure for the homage rendered to him by theologians of opposite schools. But it was also due, and in greater measure, to the reconciling power of his fervid piety, and to his insight into the very heart of religious questions —an insight which often enabled him to soar into regions in which the antinomies of logical thought are harmonised.

Many attempts have been made to place the *Confessions* under a literary sign, as belonging to a special class of kindred works. They have been compared with the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, with Cyprian's narrative of his conversion in the letter to Donatus, with Hilary of Poitiers' account of his former life in his treatise on the Trinity, and with the *Eucharisticos Deo* of Paulinus of Nola. Others have found parallels for them in modern literature, in the Confessions of Rousseau, in the autobiography of Hamann, and even in *La Confession d'un enfant du Siècle* of Alfred de Musset. Harnack thinks that the Augustine of the *Confessions* recalls the Faust of Goethe[1]. There are points of similarity both in character and in career. The boundless curiosity of intellectual search, the insatiable longings for gratification of the senses and of the spirit,

[1] *Augustins Konfessionen* (*Reden und Aufsätze* I iii 63).

are common to both. In the end both are delivered from the fever of unrest, and find satisfaction in practical work for the good of men. But there is much unlikeness. The complete absence of repentance in Faust does not recall Augustine; nor would Augustine have recognised as the cause of his salvation his own strivings after good[1]. It seems best to leave the *Confessions* in a separate category of their own, and not to attempt to bring them into relation to works of a different age, and of a different spirit.

"Gerettet ist das edle Glied
Der Geisterwelt vom Bösen;
Wer immer strebend sich bemüht,
Den können wir erlösen."

Faust, Zweiter Theil, Fausts Himmelfahrt.

TABLE OF DATES

(DOWN TO THE WRITING OF THE CONFESSIONS).

354.	A. born at Thagaste, 13th Nov. (*de B. Vita*, 6; Possid. *Vit. Aug.* xxxi; Prosper Aquitan. *Chronicon*).
369—370.	Returning from Madaura, where he had been at school—how long is not stated—he spent a year in idleness while his father (Patricius) was endeavouring to raise funds to send him to Carthage for further study; and fell into evil ways (*Conf.* ii 5—8).
370.	Went to Carthage (*Conf.* iii 1); distinguished himself in the rhetorical school (iii 6).
c. 371.	Patricius died. A. was supported by his mother with the aid of a wealthy friend, Romanianus (*Conf.* iii 7; *c. Acad.* ii 2—3).
373.	By reading the *Hortensius* of Cicero A. was inspired with the desire for a higher life. Began to study the Scriptures, but was repelled by their plainness of style (*Conf.* iii 7—9; vi 18).
374.	Became a Manichaean "Auditor" (*Conf.* v 10 compared with v 3).
375.	Taught as a "Grammaticus" at Thagaste (*Conf.* iv 7).
376.	Returned to Carthage and taught Rhetoric there (*Conf.* iv 12; *c. Acad.* ii 2, 3).
c. 380.	Wrote a treatise *de Pulchro et Apto* (lost), *Conf.* iv 20, 27.
383.	Beginning to feel the difficulties of the Manichaean system, and gaining no help from Faustus, a celebrated Manichaean teacher, A. inclined to accept the doctrines of the New Academy (*Conf.* v 10—12, 19; *de Util. Cred.* viii 20).

? End 383. Went to Rome (*Conf.* v 14).

384. Appointed Public Teacher of Rhetoric at Milan (v 23). Monnica joined him there (vi 1).

385. Pronounced a panegyric on Bauto at the commencement of his Consulship (*c. Litt. Petil.* iii 25. 30).

385—6. Studied some Neo-Platonist works, which freed his mind from materialistic conceptions of God and relieved his difficulties about the origin of evil (*Conf.* vii 13—26). Began to study the Pauline Epistles (vii 27).

386. (The Empress Justina's demand of a Church for the Arians resisted by Ambrose. A. witnessed the popular excitement, ix 15.) Relieved from his intellectual difficulties A. felt himself still fettered by the temptations of the flesh (viii 13). At length the inner struggle issued in his conversion (end July or beginning of August) (*Conf.* viii 29, cf. ix 2).

386—7. A. in retirement at Cassiciacum. Wrote: *c. Acad.; de B. Vita; de Ordine; Soliloquia.*

387. A. returned to Milan. Wrote *de Immort. Animae* and began *de Musica* (*Retract.* i 5, 6). Baptized by Ambrose (*Conf.* ix 14; *c. Iul. Pel.* i 3. 10) at Easter (Possid. *Vit. Aug.* i). Set out for Africa with Monnica; who died at Ostia. After her death A. returned to Rome (ix 23—27).

387—8. Wrote, at Rome: *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.; de Mor. Manich.; de Quant. Animae; de Lib. Arb.* (Bk i, the remaining two books later, in Africa) (*Retract.* i 7. 1; 8. 1; 9. 1).

388. "After the death of Maximus" (*c. Litt. Petil.* iii 25. 30), *i.e.* in July or August, A. returned to Africa.

388—91. Having sold his property at Thagaste, A. lived a monastic life in company with a few friends (Possid. *Vit. Aug.* iii; Aug. *Ep.* cxxvi 7; clvii 39). Wrote: *de Gen. c. Manich.; de Musica; de Magistro; de Vera Rel.*, and began *de Diu. Quaest.* lxxxiii (*Retract.* i 10—13, 26).

391. Ordained presbyter at Hippo (Possid. *Vit. Aug.* iv; Aug. *Serm.* ccclv 2).

391—2.	Founded a monastery at Hippo (Possid. v; *Serm.* cccIv 2). Wrote: *de Util. Cred.; de Duab. Anim. c. Manich.* (*Retract.* i 14, 15).
392.	Held a public disputation with Fortunatus, a Manichaean (*Retract.* i 16).
393.	Council at Hippo. A., by invitation of the assembled Bishops, delivered a dissertation *de Fide et Symbolo* (*Retract.* i 17).
393—5.	Wrote: *de Gen. ad Lit. Imperf.; de Sermone Domini; Psalmus c. partem Donati; c. Adimant.; Exposit. quarund. proposit. ex Ep. ad Rom.; Exposit. Ep. ad Galat.; Ep. ad Rom. inchoat. Exposit.; de Diu. Quaest.* 83; *de Mendacio* (*Retract.* i 18—27); finished *de Lib. Arb.* (*Retract.* i 9).
395.	A. ordained "Coepiscopus" (*Ep.* cccxxii; Possid. viii).
c. 396.	The Bishop, Valerius, died. A. sole Bishop.
397—400.	Wrote: *de Diu. Quaest. ad Simplic.; c. Ep. Fundament. Manich.; de Agone Christi; de Doct. Christ.* (part of third, and fourth books); *c. Partem Donat.* (not extant); *Confessionum Libri Tredecim* (*Retract.* ii 1—6).

The following books may be found useful for reference:

C. Bindemann, *Der hl. Augustinus*, Berlin, 1844—69.

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Of A.'s complete works the most convenient edition is the reprint of the Benedictine issued by Gaume Frères, Paris, 1836, or that in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. There is an English translation of all the more important treatises, *The Works of Aurelius Augustinus*, edited by Marcus Dods, D.D., Edin. 1871—6.

SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

1. The editio princeps of A.'s works was by Amerbach (Basle, 1506). The text of the *Confessions* was based on the inferior and closely related MSS. B P Q (see list of MSS. below).

2. The edition of the Theologians of Louvain (Antwerp, 1577) corrected Amerbach with the aid of a small number of MSS. of Flemish origin (Kukula: *Die Mauriner Ausgabe des Aug.* p. 25, note, *Proceedings* of the Vienna Acad. (Philos.-Hist. Class.), Vol. 120).

Sixtus V. (1585—1590) projected an edition of Aug. on the basis of the Vatican MSS. Preparations were begun, but the work was never completed. The collations which were made with a view to it were used by the Benedictine editors (Urba: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Augustinischen Textkritik*, *Proceedings* of the Vienna Acad., 1889).

3. Of the Benedictine edition (Paris, Tom. I. 1679) an elaborate history has been given by Dr R. C. Kukula in a series of dissertations which appear in the *Proceedings* of the Vienna Acad. for 1890, 1892 and 1897 (Vols. 121, 122, 127, 128).

Great preparations were made for this edition, and MSS. were sought from abroad as well as from all over France (Professors Bernard and Waller supplied a list of vv. ll. from the Oxford MSS.), but the value of the apparatus is much diminished by the impossibility of ascertaining, in many cases, whether the collations were made by competent scholars or by untrained assistants in the provinces. The best MSS., however, were sent to Paris, and the actual work of editing was done by some of the foremost scholars of the day. Moreover in one respect they had an advantage over modern editors, since, in Dr Kukula's opinion, "there is not the slightest doubt that they had at their disposal old and good French MSS. which have since been lost," so that though the work suffered

"from over subdivision and not seldom from haste" its value is very considerable.

4. The edition which Dr Pusey prepared for the Oxford *Bibliotheca Patrum* (Parker, Oxford, 1838) follows in the main Migne's reprint of the Benedictine ed. (which differs in some respects from its original—Knöll, Praef. xxxiv), but three MSS. from the libraries of Merton and Brasenose were carefully collated by Pusey and his assistants, and two in the Bodleian were inspected and referred to (Pusey, Praef. ix).

5. The edition of the Vienna Academy—*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*, Vol. xxxiii, Sect. 1, Pars 1, Vienna, 1896. Ed. P. Knöll (editio minor, by the same editor, Teubner, Leipzig, 1898, with some alterations).

In this edition, now accepted as authoritative, Knöll confined his attention to MSS. of the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, with two of the eleventh century—fourteen MSS. in all. On the ground of certain corruptions which are common to all these[1], Knöll holds that they are all derived from a single archetype —an uncial MS. of the fifth or sixth century. Of this archetype the best representative appears to be Codex Sessorianus, a semi-uncial MS. of the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, which has escaped certain corruptions and interpolations common to the rest, and accordingly Knöll uses this MS. as his primary authority. His own words are: "Omnium codicum mss. antiquissimus et optimus est codex Sessorianus, quippe qui minime corruptelis atque interpolationibus temptatus sit. illum igitur tanquam optimum ducem in recensendo atque emendando scriptore ubique religiose secutus sum" (Praef. xxxii).

This MS., preserved in the Bibliotheca Sessoriana at Rome up to 1870, is now n. 2099 in the Library Vittorio Emmanuele. It consists of 200 folios, of which the *Conf.* occupy fol. 1^{v} to 70^{v}, the remainder containing other writings of A., of Ambrose, Jerome, Cassian and others. It has been twice corrected, the corrections being distinguished by darker and lighter inks. Both, in Knöll's opinion, represent collations with the MS. from which it was copied (Praef. vii, viii). In spite of its general excellence S is not, Knöll regretfully admits, perfect; its faults are a tendency

[1] *E.g.* terram per eos i 18, Knöll potius; popilios etc. viii 3, Knöll prodigia; per praepositos ix 18, Knöll per reprobas; pulchras narrationes xii 38, Knöll uariationes.

to omission and, less markedly, to dittography. Knöll thus enunciates, *Praef.* ix, the principle which he has followed in dealing with it: "Wherever words read in other MSS. are lacking in S, and do not appear to have fallen out owing to homoeoteleuton, I have considered them to be interpolations in the other MSS." It is to be noted, however, that some of these omissions are restored in the Editio Minor.

The other MSS. are thus characterised by Knöll:

O Cod. Parisinus n. 1911, formerly Obrechtinus.
Has been so drastically corrected by a second and third hand that the original writing is often obscured. The readings which are due to the first hand often agree with S, but its authority is in general much weakened by the interpolations of the correctors.

C Cod. Parisinus n. 1913, formerly Colbertinus, ninth century, though written "non negligenter" is much interpolated and shows a tendency to correct Old Latin Scriptural quotations by the Vulgate text.

P Cod. Parisinus n. 1912, formerly Bethunianus n. 4004, ninth century. The oldest of a "family" of MSS. P B Q distinguished by their common interpolations.

H Parisinus n. 12224, formerly Sangermanensis n. 736, ninth century. Cited as Corbeiensis by the Benedictine editors, who made it their primary authority. The scribe shows a tendency to receive marginal or interlinear glosses into the text, and to correct A.'s Scriptural quotations by the Vulgate.

G Cod. Parisinus n. 12193, formerly Sangermanensis n. 757, ninth century. Cited by the Benedictine editors under the title Germanensis. "Of scarcely any value for the restoration of the text."

F Cod. Parisinus n. 10862, formerly Sangermanensis. Not all of the same period but mainly of the ninth century. The most carelessly written of all the MSS. of the *Conf.*, abounding with errors of every kind, but containing some indications of being derived from a good archetype.

M Cod. Monacensis n. 14350, tenth century.
Belongs to the same interpolated family as B P Q, and is of very little value.

B Cod. Bambergensis n. B. 23 (Jaeck n. 97), tenth century.
Belongs to the P group, and is of very little value.

V Vaticanus n. 5756, tenth century. Badly written and from a faulty archetype.

W Vindobonensis n. 712 lat., eleventh century. It is of importance in that, especially in the earlier books, it often agrees with Sessorianus against the rest of the MSS.

Q Cheltenhamensis n. 1678, eleventh century. Copied from P or a MS. closely resembling P, and of no value whatever.

D Parisinus n. 1913 A, formerly Colbertinus 3275, Reg. 4004, tenth century. Closely connected with C. Only partially collated (as being of no value).

E Parisinus n. 12191, formerly Sangermanensis, tenth—eleventh centuries. Cited by the Benedictine edd. under the title Fossatensis. Closely connected with G. Only partially collated.

Through the courtesy of the Vienna Academy (Philosophisch-Historische Klasse) the text edited by Herr Knöll for their Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum has been used for the present edition. The comparatively few cases in which the text is uncertain, or the variants of special interest, have been discussed in the notes.

S. AURELI AUGUSTINI

CONFESSIONUM

LIBRI TREDECIM.

LIBER PRIMUS.

1 I. Magnus es, domine, et laudabilis ualde: magna uirtus tua et sapientiae tuae non est numerus. et laudare te uult

Title. **Confessionum**] 'Confessio,' in A.'s use, has a wider meaning than the English 'confession,' including ascriptions of praise as well as acknowledgment of sin. Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* cxliv § 13 'confessio enim non peccatorum tantum dicitur sed et laudis.' In the Lat. vss. of the O.T. 'confessio' (like the LXX ἐξομολόγησις) is almost restricted to the meaning 'praise,' but the usage was not current in ordinary speech, for A. mentions, after giving the above definition, that his hearers were apt to misunderstand the word, and to 'beat their breasts' whenever it occurred in the reading of the Scriptures. That he intends here to adopt the Scriptural usage is evidenced by his description in *Retract.* II 6. 1 of the purpose of the work: 'Confessionum...libri et de malis et de bonis meis Deum laudant,' as well as by the note of praise on which it opens. Compare Professor Bury's remark regarding the use of 'confessio' by St Patrick, *Life of St Patrick* p. 197.

I. *Augustine prays for guidance that he may praise God aright.*

1. **magnus...ualde**] Ps. cxliv 3 (cxlv 3). The rendering of the Psalms used by A.—of which we have a practically complete text in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*—is an Old Lat. version which 'shows a striking agreement' with the text of the Codex Veronensis (H. A. A. Kennedy *Old Latin Versions* in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*). Throughout the O.T. A. habitually used an Old Lat. version even after he became acquainted with Jerome's new translation from the Hebrew. Of the latter he disapproved in principle, holding that the rendering of the LXX was, in a sense, inspired, and that it was presumptuous for a single scholar to undertake to correct it (*Ep.* lxxi, cf. *Ep.* xxviii). The Vulgate version of the Psalms, however, is not the new translation from the Hebrew, but Jerome's second revision of the Old Lat. on the basis of the LXX. The differences, therefore, between this and the version used by A., though numerous, are mainly verbal.

ib. **magna uirtus...numerus**] Ps. cxlvi 5 (cxlvii 5).

2. **et laudare**] 'Et' confirmatory or illustrative; almost = 'et...quidem.' *And man indeed, one portion of Thy*

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homo, aliqua portio creaturae tuae, et homo circumferens mortalitatem suam, circumferens testimonium peccati sui et testimonium, quia superbis resistis: et tamen laudare te uult homo, aliqua portio creaturae tuae. tu excitas, ut laudare te delectet, quia fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te. da mihi, domine, scire et intellegere, utrum sit prius inuocare te an laudare te et scire te prius sit an inuocare te. sed quis te inuocat nesciens te? aliud enim pro alio potest inuocare nesciens. an potius inuocaris, ut sciaris? quomodo autem inuocabunt, in quem non crediderunt? aut quomodo credent sine praedicante? et laudabunt dominum qui requirunt eum. quaerentes enim inueniunt eum et inuenientes laudabunt eum. quaeram te, domine, inuocans te

9 nesciens]+te BM²PQ *edd.* 12 inuenient BCFMO²PQW *edd.*

creation, has the will to praise Thee, i.e. man's conscious worship is the crown of creation's praise. In the words 'aliqua portio creaturae tuae' there seems to be a tacit allusion to *v.* 10 of the Psalm (cxliv, Vulg.) quoted above: 'Confiteantur tibi, Domine, omnia opera tua.' Cf. XIII 48 'Laudant te opera tua ut amemus te, et amamus te ut laudent te opera tua.'

1. **et homo circumferens**] *yea man, though he bears about with him* etc.

3. **testimonium**] Mortality is the *evidence that God resists the proud* as being the penalty of that self-exaltation in which A. finds the ultimate motive of man's first disobedience. Cf. *de Ciu. Dei* XIV 13, where A. quotes Ecclus. x 15 'initium omnis peccati superbia est' and explains that the root of sin was the desire for a false loftiness ('peruersae celsitudinis appetitus') which aimed at setting self in the place of God as the regulative principle of man's life.

ib. **superbis resistis**] Ja. iv 6; 1 Pet. v 5. Cf. Prov. iii 34.

5. **inquietum...requiescat**] *our hearts are restless till they find their rest in Thee.* Cf. Thomas à Kempis *Imitatio* III 21. 1 'Quoniam quidem non potest cor meum ueraciter requiescere nec totaliter contentari, nisi in te requiescat: et omnia dona omnemque creaturam transcendat.' There is a remarkable parallel in the pagan orator Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xii 405 R. (Dindorf I 232–3) *ἰσχυρὸς ἔρως πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγγύθεν τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸ θεῖον...ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὥσπερ νήπιοι παῖδες πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἀπεσπασμένοι δεινὸν ἵμερον ἔχοντες καὶ πόθον ὀρέγουσι χεῖρας οὐ παροῦσι πολλάκις ὀνειρώττοντες, οὕτω καὶ θεοὺς ἄνθρωποι ἀγαπῶντες δικαίως διά τε εὐεργεσίαν καὶ συγγένειαν, προθυμούμενοι πάντα τρόπον συνεῖναι καὶ ὁμιλεῖν.*

8. **aliud...pro alio**] A. probably has in mind the objects of his own worship in his Manichaean days. Cf. III 10 'quanto ergo longe es a phantasmatibus illis meis.'

10. **quomodo ... praedicante**] Rom. x 14.

11. **et...laudabunt eum**] Ps. xxi 27 (xxii 26).

12. **quaerentes enim** etc.] Cf. Mt. vii 7.

et inuocem te credens in te: praedicatus enim es nobis. inuocat te, domine, fides mea, quam dedisti mihi, quam inspirasti mihi per humanitatem filii tui, per ministerium praedicatoris tui.

2 II. Et quomodo inuocabo deum meum, deum et dominum meum, quoniam utique in me ipsum eum inuocabo, cum inuocabo eum? et quis locus est in me, quo ueniat in me deus meus? quo deus ueniat in me, deus, qui fecit caelum et terram? itane, domine deus meus, est quicquam in me, quod capiat te? an uero caelum et terra, quae fecisti et in quibus me fecisti, capiunt te? an quia sine te non esset quidquid est, fit, ut quidquid est capiat te? quoniam itaque et ego sum, quid peto, ut uenias in me, qui non essem, nisi esses in me? non enim ego iam inferi, et tamen etiam ibi es. nam etsi descendero in infernum, ades. non ergo essem, deus meus, non

6 *pr.* inuocabo] uocabo BCFHOP *mo.* 14 iam inferi] iam inferis sum O^2, iam inferi^{no} (iam in *et* no *a. m.* 2) P, sum iam in inferis 3 MSS. Oxon. cit. Pusey.

II. *How can he call on God to come to him, seeing that God fills Heaven and earth?*

6. **inuocabo ... inuocabo**] The reading 'uocabo' for the first 'inuocabo' makes the word-play more pointed ('in me eum uocabo cum inuocabo eum'), and derives some support from *Enarr. in Ps.* lxxxv 8 'inuocas quidquid in te uocas.'

8. **fecit caelum et terram**] Gen. i 1 (Vulg. 'creauit'), Ps. cxlv 6 (cxlvi 6) etc.

11. **an quia sine te non esset** etc.] *Or, since nothing that is could subsist without Thee, does it follow that whatsoever is contains Thee?* A. is able to accept the premisses while rejecting the conclusion because of the ambiguity in 'sine te.' The Divine immanence, he holds, is dynamic, not local. Cf. *de Gen. ad Lit.* IV 12. 22 'Creatoris namque potentia, et omnipotentis atque omnitenentis uirtus, causa subsistendi est omni creaturae.' The difficulties of conceiving a local immanence are developed in cap. iii below.

13. **non...ego iam inferi**] If this reading is correct, 'iam' is used in the 'ethical' sense which it sometimes bears, = 'after all,' and 'inferi' means, not, as in classical writers, the dwellers in the infernal regions, but, according to ecclesiastical usage, the regions themselves. Cf. *de Gen. ad Lit.* XII 33. 62 'unde autem sub terris esse dicantur inferi, si corporalia loca non sunt.' The older editions have the reading 'in inferis,' but against the preponderance of MS. authority. The difficulty of the reading is no doubt critically a recommendation; but on the other hand the liability of 'iam in inferis,' in an uncial MS., to be corrupted by Haplography, makes it difficult to feel complete confidence in the reading.

14. **etsi descendero** etc.] Ps. cxxxviii 8 (cxxxix 8).

omnino essem, nisi esses in me. an potius non essem, nisi essem in te, ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia? etiam sic, domine, etiam sic. quo te inuoco, cum in te sim? aut unde uenias in me? quo enim recedam extra caelum et terram, ut inde in me ueniat deus meus, qui dixit: caelum et terram ego impleo?

III. Capiunt ergone te caelum et terra, quoniam tu imples 3
ea? an imples et restat, quoniam non te capiunt? et quo refundes quidquid impleto caelo et terra restat ex te? an non opus habes, ut quoquam continearis, qui contines omnia, quoniam quae imples continendo imples? non enim uasa, quae te plena sunt, stabilem te faciunt, quia etsi frangantur non effunderis. et cum effunderis super nos, non tu iaces, sed erigis nos, nec tu dissiparis, sed colligis nos. sed quae imples omnia, te toto imples omnia. an quia non possunt te totum capere omnia, partem tui capiunt et eandem partem simul omnia capiunt? an singulas singula et maiores maiora, minores minora capiunt? ergo est aliqua pars tua maior, aliqua minor? an ubique totus es et res nulla te totum capit?

IV. Quid est ergo deus meus? quid, rogo, nisi dominus 4
deus? quis enim dominus praeter dominum? aut quis deus praeter deum nostrum? summe, optime, potentissime, omnipotentissime, misericordissime et iustissime, secretissime et praesentissime, pulcherrime et fortissime, stabilis et inconprehensibilis, inmutabilis, mutans omnia, numquam nouus, num-

20 est] es BCFGHMPQW *edd.*

2. **ex quo omnia** etc.] Cf. Rom. xi 36.

5. **caelum...impleo**] Jer. xxiii 24.

III. *God is everywhere, but nothing contains Him wholly.*

14. **erigis nos**] Cf. Ps. cxlv 8 (cxlvi 8) 'Dominus erigit elisos.'

IV. *All praise of God inadequate, but woe to those who refuse to Him their praises.*

21. **quis...dominus** etc.] Cf. Ps. xvii 32 (xviii 31) 'Quis Deus praeter Dominum? aut quis Deus praeter Deum nostrum?'

22. **omnipotentissime**] The desire for emphasis not infrequently betrays A. into the formation of illogical superlatives. Cf. 'absentissimus' IV 8, 'tepidissimus' VI 3.

24. **stabilis et inconprehensibilis**] The difficulty of 'grasping' finite things is often due to the elusiveness of their rapid changes. Not so with God; He is 'unchanging and yet incomprehensible.' A.'s

quam uetus, innouans omnia, in uetustatem perducens superbos et nesciunt; semper agens, semper quietus, colligens et non egens, portans et implens et protegens, creans et nutriens, perficiens, quaerens, cum nihil desit tibi. amas nec aestuas, zelas et securus es, paenitet te et non doles, irasceris et tranquillus es, opera mutas nec mutas consilium; recipis quod inuenis et numquam amisisti; numquam inops et gaudes lucris, numquam auarus et usuras exigis. supererogatur tibi, ut debeas, et quis habet quicquam non tuum? reddens debita nulli debens, donans debita nihil perdens. et quid diximus, deus meus, uita mea, dulcedo mea sancta, aut quid dicit aliquis, cum de te dicit? et uae tacentibus de te, quoniam loquaces muti sunt.

9 reddis BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 10 donans] n 2° *s.l.* SW, donas *cett. et edd.*

rhetorical ingenuity finds play in the series of antitheses which follow.

1. **innouans omnia**] Cf. Wisd. vii 27 '(Sapientia) in se permanens omnia innouat.'

ib. **in uetustatem** etc.] Job ix 5, Old Lat. (following LXX ὁ παλαιῶν ὄρη καὶ οὐκ οἴδασιν—Vulg. 'qui transtulit'). A. indicates his interpretation by substituting 'superbos' for the 'montes' of the quotation. 'In uetustatem perducens' he explains (*Adnot. in Iob*) as 'making weak,' 'humiliating.'

2. **colligens et non egens**] Cf. Mt. xxv 26, with Acts xvii 25.

3. **portans ... perficiens**] Probably to be read as a Parison with Homoeoteleuton

'portans et implens et protegens,
creans et nutriens, perficiens,'

'et' being omitted before 'perficiens' to keep the number of syllables approximately even.

4. **quaerens**] Cf. Mt. xviii 12 sq.

5. **zelas**] Cf. Ex. xx 5.

ib. **paenitet te**] Cf. Gen. vi 6.

7. **gaudes lucris**] Cf. the parables of the Pounds and Talents, Lk. xix 12 sq.; Mt. xxv 14 sq.

8. **usuras exigis**] Cf. Mt. xxv 27.

ib. **supererogatur tibi**] 'Erogo,' originally meaning to ask permission to draw money from the 'aerarium,' came to be used in the general sense of 'pay out.' Hence 'supererogo,' to pay more than one has received, more than is due; in its religious application, to do more than one's duty and thus, so to speak, impose an obligation upon God. The word occurs in the literal sense Lk. x 35. Vulg. 'quodcumque supererogaueris, ego cum rediero reddam tibi.'

9. **quis habet quicquam**] A. hastens to add that the power to impose this obligation is itself God's gift. Cf. *de Grat. et Lib. Arb.* VI 15 'Si ergo Dei dona sunt bona merita tua, non Deus coronat merita tua tamquam merita tua, sed tamquam bona sua.'

10. **donans debita**] The use of donare 'to remit' (a debt) is classical; in ecclesiastical writers it is extended to forgiveness of sins. Cf. V 16 etc.

12. **quoniam loquaces** etc.] 'Since those who say most are no better than dumb.' Cf. *Tract. in Ioan.* XIII 5 'Omnia possunt dici de Deo, et nihil digne dicitur de Deo.'

V. Quis mihi dabit adquiescere in te? quis dabit mihi, ut 5
uenias in cor meum et inebries illud, ut obliuiscar mala mea
et unum bonum meum amplectar, te? quid mihi es? mise-
rere, ut loquar. quid tibi sum ipse, ut amari te iubeas a me
5 et, nisi faciam, irascaris mihi et mineris ingentes miserias?
paruane ipsa est, si non amem te? ei mihi! dic mihi per
miserationes tuas, domine deus meus, quid sis mihi. dic ani-
mae meae: salus tua ego sum. sic dic, ut audiam. ecce
aures cordis mei ante te, domine; aperi eas, et dic animae
10 meae: salus tua ego sum. curram post uocem hanc et ad-
prehendam te. noli abscondere a me faciem tuam: moriar,
ne moriar, ut eam uideam.

Angusta est domus animae meae, quo uenias ad eam: dila- 6
tetur abs te. ruinosa est: refice eam. habet quae offendant
15 oculos tuos: fateor et scio. sed quis mundabit eam? aut cui
alteri praeter te clamabo: ab occultis meis munda me, domine,
et ab alienis parce seruo tuo? credo, propter quod et loquor.
domine, tu scis. nonne tibi prolocutus sum aduersum me

18 aduersus OV.

V. *He confesses that the house of his soul is narrow, and in ruins. He prays God to enlarge and repair it.*

6. **paruane**] sc. 'miseria.' Cf. G. Herbert *Temple* xviii:

'Ah, my dear God, though I am
clean forgot,
Let me not love Thee, if I love
Thee not.'

7. **miserationes**] renders οἰκτιρμοί (רַחֲמִים) in Ps. xxxix 12 (xl 11) etc. The use of abstract substantives in the pl., which shows a tendency to increase in late style generally, is especially common in the Biblical versions. See Goelzer *Latinité de St Jérôme* p. 299 sq.

ib. **dic animae** etc.] Ps. xxxiv 3 (xxxv 3).

11. **noli abscondere ... moriar** etc.] *Hide not thy face from me, let me see it though I die, for I shall assuredly die if I do not see it.* Lit. I would die to see it, lest I die (by not seeing it). A. combines the thought of Ex. xxxiii 20 'Non poteris uidere faciem meam; non enim uidebit me homo et uiuet' with that of Deut. xxxi 17 'et abscondam faciem meam ab eo et erit in deuorationem.' Cf. Ps. cxlii 7 (cxliii 7) 'non auertas faciem tuam a me: et similis ero descendentibus in lacum.'

15. **fateor et scio**] The logical order is reversed with the object of avoiding the obvious (the rhetorical figure known as Hysteron-Proteron).

17. **alienis**] Ps. xviii 14 (xix 13). A. understood this to mean sins to which we are tempted by others. Cf. *Enarr. I. in Ps.* xviii *v.* 14. 'Ne seducar ab aliis; neque enim ab alienis capitur qui est mundus a suis.'

ib. **credo** etc.] Ps. cxv 1 (10) (cxvi 10).

delicta mea, deus meus, et tu dimisisti inpietatem cordis mei? non iudicio contendo tecum, qui ueritas es; et ego nolo fallere me ipsum, ne mentiatur iniquitas mea sibi. non ergo iudicio contendo tecum, quia, si iniquitates obseruaueris, domine, domine, quis sustinebit? 5

7 VI. Sed tamen sine me loqui apud misericordiam tuam, me terram et cinerem, sine tamen loqui, quoniam ecce misericordia tua est, non homo, inrisor meus, cui loquor. et tu fortasse inrides me, sed conuersus misereberis mei. quid enim est quod uolo dicere, domine, nisi quia nescio, unde uenerim 10 huc, in istam dico uitam mortalem an mortem uitalem? nescio. et susceperunt me consolationes miserationum tuarum, sicut audiui a parentibus carnis meae, ex quo et in qua me formasti

10 domine] + deus meus BPQ *edd.*

1. **tu dimisisti**] Ps. xxxi 5 (xxxii 5).

3. **ne mentiatur iniquitas mea sibi**] Ps. xxvi 12 (xxvii 12) 'mentita est iniquitas sibi' = LXX καὶ ἐψεύσατο ἡ ἀδικία ἑαυτῇ (Heb. וַיִּפַּח הָמָס = 'and such as breathe out violence'). The LXX apparently read וַיָּפַח חָמָס לוֹ (לוֹ being the first two letters of the following verse in MT) and were influenced in their interpretation by the frequent combination יְפִיחַ כְּזָבִים ('that speaketh lies') Prov. vi 19; xiv 5 and 25; xix 5 and 9. See Baethgen *Jahrb. Prot. Theol.* 1882 p. 665; Mozley *Psalter of the Church* p. 49. A. in his exposition of the passage (*Enarr. in Ps.* xxvi § 21) interprets that the falsity of his enemies injures no one but themselves; here, however, inserting 'mea' he uses the phrase freely in the sense: lest, sinful man that I am, I put myself in a false position (by presuming to enter into judgment with God).

ib. **iudicio contendo tecum**] Cf. Job ix 3, 32; xxii 4.

4. **si iniquitates** etc.] Ps. cxxix 3 (cxxx 3).

VI. *He gives thanks for the comforts of his infant years, and asks questions regarding them.*

6. **apud misericordiam**] *in the presence of Thy mercy*, 'misericordia' being, as it were, personified.

7. **terram et cinerem**] Gen. xviii 27 'loquar ad Dominum meum, cum sim puluis et cinis.' Cf. Ecclus. x 9 'Quid superbit terra et cinis?'

8. **inrisor meus**] The pregnant use of the 'nomen agentis' is noticeable—*who would laugh at me if I did.*

10. **unde uenerim huc**] A. had a deep sense of the mystery of birth, and refused to decide between the current theories—Creationism and Propagationism. He discusses these and other alternatives in *Ep.* clxvi, *Hieronymo.* See note on 'utrum alicui' etc., 9. 9 below.

12. **consolationes miserationum tuarum**] Cf. Ps. xciii 19 (xciv 19) 'consolationes tuae laetificauerunt animam meam'; Ps. lxviii 17 (lxix 16) 'secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum respice in me.'

in tempore; non enim ego memini. exceperunt ergo me consolationes lactis humani, nec mater mea uel nutrices meae sibi ubera implebant, sed tu mihi per eas dabas alimentum infantiae secundum institutionem tuam et diuitias usque ad fundum rerum dispositas. tu etiam mihi dabas nolle amplius, quam dabas, et nutrientibus me dare mihi uelle quod eis dabas: dare enim mihi per ordinatum affectum uolebant quo abundabant ex te. nam bonum erat eis bonum meum ex eis, quod ex eis non, sed per eas erat: ex te quippe bona omnia, deus, et ex deo meo salus mihi uniuersa. quod animaduerti postmodum clamante te mihi per haec ipsa, quae tribuis intus et foris. nam tunc sugere noram et adquiescere delectationibus, flere autem offensiones carnis meae, nihil amplius.

Post et ridere coepi, dormiens primo, deinde uigilans. 8 hoc enim de me mihi indicatum est et credidi, quoniam sic uidemus alios infantes; nam ista mea non memini. et ecce paulatim sentiebam, ubi essem, et uoluntates meas uolebam ostendere eis, per quos implerentur, et non poteram, quia illae intus erant, foris autem illi nec ullo suo sensu ualebant introire in animam meam. itaque iactabam et membra et uoces, signa similia uoluntatibus meis, pauca quae poteram, qualia poteram: non enim erant ueri similia. et cum mihi non obtemperabatur uel non intellecto uel ne obesset, indignabar non subditis maioribus et liberis non seruientibus et me de illis flendo uindicabam. tales esse infantes didici, quos discere potui, et me talem fuisse magis mihi ipsi indicauerunt nescientes quam scientes nutritores mei.

20 et membra SW, – et *cett. et edd.*

4. **usque ad fundum** etc.] *distributed throughout even the humblest levels of creation.*
'Wie strack, mit eignem kräft'gen Triebe,
der Stamm sich in die Lüfte trägt:
so ist es die allmächt'ge Liebe,
die alles bildet, alles hegt.'
Faust II *v.* 812 sq.

14. **ridere**.. **dormiens primo** etc.] A characteristically accurate piece of minute psychological observation. Preyer notes the fact, *Die Seele des Kindes* p. 189. That his 'child-psychology' is first-hand, A. tells us below (ll. 26, 27) 'magis mihi ipsi indicauerunt nescientes quam scientes nutritores mei.'

9 Et ecce infantia mea olim mortua est et ego uiuo. tu autem, domine, qui et semper uiuis et nihil moritur in te, quoniam ante primordia saeculorum et ante omne, quod uel ante dici potest, tu es et deus es dominusque omnium, quae creasti, et apud te rerum omnium instabilium stant causae et rerum omnium mutabilium inmutabiles manent origines et omnium inrationalium et temporalium sempiternae uiuunt rationes, dic mihi supplici tuo, deus, et misericors misero tuo, dic mihi, utrum alicui iam aetati meae mortuae successerit infantia mea. an illa est, quam egi intra uiscera matris meae? nam et de illa mihi nonnihil indicatum est et praegnantes ipse uidi feminas. quid ante hanc etiam, dulcedo mea, deus meus? fuine alicubi aut aliquis? nam quis mihi dicat ista, non habeo; nec pater nec mater potuerunt nec aliorum experimentum nec memoria mea. an irrides me ista quaerentem teque de hoc, quod noui, laudari a me iubes et confiteri me tibi?

10 Confiteor tibi, domine caeli et terrae, laudem dicens tibi de primordiis et infantia mea, quae non memini; et dedisti ea homini ex aliis de se conicere et auctoritatibus etiam mulierc ularum multa de se credere. eram enim et uiuebam etiam tunc et signa, quibus sensa mea nota aliis facerem, iam in fine infantiae quaerebam. unde hoc tale animal nisi abs te, domine?

7 inrationabilium BCDFGMPV *edd.* 21 finem GHSW, V² *mg.*

1. **infantia...mortua est**] Cf. Marcus Aurelius, IX 21 *μέτιθι νῦν ἐπὶ ἡλικίαν, οἷον τὴν παιδικήν, τὴν τοῦ μειρακίου, τὴν νεότητα, τὸ γῆρας· καὶ γὰρ τούτων πᾶσα μεταβολή, θάνατος.*

9. **utrum alicui...aetati** etc.] A. rejected the Platonic theory of metempsychosis, and Origen's speculations regarding an ante-natal Fall (*de Ciu. Dei* X 30, XI 23), but he discusses with sympathy (*de Gen. ad Lit.* VII 24. 35 sq., cf. *Ep.* clxvi, *Hieronymo*, 26) the theory that all souls were created at the beginning, and find their way into bodies by a kind of natural tendency—very much the theory which is suggested by Tennyson's lines:

'A soul shall draw from out the vast
And strike his being into bounds.'
I. M. Epilog. st. 31.

A. prefers (*de Gen. ad Lit.* VII 25. 36; *Ep.* clxvi 27) not to think of souls in this case as obeying a direct Divine command in entering into bodies, for then they would acquire a certain ante-natal merit, which he cannot, on theological grounds, admit.

17. **confiteor...terrae**] Mt. xi 25.

19. **mulierc ularum**] Depreciatory diminutive, *weak women.*

21. **in fine infantiae**] *on the borders of infancy.*

22. **unde...nisi abs te**] A. never ceased to believe in the grandeur of

an quisquam se faciendi erit artifex? aut ulla uena trahitur aliunde, qua esse et uiuere currat in nos, praeterquam quod tu facis nos, domine, cui esse et uiuere non aliud atque aliud est, quia summe esse atque summe uiuere id ipsum est? summus enim es et non mutaris, neque peragitur in te hodiernus dies, et tamen in te peragitur, quia in te sunt et ista omnia: non enim haberent uias transeundi, nisi contineres ea. et quoniam anni tui non deficiunt, anni tui hodiernus dies: et quam multi iam dies nostri et patrum nostrorum per hodiernum tuum transierunt et ex illo acceperunt modos et utcumque extiterunt, et transibunt adhuc alii et accipient et utcumque existent. tu autem idem ipse es et omnia crastina atque ultra omniaque hesterna et retro hodie facies, hodie fecisti. quid ad me, si quis non intellegat? gaudeat et ipse dicens: quid est hoc? gaudeat etiam sic et amet non inueniendo inuenire potius quam inueniendo non inuenire te.

VII. Exaudi, deus. uae peccatis hominum! et homo 11

man, and in the derivation of his life from God. It was this that kept alive in his heart an undying hope of the salvation of man, notwithstanding his deep sense of human depravity. Cf. Anselm *Cur Deus Homo* II 4 'At si nihil pretiosius agnoscitur Deus fecisse quam rationalem naturam ad gaudendum de se, ualde alienum est ab eo ut illam rationalem naturam penitus perire sinat.'

4. **summus...non mutaris**] Cf. Mal. iii 6 'Ego enim Dominus, et non mutor.'

8. **anni tui** etc.] Ps. ci 28 (cii 27).

10. **ex illo acceperunt modos** etc.] *from it* (*i.e.* from God's eternal To-day) *received their measure and manner of being.* Cf. *de Musica* VI 11. 29 '(aeterna aequalitas) unde tempora fabricantur, et modificantur, aeternitatem imitantia, dum caeli conuersio ad idem redit' — *i. e.* time imitates eternity in virtue of its recurrent cycles, in which there is an element of identity. The thought comes ultimately from Plato. Cf. *Tim.* x and xi. Time was made *κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς διαιωνίας φύσεως, ἵν' ὡς ὁμοιότατος αὐτῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ᾖ.* A. knew the *Timaeus* in the Latin version by Cicero (*de Universo*), which he quotes, *de Ciu. Dei* XIII 16 ('Platonis haec uerba sunt, sicut ea Cicero in Latinum uertit').

11. **tu autem idem ipse**] Ps. ci 28 (cii 27).

14. **quid est hoc**] Cf. Ecclus. xxxix 26 (for God) 'non est dicere: Quid est hoc, aut quid est istud? omnia enim in tempore suo quaerentur.'

15. **non inueniendo** etc.] *i.e.* a God whom we could 'find out unto perfection' (Job xi 7) would not be God. Cf. *Serm.* cxvii 5 'De Deo loquimur. quid mirum si non comprehendis? si enim comprehendis, non est Deus.'

VII. *There are signs of sin even in the infant, for it can be angry and envious.*

dicit haec, et misereris eius, quoniam tu fecisti eum et peccatum non fecisti in eo. quis me commemorat peccatum infantiae meae? quoniam nemo mundus a peccato coram te, nec infans, cuius est unius diei uita super terram. quis me commemorat? an quilibet tantillus nunc paruulus, in quo uideo quod non memini de me? quid ergo tunc peccabam? an quia uberibus inhiabam plorans? nam si nunc faciam, non quidem uberibus, sed escae congruenti annis meis ita inhians, deridebor atque reprehendar iustissime. tunc ergo reprehendenda faciebam, sed quia reprehendentem intellegere non poteram, nec mos reprehendi me nec ratio sinebat. nam extirpamus et eicimus ista crescentes. nec uidi quemquam scientem, cum aliquid purgat, bona proicere. an pro tempore etiam illa bona erant, flendo petere etiam quod noxie daretur, indignari acriter non subiectis hominibus liberis et maioribus hisque, a quibus genitus est, multisque praeterea prudentioribus non ad nutum uoluntatis obtemperantibus feriendo nocere niti quantum potest, quia non oboeditur imperiis, quibus perniciose oboediretur? ita imbecillitas membrorum infantilium innocens est, non animus infantium. uidi ego et expertus sum zelantem paruulum: nondum loquebatur et intuebatur pallidus amaro aspectu conlactaneum suum. quis hoc ignorat? expiare se dicunt ista matres atque nutrices nescio quibus remediis. nisi uero et ista innocentia est, in fonte lactis ubertim manante atque abundante

2. **me commemorat**] 'Commemoro' with acc. pers. is unusual, but the reading (which is conjecturally altered in some editions) derives some support from *de Magistro* I 1 'ut commemoremus uel alios uel nosmetipsos.'

3. **nemo mundus** etc.] Cf. Job xxv 4.

11. **extirpamus...ista crescentes**] Cf. I Cor. xiii 11.

13. **purgat**] *prunes*, cf. Jn xv 2 'omnem qui fert fructum, purgabit eum, ut fructum plus afferat.'

22. **expiare ... remediis**] Probably these manifestations on the part of the infant were considered unlucky, and the mother or nurse sought to avert evil consequences by the use of some traditional 'charms.' Cf. the use of 'expiare' in the account given by Persius of the charm against the evil eye, *Sat.* II 31—35

'Ecce auia, aut metuens diuum matertera, cunis
exemit puerum, frontemque atque uda labella
infami digito et lustralibus ante saliuis
expiat, urentes oculos inhibere perita.'

opis egentissimum et illo adhuc uno alimento uitam ducentem consortem non pati. sed blande tolerantur haec, non quia nulla uel parua, sed quia aetatis accessu peritura sunt. quod licet probes, cum ferri aequo animo eadem ipsa non possunt, quando in aliquo annosiore deprehenduntur.

Tu itaque, domine deus meus, qui dedisti uitam infanti et 12
corpus, quod ita, ut uidemus, instruxisti sensibus, conpegisti membris, figura decorasti proque eius uniuersitate atque incolumitate omnes conatus animantis insinuasti, iubes me laudare te in istis et confiteri tibi et psallere nomini tuo, altissime, quia deus es omnipotens et bonus, etiamsi sola ista fecisses, quae nemo alius potest facere nisi tu, une, a quo est omnis modus, formosissime, qui formas omnia et lege tua ordinas omnia. hanc ergo aetatem, domine, qua me uixisse non memini, de qua aliis credidi et quam me egisse ex aliis infantibus conieci, quamquam ista multum fida coniectura sit, piget me adnumerare huic uitae meae, quam uiuo in hoc saeculo. quantum enim adtinet ad obliuionis meae tenebras, par illi est, quam uixi in matris utero. quod si et in iniquitate conceptus sum et in peccatis mater mea me in utero aluit, ubi, oro te, deus meus, ubi, domine, ego, seruus tuus, ubi aut

14 quam me CGOV *m*.

3. **quod licet probes** etc.] *And this* (viz. that the evils are not inherently unimportant) *you may prove from the fact that* ('cum,' 'seeing that') *the same evils are intolerable when found in a person of riper years.*

8. **proque ... insinuasti**] *didst implant in me all the impulses necessary to the maintenance of the integrity and safety of a living organism.*

9. **conatus animantis**] The πρώτη ὁρμή of the Stoics (τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν φασι τὸ ζῷον ἴσχειν ἐπὶ τὸ τηρεῖν ἑαυτό Diog. Laert. VII 85). Cf. Cic. *de Fin.* II 11. 33 'Nec uero ut uoluptatem expetat, natura mouit infantem, sed tantum ut se ipse diligat, ut integrum se saluumque uelit.'

10. **confiteri tibi** etc.] Ps. xci 2 (xcii 1).

13. **formosissime, qui formas** etc.] Word plays of this kind (Figura Etymologica) are frequent in A. Cf. 'conflorentem flore adulescentiae,' IV 7; also, 'dolore dolebam dolorem meum,' IX 31; 'sanctas litteras de melle caeli melleas et de lumine tuo luminosas,' IX 11. For the thought cf. Plotinus *Enn.* I 6. 6 (τὸ θεῖον) ὅθεν ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ καλοῦ.

17. **piget me adnumerare**] *I do not care to reckon it as part of my life.* Since early infancy lies outside the memory, it does not, in a sense, belong to our experience, which owes its unity to memory.

19. **in iniquitate conceptus** etc.] Ps. l 7 (li 5).

quando innocens fui? sed ecce omitto illud tempus: et quid mihi iam cum eo est, cuius nulla uestigia recolo?

13 VIII. Nonne ab infantia huc pergens ueni in pueritiam? uel potius ipsa in me uenit et successit infantiae? nec discessit illa: quo enim abiit? et tamen iam non erat. non enim eram infans, qui non farer, sed iam puer loquens eram. et memini hoc, et unde loqui didiceram, post aduerti. non enim docebant me maiores homines praebentes mihi uerba certo aliquo ordine doctrinae sicut paulo post litteras, sed ego ipse mente, quam dedisti mihi, deus meus, cum gemitibus et uocibus uariis et uariis membrorum motibus edere uellem sensa cordis mei, ut uoluntati pareretur, nec ualerem quae uolebam omnia nec quibus uolebam omnibus, pensabam memoria: cum ipsi appellabant rem aliquam et cum secundum eam uocem corpus ad aliquid mouebant, uidebam et tenebam hoc ab eis uocari rem illam, quod sonabant, cum eam uellent ostendere. hoc autem eos uelle ex motu corporis aperiebatur tamquam uerbis

13 pensabo H^1, prensabam (rens *m.* 2 *in ras.*) O, praesonabam EG*mo*, psonabam M, praesentabam V, praestabam BP, praestabat Q: memoriam GHV.

VIII. *He describes how he learned to speak.*

6. **farer**] The Imperf. Subj. of 'fari,' which has been noted only here (Georges *Lex. der Lat. Wortformen*). The word is used for the sake of the paronomasia 'infans'—'farer.'

13. **pensabam memoria**] We have here departed from the punctuation of Knöll, who ends the sentence at 'omnibus.' With this punctuation, there is, of course, no difficulty in understanding 'docebam me' from 'docebant me,' though it would perhaps have been more in accordance with A.'s style to write 'sed ego me ipsum,' but the sentence ends very awkwardly with the long subordinate clause, and the next begins abruptly. Punctuating as above we might render freely, 'Using the mind which thou didst give me... I thought the matter out, by the aid of memory, thus:...' The wide range of vv. ll. perhaps points to some primitive corruption. Of the variants, 'praesonabam' (with a full stop at 'memoria') yields the most satisfactory sense, viz. that A. did for himself with the aid of memory what in ordinary lessons a teacher did for his pupil—repeated over before him (cf. the common use of 'praelegere' in this connexion) the lesson to be learnt.

17. **motu corporis** etc.] Cf. in Lucretius, *de Rerum Nat.* v 1028 sq., the parallel between the experience of the child in learning to speak and that of the race:

'At uarios linguae sonitus natura subegit
mittere et utilitas expressit nomina rerum,

naturalibus omnium gentium, quae fiunt uultu et nutu oculorum ceterorumque membrorum actu et sonitu uocis indicante affectionem animi in petendis, habendis, reiciendis fugiendisue rebus. ita uerba in uariis sententiis locis suis posita et crebro audita, quarum rerum signa essent, paulatim colligebam measque iam uoluntates edomito in eis signis ore per haec enuntiabam. sic cum his, inter quos eram, uoluntatum enuntiandarum signa conmunicaui et uitae humanae procellosam societatem altius ingressus sum pendens ex parentum auctoritate nutuque maiorum hominum.

IX. Deus, deus meus, quas ibi miserias expertus sum 14
et ludificationes, quandoquidem recte mihi uiuere puero id proponebatur, obtemperare monentibus, ut in hoc saeculo florerem et excellerem linguosis artibus ad honorem hominum et falsas diuitias famulantibus. inde in scholam datus sum, ut discerem litteras, in quibus quid utilitatis esset ignorabam miser. et tamen, si segnis in discendo essem, uapulabam. laudabatur enim hoc a maioribus, et multi ante nos uitam istam agentes praestruxerant aerumnosas uias, per quas transire

non alia longe ratione atque ipsa uidetur
protrahere ad gestum pueros infantia linguae,
cum facit ut digito quae sint praesentia monstrent.'

6. **edomito**] *broken in.*

IX. *The miseries of his school days.*

11. **quas** ... **miserias**] A.'s memories of his early childhood were far from happy, to judge from his saying: 'Quis autem non exhorreat, et mori eligat, si ei proponatur, aut mors perpetienda, aut rursus infantia?' *de Ciu. Dei* XXI 14.

12. **id**] Used like the more regular 'hoc,' to anticipate the following sentence, 'this was set before me as my duty, namely, to obey etc. in order that etc.'

14. **linguosis artibus**] For the popularity of the rhetorical profession in Africa cf. Juv. VII 147 sq.

'Accipiat te
Gallia, uel potius nutricula causidicorum
Africa, si placuit mercedem imponere linguae.'

17. **uapulabam**] A mural painting found at Pompeii and preserved in the museum at Naples represents a school in which a birching is in progress. A fellow-pupil holds the victim on his back, a second grasps his feet, and a third person, presumably an usher (the principal master is seen elsewhere), is about to lay on the rod (Boissier *Fin du Paganisme* I 181). This however probably represents a severer punishment than the ordinary castigation for idleness, which seems to have been a caning on the hands. Cf. Ovid *Art. Am.* I 15 '...poscente magistro, uerberibus iussas praebuit ille manus.'

cogebamur multiplicato labore et dolore filiis Adam. inuenimus autem, domine, homines rogantes te et didicimus ab eis, sentientes te, ut poteramus, esse magnum aliquem, qui posses etiam non adparens sensibus nostris exaudire nos et subuenire nobis. nam puer coepi rogare te, auxilium et refugium meum, et in tuam inuocationem rumpebam nodos linguae meae et rogabam te paruus non paruo affectu, ne in schola uapularem. et cum me non exaudiebas, quod non erat ad insipientiam mihi, ridebantur a maioribus hominibus usque ab ipsis parentibus, qui mihi accidere mali nihil uolebant, plagae meae, magnum tunc et graue malum meum.

Estne quisquam, domine, tam magnus animus, praegrandi affectu tibi cohaerens, estne, inquam, quisquam—facit enim hoc quaedam etiam stoliditas—est ergo, qui tibi pie cohaerendo ita sit affectus granditer, ut eculeos et ungulas atque huiuscemodi uaria tormenta, pro quibus effugiendis tibi per uniuersas terras cum timore magno supplicatur, ita parui

1. **multiplicato labore** etc.] *since toils and sorrows were multiplied for the sons of Adam.* Cf. Gen. iii 16 and 17 with Ecclus. xl 1 'Occupatio magna creata est omnibus hominibus, et iugum graue super filios Adam' and Jer. xxxii 19 'cuius oculi aperti sunt super omnes uias filiorum Adam.'

5. **auxilium et refugium**] Cf. Ps. xciii 22 (xciv 22), Old Lat. 'Et factus est mihi Dominus in refugium, et Deus meus in auxilium spei meae.' (In Ps. xvii 3 the version used by A. has, like the Vulg., 'firmamentum et refugium.')

8. **non...ad insipientiam**] Ps. xxi 3 (xxii 2 'and am not silent'), following LXX, *οὐκ εἰς ἄνοιαν ἐμοί*. A. interprets the phrase as meaning that the refusal of the answer is not intended to stultify us, but to teach us wisdom. 'Non ad insipientiam mihi non exaudisti, sed magis ad sapientiam...ut intellegerem quid a te peterem' *Enarr. in Ps.* liii § 5 (referring however to Ps. xxi 3, which he cites). The LXX rendering of דּוּמִיָּה (silence or quiet) by *ἄνοια* was probably arrived at from the analogy of the occasional use of the verb דָּמַם in the sense 'to be silent in confusion.' Gesenius points out that the same onomatopoeic root appears in the German 'dumm' = stupid, and English 'dumb.'

12. **estne ... affligebamur**] An unusually long, invertebrate sentence. A. is not a master of the period to the same extent as of the phrase. The parallel to which he finally leads up, 'ita parui aestimet—quemadmodum ridebant,' is not expressed with strict accuracy though the meaning is clear.

15. **eculeos**] The exact form of the eculeus is unknown, but the references to it show that its use corresponded to that of the rack, *e.g.* Seneca *Ep.* lxvii 3 'eculeo longior factus,' *Ep.* lxvi 17 'utrum ...in eculeo iaceat.'

aestimet, diligens eos, qui haec acerbissime formidant, quemadmodum parentes nostri ridebant tormenta, quibus pueri a magistris affligebamur? non enim aut minus ea metuebamus aut minus te de his euadendis deprecabamur, et peccabamus tamen minus scribendo aut legendo aut cogitando de litteris, quam exigebatur a nobis. non enim deerat, domine, memoria uel ingenium, quae nos habere uoluisti pro illa aetate satis, sed delectabat ludere et uindicabatur in nos ab eis qui talia utique agebant. sed maiorum nugae negotia uocabantur, puerorum autem talia cum sint, puniuntur a maioribus, et nemo miseratur pueros uel illos uel utrosque. nisi uero adprobat quisquam bonus rerum arbiter uapulasse me, quia ludebam pila puer et eo ludo inpediebar, quominus celeriter discerem litteras, quibus maior deformius luderem. aut aliud faciebat idem ipse, a quo uapulabam, qui si in aliqua quaestiuncula a condoctore suo uictus esset, magis bile atque inuidia torqueretur quam ego, cum in certamine pilae a conlusore meo superabar?

X. Et tamen peccabam, domine deus meus, ordinator et 16
creator rerum omnium naturalium, peccatorum autem tantum ordinator, domine deus meus, peccabam faciendo contra prae-

1 diligens] deridens M^2 *s.l.*, *mo.* 9 uocantur BCFGHMOPQ *edd.*
18 meus] – BCFGHMOPV *edd.* 20 ordinator] non ordinator B^1GMPQ^1.

1. **diligens**] Concessive, *though he loves.*

9. **maiorum nugae** etc.] Epigrammatic phrases of this kind are not infrequent in A.'s style, *e.g.* (referring to the question What is Time?) 'Si nemo a me quaerat, scio; si quaerenti explicare uelim, nescio' XI 17; (the folly of fleeing from God) 'Te nemo amittit nisi qui dimittit; et quia dimittit, quo it aut quo fugit nisi a te placido ad te iratum?' IV 14.

13. **quibus...luderem**] *by the aid of which I might, when grown up, play a less creditable game.*

X. *Though the motives set before him were not high, it was his duty to learn, and he sinned in neglecting it.*

18. **et tamen peccabam**] A. has been ridiculed for the severity of his language about the faults of his boyhood. But as a profound student of human nature he recognised that the apparently trivial faults of the boy grow into the graver sins of manhood.

'Now 'tis the spring, and weeds are shallow-rooted;
Suffer them now, and they'll outgrow the garden.'
Henry VI Part II, III 1. 31.

19. **peccatorum...ordinator**] The 'non' before 'ordinator' of B^1GMPQ^1 is a manifest interpolation, as it conflicts with A.'s explicit teaching elsewhere, *e.g. Enarr. in Ps.* vii *v.* 18 'Non dixit: Fiant tenebrae...et tamen

cepta parentum et magistrorum illorum. poteram enim postea bene uti litteris, quas uolebant ut discerem quocumque animo illi mei. non enim meliora eligens inoboediens eram, sed amore ludendi, amans in certaminibus superbas uictorias et scalpi aures meas falsis fabellis, quo prurirent ardentius, eadem curiositate magis magisque per oculos emicante in spectacula, ludos maiorum; quos tamen qui edunt, ea dignitate praediti excellunt, ut hoc paene omnes optent paruulis suis, quos tamen caedi libenter patiuntur, si spectaculis talibus inpediantur ab studio, quo eos ad talia edenda cupiunt peruenire. uide ista, domine, misericorditer et libera nos iam inuocantes te, libera etiam eos qui nondum te inuocant, ut inuocent te et liberes eos.

17 XI. Audieram enim ego adhuc puer de uita aeterna promissa nobis per humilitatem domini dei nostri descendentis ad superbiam nostram et signabar iam signo crucis eius et condiebar eius sale iam inde ab utero matris meae, quae multum sperauit in te. uidisti, domine, cum adhuc puer essem et

ipsas ordinauit...Aliud fecit et ordinauit; aliud non fecit sed tamen etiam hoc ordinauit.' *de Gen. ad Lit.* III 24. 37 'deus...naturarum optimus conditor, peccantium uero iustissimus ordinator est.' The MSS. B P Q form a closely related group distinguished by a number of common interpolations—Knöll (*ed. maior*) Praef. XV and XXXIII.

11. **libera nos** etc.] Cf. Ps. cviii 21, 22 (cix 21, 22) 'Libera me quia egenus et pauper ego sum'; Ps. ci 3 (cii 2) 'In quacumque die inuocauero te, uelociter exaudi me.'

XI. *He is sealed with the sign of Christ's Cross and seasoned with His salt; but his baptism deferred, lest he should incur greater guilt by post-baptismal sin.*

16. **signabar ... condiebar**] *i.e.* he was a catechumen. The sign of the cross and the reception of salt formed part of the ceremony of initiation, and in Africa salt was given to the catechumens throughout the year; not only, as in the Roman usage, at the 'missae scrutinii' during Lent to the 'competentes' who were to receive baptism at the following Easter. (Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, referring to Conc. Carth. III 5, which runs 'Item placuit ut etiam per sollemnissimos paschales dies sacramentum catechumenis non detur nisi solitum sal; quia si fideles per illos dies sacramentum non mutant, nec catechumenis oportet mutare.') Were it not for this custom, it would be difficult to account for the repetition implied in the impf. 'condiebar,' since, in view of his mother's desire to delay his baptism, he could not be supposed to be among the 'competentes.' The use of the sign of the cross no doubt accompanied this, as it did all sacraments. Cf. *Tract. in Ioan.* cxviii 5.

quodam die pressu stomachi repente aestuarem paene moriturus, uidisti, deus meus, quoniam custos meus iam eras, quo motu animi et qua fide baptismum Christi tui, dei et domini mei, flagitaui a pietate matris meae et matris omnium nostrum, ecclesiae tuae. et conturbata mater carnis meae, quoniam et sempiternam salutem meam carius parturibat corde casto in fide tua, iam curaret festinabunda, ut sacramentis salutaribus initiarer et abluerer, te, domine Iesu, confitens in remissionem peccatorum, nisi statim recreatus essem. dilata est itaque mundatio mea, quasi necesse esset, ut adhuc sordidarer, si uiuerem, quia uidelicet post lauacrum illud maior et periculosior in sordibus delictorum reatus foret. ita iam credebam et illa et omnis domus, nisi pater solus, qui tamen non euicit in me ius maternae pietatis, quominus in Christum crederem, sicut ille nondum crediderat. nam illa satagebat, ut tu mihi pater esses, deus meus, potius quam ille, et in hoc adiuuabas

6 parturiebat BCDEFGHMOPQV *edd.*

2. **custos meus**] Cf. Gen. xxviii 15 'Et ero custos tuus quocumque perrexeris.'

ib. **quo motu animi...baptismum**] Cf. Greg. Naz. *Poem. de Vita*, with reference to a storm at sea which caused men who were not Christians to call on Christ, and himself to desire the baptism which he had hitherto deferred:

ὁ γὰρ φόβος δίδαγμα καιριώτερον.

4. **matris omnium** etc.] Cf. Gal. iv 26.

10. **mundatio**] Cf. Levit. xvi 30 in reference to the Day of Atonement, 'mundatio ab omnibus peccatis uestris.'

11. **lauacrum**] Cf. Tit. iii 5 'l. regenerationis' (λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας). Cypr. *Ep.* 1 'lauacro aquae salutaris animatus'; Tertull. *de Spect.* iv 'renuntiationis nostrae testimonium in lauacro.' The word is post-class., being first cited from Aul. Gell. 1 2. 2 (in sense 'bath'). It appears in this general sense also in Tertull. *de Cor.* iii.

ib. **maior...reatus foret**] Harnack *Dogmengeschichte* II 427 (Eng. Trans. IV 284) describes the general attitude in regard to Baptism, at this period, as follows: 'Although the principle was maintained that Baptism was indispensable to salvation, still people dreaded more the unworthy reception of it than the risk of ultimately failing to receive it. In the fourth century it was still very common to postpone it, in order not to use this sovran remedy (*Generalmittel*) till the hour of death. Baptism was accordingly regarded by many *in praxi* not as initiation into the Christian state, but as the completion of it. . . But the great Church Fathers of the fourth century defended the practice of infant Baptism, which had the support of tradition, and this was established in the fifth century as the general usage.'

15. **satagebat**] *was anxious.*

eam, ut superaret uirum, cui melior seruiebat, quia et in hoc tibi utique id iubenti seruiebat.

18 Rogo te, deus meus, uellem scire, si tu etiam uelles, quo consilio dilatus sum, ne tunc baptizarer, utrum bono meo mihi quasi laxata sint lora peccandi an non laxata sint. unde ergo etiam nunc de aliis atque aliis sonat undique in auribus nostris: "sine illum, faciat; nondum enim baptizatus est." et tamen in salute corporis non dicimus: sine uulneretur amplius; nondum enim sanatus est. quanto ergo melius et cito sanarer et id ageretur mecum meorum meaque diligentia, ut recepta salus animae meae tuta esset tutela tua, qui dedisses eam. melius uero. sed quot et quanti fluctus inpendere temptationum post pueritiam uidebantur, nouerat eos iam illa mater et terram potius, unde postea formarer, quam ipsam iam effigiem committere uolebat.

19 XII. In ipsa tamen pueritia, de qua mihi minus quam de adulescentia metuebatur, non amabam litteras et me in eas urgeri oderam; et urgebar tamen et bene mihi fiebat nec faciebam ego bene: non enim discerem, nisi cogerer. nemo enim inuitus bene facit, etiamsi bonum est quod facit. nec qui me urgebant, bene faciebant, sed bene mihi fiebat abs te, deus meus. illi enim non intuebantur, quo referrem quod me discere cogebant, praeterquam ad satiandas insatiabiles cupi-

14 potius *coniec. Knöll*; per eos MSS., p' eos Q^1, territa p. eos O^2 *s.l.*, tibi tam eos B. 19 *alt.* enim] autem BCEFGMOPQV *edd.*

13. **terram...uolebat**] In book XIII, where A. allegorises the story of creation, he explains the earth as the natural man, and the waters as sins, cf. § 13 'terra nostra antequam acciperet formam doctrinae inuisibilis erat et incomposita' (ref. Gen. i 2, Old Lat.). Again, like the earth emerging from the waters, we attain (8) 'ad supereminentem requiem, cum pertransierit anima nostra aquas quae sunt sine substantia.' This last phrase, from Ps. cxxiii 5 (cxxiv 5), Old Lat. (where it arises from a mistranslation of LXX *τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἀνυπόστατον*), A. explains (*Enarr. in Ps.* ad loc.) as meaning 'sins,' 'for sins are without substance'—a consequence of his theory of evil as negative. Cf. VII 18.

14. **effigiem**] Cp. Gen. i 27. It was the view that this image is restored in Baptism (see *e.g.* Tert. *de Bapt.* v).

XII. *Forced to learn against his will; and this was well.*

ditates copiosae inopiae et ignominiosae gloriae. tu uero, cui numerati sunt capilli nostri, errore omnium, qui mihi instabant ut discerem, utebaris ad utilitatem meam, meo autem, qui discere nolebam, utebaris ad poenam meam, qua plecti non eram indignus tantillus puer et tantus peccator. ita non de bene facientibus tu bene faciebas mihi et de peccante me ipso iuste retribuebas mihi. iussisti enim et sic est, ut poena sua sibi sit omnis inordinatus animus.

XIII. Quid autem erat causae, cur graecas litteras oderam, quibus puerulus imbuebar, ne nunc quidem mihi satis exploratum est. adamaueram enim latinas, non quas primi magistri, sed quas docent qui grammatici uocantur. nam illas primas,

2 nostri] capitis n. BCFH *edd.*

1. **cui numerati** etc.] Mt. x 30.

XIII. *He hates Greek, but loves Latin, and weeps for the woes of Dido when he reads Vergil.*

9. **graecas litteras**] The extent of A.'s ultimate knowledge of Greek has been the subject of some controversy. The main facts are that he was accustomed in his exegetical works to check the Latin versions by the Greek, but that he never apparently acquired the power of reading Greek with freedom (cf. *de Trin.* III 1. 1). A passage in *c. Litt. Petil.* (II 38. 91) 'et ego quidem graecae linguae perperam assecutus sum et prope nihil' is not so conclusive as it appears at first sight, for A. immediately proceeds to trip up his adversary in a mistake ('non tamen impudenter dico, me nosse ὅλον non esse unum, sed totum'), and it would be quite in accordance with rhetorical practice to preface this thrust with a slightly ironical profession of ignorance. In *c. Iul. Pelag.* I 6. 26, he quotes a short passage from Chrysostom (*Hom. ad Neophyt.*) and adds a literal rendering of his own, criticising the current version as inaccurate. Reuter *Augustinische Studien* p. 181 suggests that there were probably men of Greek extraction among A.'s friends or clergy (cf. *Serm.* clxxx 5, where he says to his hearers 'quotidie auditis Graecos'), with whose aid he may have extended his knowledge. Possidius *Vit. Aug.* v mentions that the Bishop Valerius, under whom A. was ordained presbyter, was more familiar with Greek than with Latin.

11. **primi magistri...grammatici**] There were three generally recognised grades of education, presided over respectively by (1) the 'primus magister' or 'ludi magister' (also called 'litterator,' Apuleius *Florid.* xx), who taught, as A. mentions, 'reading, writing and arithmetic'; (2) the 'grammaticus,' whose instruction had two main branches, correctness of speech and a critical appreciation of literature, including the theory and practice of metrical composition; but who also imparted, with a view to the understanding of literary allusions, some tincture of philosophy and astronomy; (3) the rhetorician, who aimed, in a word, at teaching his pupils how to be eloquent on every subject. A more profound study of

ubi legere et scribere et numerare discitur, non minus onerosas poenalesque habebam quam omnes graecas. unde tamen et hoc nisi de peccato et uanitate uitae, qua caro eram et spiritus ambulans et non reuertens? nam utique meliores, quia certiores, erant primae illae litterae, quibus fiebat in me et factum est et habeo illud, ut et legam, si quid scriptum inuenio, et scribam ipse, si quid uolo, quam illae, quibus tenere cogebar Aeneae nescio cuius errores oblitus errorum meorum et plorare Didonem mortuam, quia se occidit ab amore, cum interea me ipsum in his a te morientem, deus uita mea, siccis oculis ferrem miserrimus.

21 Quid enim miserius misero non miserante se ipsum et flente Didonis mortem, quae fiebat amando Aenean, non flente autem mortem suam, quae fiebat non amando te, deus, lumen cordis mei et panis oris intus animae meae et uirtus maritans mentem meam et sinum cogitationis meae? non te amabam et fornicabar abs te et fornicanti sonabat undique: "euge, euge." amicitia enim mundi huius fornicatio est abs te et "euge, euge" dicitur, ut pudeat, si non ita homo sit. et haec non flebam et

19 *alt.* et] sed BOPQ *edd.*

philosophy and mathematics was a stage beyond this again, not ordinarily attempted,—a kind of post-graduate course, which Apuleius, for instance, boasts of having taken at Athens (*Florid.* xx). See Boissier *Fin du Paganisme*, section: 'Instruction Publique.'

3. **spiritus ambulans** etc.] Ps. lxxvii 39 (lxxviii 39). Vulg. 'spiritus uadens, et non rediens.'

8. **Aeneae nescio cuius**] The 'nescio cuius' is doubtless intended to convey an air of aloofness, as of one to whom such matters were no longer of interest. Cf. 'cuiusdam Ciceronis,' III 7, where see note. A., the Bishop, thought it necessary sometimes to discipline A., the lover of literature; but quotations from Vergil still came very readily to his pen when, towards the close of life, he wrote the *de Ciu. Dei*.

10. **uita mea**] Cf. Jn xi 25, xiv 6.

15. **panis...animae**] Cf. Jn vi 35, 48, 59 (58).

17. **fornicabar abs te**] Ps. lxxii 27 (lxxiii 27).

ib. **euge, euge**] Cf. Ps. xxxix 16 (xl 15), with A.'s comment (*Enarr. in Ps.* xxxix § 26) 'Qui enim orauit, Conuertantur retrorsum et confundantur qui uolent mihi mala, respexit ad aliud genus dolose maleuolum, et falso benedicum: Ferant confestim confusionem suam, qui dicunt mihi Euge, euge. Laudant falso: magnus uir, bonus uir, litteratus, doctus, sed quare Christianus?'

18. **amicitia** etc.] Cf. Ja. iv 4 'Adulteri, nescitis quia amicitia huius mundi inimica est Dei?'

flebam Didonem extinctam ferroque extrema secutam, sequens ipse extrema condita tua relicto te et terra iens in terram: et si prohiberer ea legere, dolerem, quia non legerem quod dolerem. talis dementia honestiores et uberiores litterae putantur quam illae, quibus legere et scribere didici.

Sed nunc in anima mea clamet deus meus et ueritas tua 22
dicat mihi: non est ita, non est ita; melior est prorsus doctrina illa prior. nam ecce paratior sum obliuisci errores Aeneae atque omnia eius modi quam scribere et legere. at enim uela pendent liminibus grammaticarum scholarum, sed non illa magis honorem secreti quam tegimentum erroris significant. non clament aduersus me quos iam non timeo, dum confiteor tibi quae uult anima mea, deus meus, et adquiesco in reprehensione malarum uiarum mearum, ut diligam bonas uias tuas. non clament aduersus me uenditores grammaticae uel emptores, quia, si proponam eis interrogans, utrum uerum sit quod Aenean aliquando Carthaginem uenisse poeta dicit, indoctiores nescire se respondebunt, doctiores autem etiam negabunt uerum esse. at si quaeram, quibus litteris scribatur Aeneae nomen, omnes mihi, qui haec didicerunt, uerum respondent et secundum id pactum et placitum, quo inter se homines ista

1. **extinctam ferroque** etc.] *Aen.* VI 457.

ib. **sequens ipse extrema**] *seeking the lowest things of Thy creation.* A. plays on the 'extrema secutam' of the quotation, the point of connexion being purely verbal.

9. **uela pendent**] Schools were often held in open-sided buildings, called 'pergulae' ('pergulas magistrales,' Vopisc. *Saturnin.* X *fin.*), divided from the street only by a row of columns on which hangings were stretched. The painting from Pompeii alluded to above (14. 17, note) shows a school of this kind. (Boissier *ut sup.* I 180.) There is no indication that these hangings were generally felt to have a symbolical significance, but A. here associates them sarcastically with the curtains which were hung before the shrines in which were kept images of special sanctity, in order to increase the reverence of the worshipper by means of the suggestion of mystery.

14. **malarum uiarum**] Cf. Jer. xviii 11 'reuertatur unusquisque a uia sua mala.'

21. **pactum et placitum**] A. frequently uses language which suggests the 'social contract' theory of human institutions, applying it *e.g.* in III 15 to political organisation in terms which Hobbes or Locke might have adopted. As regards language, the question whether words have their meanings φύσει or συνθήκῃ had been much debated among philosophers. See Plato *Cratylus* (esp. 435 for P.'s own

signa firmarunt. item si quaeram, quid horum maiore uitae huius incommodo quisque obliuiscatur, legere et scribere an poetica illa figmenta, quis non uideat, quid responsurus sit, qui non est penitus oblitus sui? peccabam ergo puer, cum illa inania istis utilioribus amore praeponebam uel potius ista oderam, illa amabam. iam uero unum et unum duo, duo et duo quattuor odiosa cantio mihi erat et dulcissimum spectaculum uanitatis equus ligneus plenus armatis et Troiae incendium atque ipsius umbra Creusae.

23 XIV. Cur ergo graecam etiam grammaticam oderam talia cantantem? nam et Homerus peritus texuerat tales fabellas et dulcissime uanus est et mihi tamen amarus erat puero. credo etiam graecis pueris Vergilius ita sit, cum eum sic discere coguntur ut ego illum. uidelicet difficultas, difficultas omnino ediscendae linguae peregrinae quasi felle aspergebat omnes suauitates graecas fabulosarum narrationum. nulla enim uerba illa noueram et saeuis terroribus ac poenis, ut nossem, instabatur mihi uehementer. nam et latina aliquando infans utique nulla noueram et tamen aduertendo didici sine ullo metu atque cruciatu inter etiam blandimenta nutricum et ioca arridentium et laetitias alludentium. didici uero illa sine poenali onere urgentium, cum me urgeret cor meum ad parienda concepta sua, id quod non esset, nisi aliqua

7 spectaculum] speculum BPQSW, spectalum H. 11 texuerat] *coniec. Knöll*, texerat SW, texere BCFGMOPQV *edd.*

view), and cf. Steinthal *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* 107 f., 163. A.'s reference here however is rather to the adoption of symbols for the various sounds—the origin of the alphabet.

9. **atque...Creusae**] *Aen.* II 772.

XIV. *Asks why he hated Greek and loved Latin although Homer's tales delight as well as Vergil's? It was the difficulty of the foreign language.*

10. **graecam g. oderam**] Ausonius, writing of his school-days at Bordeaux, some forty years prior to A.'s boyhood, confesses to a similar distaste and dulness with regard to Greek, and indicates that it was general. The teachers, though zealous, had little to show for their efforts (*Comm. Profess.* VIII 5 *sq.*):

'Sedulum cunctis studium docendi,
fructus exilis tenuisque sermo:
. . . . . .
obstitit nostrae, quia, credo, mentis
tardior sensus, neque disciplinis
adpulit Graecis puerilis aeui
noxius error.'

uerba didicissem non a docentibus, sed a loquentibus, in quorum et ego auribus parturiebam quidquid sentiebam. hinc satis elucet maiorem habere uim ad discenda ista liberam curiositatem quam meticulosam necessitatem. sed illius fluxum haec restringit legibus tuis, deus, legibus tuis a magistrorum ferulis usque ad temptationes martyrum, ualentibus legibus tuis miscere salubres amaritudines reuocantes nos ad te a iucunditate pestifera, qua recessimus a te.

XV. Exaudi, domine, deprecationem meam, ne deficiat 24 anima mea sub disciplina tua neque deficiam in confitendo tibi miserationes tuas, quibus eruisti me ab omnibus uiis meis pessimis, ut dulcescas mihi super omnes seductiones, quas sequebar, et amem te ualidissime et amplexem manum tuam totis praecordiis meis et eruas me ab omni temptatione usque in finem. ecce enim tu, domine, rex meus et deus meus; tibi seruiat quidquid utile puer didici, tibi seruiat quod loquor et scribo et lego et numero, quoniam cum uana discerem, tu disciplinam dabas mihi et in eis uanis peccata delectationum

4 metulosam SW.

3. **maiorem ... uim ad discenda**] A.'s keenness of psychological observation leads him to views of paedagogy which we are apt to think modern. His dialogues with his pupils (*de Magistro*, *c. Acad.*, *de Ord.* etc.) indicate that he followed the method of stimulating and guiding the 'libera curiositas' with much success.

XV. *He recognises the discipline of God in the troubles of his school life.*

9. **exaudi...deprecationem meam**] Ps. lx 2 (lxi 1).

11. **ab omnibus uiis...pessimis**] Cf. Jer. xxxv 15 'Conuertimini unusquisque a uia sua pessima.' All superlative force seems to have gone out of the word (Roensch *Itala und Vulgata* p. 416).

12. **ut dulcescas...super...seductiones**] Cf. *de Mus.* VI 16. 52 'Non enim amor temporalium rerum expugnaretur, nisi aliqua suauitate aeternarum.' Pascal expresses the same thought in the *Pensées*, II 17. 28 'On ne quitterait jamais les plaisirs du monde pour embrasser la croix de Jésus-Christ si on ne trouvait pas plus de douceur dans la pauvreté, dans le dénûment et dans le rebut des hommes que dans les délices du péché.'

14. **et eruas me ab omni temptatione**] Cf. Ps. xvii 30 (xviii 29) Old Lat. as quoted by A. *Enarr. in Ps.* 'Quoniam a te eruar a temptatione' (Vulg. 'in te eripiar' etc.).

ib. **usque in finem**] Cf. 1 Cor. i 8 'qui et confirmabit uos usque in finem.'

15. **rex meus et deus meus**] Ps. v 3 (v 2).

18. **in eis uanis**] qualifies 'delectationum' (Hyperbaton): *my sin of delighting in these vain things Thou didst forgive me.*

mearum dimisisti mihi. didici in eis multa uerba utilia; sed et in rebus non uanis disci possunt, et ea uia tuta est, in qua pueri ambularent.

XVI. Sed uae tibi, flumen moris humani! quis resistit tibi? quamdiu non siccaberis? quousque uolues Euae filios in mare magnum et formidulosum, quod uix transeunt qui lignum conscenderint? nonne ego in te legi et tonantem Iouem et adulterantem? et utique non posset haec duo, sed actum est, ut haberet auctoritatem imitandum uerum adulterium lenocinante falso tonitru. quis autem paenulatorum magistrorum audit aure sobria ex eodem puluere hominem clamantem et dicentem: fingebat haec Homerus et humana ad deos transferebat; diuina mallem ad nos? sed uerius dicitur,

1 didici SW, +enim BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

XVI. *The evil influence of the licentious tales of the heathen poets regarding the gods.*

4. **uae tibi** etc.] A.'s language is violent, but there were grounds for his apprehension. The pagan mould of education doubtless did leave its impress on Christian thought. Boissier (*ut sup.* I 171) remarks: 'C'est surtout l'éducation, je n'en doute pas, qui a fait entrer le paganisme dans l'imagination et dans le cœur des jeunes chrétiens des classes lettrées.'

6. **qui...conscend.**] *who embark upon the cross.* Cf. *Tract. in Ioann.* II 4 'fluctibus huius saeculi interrupta est uia, et qua transeatur ad patriam non est, nisi ligno porteris... crede in crucifixum et poteris peruenire.' The figure is probably based on the mystical interpretation of Wisd. xiv 7 where, in reference to the ark, it is said: 'Benedictum est enim lignum, per quod fit iustitia.'

7. **tonantem...et adulterantem**] Cf. Plato *Rep.* II 377, 378; III 390, on the evil influence of immoral stories of the gods. Milton in the *Areopagitica* (p. 7 ed. Hales) quotes the philosopher's practice against his theory: 'and that Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes, the loosest of them all, to his royal scholar Dionysius, is commonly known and may be excus'd, if holy Crisostome, as is reported, nightly studied so much the same author, and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the stile of a rousing sermon.'

10. **paenulatorum magistrorum**] The 'paenula' was a long, coarse, sleeveless cloak of frieze or leather, and in earlier times is usually mentioned in connexion with travelling, or with wet weather (see Mayor on Juvenal *Sat.* V 79 where the references are collected). Tacitus *Dial. de Orat.* 39 animadverts on the wearing of the paenula by orators when appearing before a judge as a slovenly practice (which he ironically attributes to humility) but implies that it had become usual. It is not clear, therefore, whether in A.'s time it was the usual wear for schoolmasters, or whether the epithet is somewhat contemptuous.

12. **fingebat haec Homerus**] Cic. *Tusc.* I 26.

quod fingebat haec quidem ille, sed hominibus flagitiosis diuina tribuendo, ne flagitia flagitia putarentur et ut quisquis ea fecisset, non homines perditos, sed caelestes deos uideretur imitatus.

Et tamen, o flumen tartareum, iactantur in te fili hominum 26 cum mercedibus, ut haec discant, et magna res agitur, cum hoc agitur publice in foro, in conspectu legum supra mercedem salaria decernentium, et saxa tua percutis et sonas dicens: "hinc uerba discuntur, hinc adquiritur eloquentia rebus persuadendis sententiisque explicandis maxime necessaria." ita ergo

1. **hominibus flagitiosis** etc.] *attributing divinity to profligate men.* This, A. means, is the way in which such myths arose. He several times refers with approval to the views of Euemerus, *e.g.* in *de Ciu. Dei* VI 7 he says of those who speak of the nurse of Jupiter, the lyre of Apollo, the weapons of Diana, etc. 'nonne attestati sunt Euemero, qui omnes tales deos non fabulosa garrulitate, sed historica diligentia homines fuisse mortalesque conscripsit?'

5. **o flumen tartareum**] In the ensuing lines metaphor and reality jostle one another in a very awkward fashion. The 'flumen tartareum' is the customary course of classical education, into which boys were cast *with their fees* ('cum mercedibus') by being sent to school. By 'hoc agitur publice in foro' we are probably to understand that the schools were actually held there, as Livy (III 44) mentions that they were in Rome in early times (and cf. *infr.* VI 14 where a pupil, between school hours, cons his lesson 'in foro'). The words 'in conspectu legum' would seem to imply that a copy of the laws in question was exhibited in the forum, but they may mean merely 'under the eye (with the sanction) of the law.' Finally the business-like statements made by the 'Tartarean flood' ('hinc uerba discuntur' etc.) carry the figure well over the verge of the ludicrous. Von Raumer understands by 'hoc agitur' a performance of the *Eunuchus* of Terence (?by the pupils, on a kind of 'speech-day'), but this could hardly have been introduced so vaguely and abruptly.

7. **supra mercedem salaria**] *stipends from the public funds in addition to the scholars' fees.* These salaries were fixed by Imperial decree, but except in the case of certain chairs specially founded by the Emperors, *e.g.* at Rome and Athens, were paid by the municipalities (Boissier). Vespasian first granted a salary from the public funds to teachers of rhetoric, and Hadrian accorded them various immunities. Constantius confirmed these privileges, and education was more thoroughly organised by Valentinian and Gratian. For details see Marquardt *Römische Staatsverwaltung* II 106–8.

9. **eloquentia...maxime necessaria**] Even Tertullian, who held that the office of a teacher was incompatible with the Christian profession, yielded to this plea of necessity as regards the scholar. 'Quomodo quis instrueretur ad prudentiam interim humanam, uel ad quemcumque sensum uel actum, cum instrumentum sit ad omnem uitam litteratura?' *de Idol.* x.

10. **ita ergo non** etc.] Ironical.

non cognosceremus uerba haec, imbrem et aureum et gremium et fucum et templa caeli et alia uerba, quae in eo loco scripta sunt, nisi Terentius induceret nequam adulescentem proponentem sibi Iouem ad exemplum stupri, dum spectat tabulam quandam pictam in pariete, ubi inerat pictura haec, Iouem quo pacto Danaae misisse aiunt in gremium quondam imbrem aureum, fucum factum mulieri? et uide, quemadmodum se concitat ad libidinem quasi caelesti magisterio:

> at quem deum!—inquit—qui templa caeli summo
> sonitu concutit.
> ego homuncio id non facerem? ego uero illud feci
> ac libens.

non omnino, non omnino per hanc turpitudinem uerba ista conmodius discuntur, sed per haec uerba turpitudo ista confidentius perpetratur. non accuso uerba quasi uasa lecta atque pretiosa, sed uinum erroris, quod in eis nobis propinabatur ab ebriis doctoribus, et nisi biberemus, caedebamur nec appellare ad aliquem iudicem sobrium licebat. et tamen ego, deus meus, in cuius conspectu iam secura est recordatio mea, libenter haec didici et eis delectabar miser et ob hoc bonae spei puer appellabar.

27 XVII. Sine me, deus meus, dicere aliquid de ingenio meo, munere tuo, in quibus a me deliramentis atterebatur. proponebatur enim mihi negotium animae meae satis inquietum praemio laudis et dedecoris uel plagarum metu, ut dicerem

6 in gremium quondam] quondam in g. *Ter.* 9 summa *Ter.* 11 uero illud feci] illud uero item (ita) feci *Ter. et edd.* 12 libens] lubens *Ter.* 13 *alt.* non omnino] – BCGHMOPQVW *edd.*

3. **Terentius induceret**] Ter. *Eun.* III v 36, 37, 41, 42, 43.

14. **turpitudo ... confidentius perpetratur**] Cf. Aristoph. *Clouds* 1076—1082, where the 'Unjust Argument' suggests that the example of Zeus is an excellent plea in defence of vice: *εἶτ' ἐς τὸν Δι' ἐπανενεγκεῖν κἀκεῖνος ὡς ἥττων ἔρωτός ἐστι καὶ γυναικῶν· καίτοι σύ, θνητὸς ὤν, θεοῦ πῶς μεῖζον ἂν δύναιο;*

XVII. *Is praised for declaiming his paraphrase of the words of Juno.*

24. **inquietum**] in active sense, 'disquieting.'

25. **ut dicerem uerba Iunonis**] Juvenal (VII 160 *sq.*) and Persius (III 47) allude to the weekly 'speech-

uerba Iunonis irascentis et dolentis, quod non possit Italia Teucrorum auertere regem, quae numquam Iunonem dixisse audieram. sed figmentorum poeticorum uestigia errantes sequi cogebamur et tale aliquid dicere solutis uerbis, quale poeta dixisset uersibus: et ille dicebat laudabilius, in quo pro dignitate adumbratae personae irae ac doloris similior affectus eminebat, uerbis sententias congruenter uestientibus. ut quid mihi illud, o uera uita, deus meus? quid mihi recitanti adclamabatur prae multis coaetaneis et conlectoribus meis? nonne ecce illa omnia fumus et uentus? itane aliud non erat, ubi exerceretur ingenium et lingua mea? laudes tuae, domine, laudes tuae per scripturas tuas suspenderent palmitem cordis mei et non raperetur per inania nugarum turpis praeda

days' of the schools, when the boys declaimed in the presence of admiring relatives on such subjects as Hannibal deliberating whether to march on Rome after the victory of Cannae, or Cato's determination not to survive his cause ('quae pater adductis sudans audiret amicis' Pers. III 47). Boissier (I 216) remarks on the advantages of this exercise: 'L'effort qu'il faut faire pour parler au nom d'un autre éveille et ouvre l'esprit (de l'élève), et il lui arrive qu'il apprend à distinguer ses impressions propres en essayant d'exprimer celles d'un étranger.'

1. **Italia** etc.] *Aen.* I 38.

12. **suspenderent palmitem**] *might have stayed the tender vine of my heart on the prop of Thy Scriptures.* There were obvious difficulties in the way of such a course. The church historian Socrates observes that the Scriptures do not teach the art of disputation, and it is necessary to possess that art in order to defend the truth (III 16). A scholar like Jerome might perceive that the 'sordida uestis' of the rendering covered a noble literature ('quid Psalterio canorius? quod in morem nostri Flacci, et Graeci Pindari, nunc iambo currit, nunc alcaico personat, nunc Sapphico tumet, nunc semipede ingreditur. quid Deuteronomii et Isaiae cantico pulchrius? quid Salamone gravius? quid perfectius Iob?' *Interp. Chron. Euseb.* Praef.), and A. himself in *de Doct. Christ.* IV shows how the untaught eloquence of prophet and apostle fulfils the laws of rhetorical art; but it could hardly be seriously proposed to use as vehicles of literary education those versions in which

'the ruggedest
Of Latin takes to it a Hebrew soul.'

For the 'soul,' or at least the method of thought, was hardly less foreign than the idiom to classical ideals. See Boissier *ut sup.* 238 ff.

13. **praeda uolatilibus** etc.] A., on Ps. viii 9 (viii 8), makes the 'fowls of the air' represent the proud; it was by pride the angels fell, and pride in man is therefore a pleasing sacrifice to them. Cf. *c. Faust.* XX 22 'Illi quippe superbi et impii spiritus, non nidore ac fumo, sicut nonnulli uani opinantur, sed hominum pascuntur erroribus.'

uolatilibus. non enim uno modo sacrificatur transgressoribus angelis.

28 XVIII. Quid autem mirum, quod in uanitates ita ferebar et a te, deus meus, ibam foras, quando mihi imitandi proponebantur homines, qui aliqua facta sua non mala, si cum barbarismo aut soloecismo enuntiarent, reprehensi confundebantur, si autem libidines suas integris et rite consequentibus uerbis copiose ordinateque narrarent, laudati gloriabantur? uides haec, domine, et taces longanimis et multum misericors et uerax. numquid semper tacebis? et nunc erues de hoc inmanissimo profundo quaerentem te animam et sitientem delectationes tuas, et cuius cor dicit tibi: quaesiui uultum tuum; uultum tuum, domine, requiram: nam longe a uultu tuo in affectu tenebroso. non enim pedibus aut spatiis locorum

8 ordinateque] ornateque BCFHOPQ *edd.* 13 longe] + eram C^2, + discesseram P^2 *supra lin.*

1. **non enim uno modo**] *there are more ways than one of sacrificing.*

XVIII. *Men are more afraid of violating the rules of the grammarian and rhetorician, than of sinning against God. Augustine recognises that as a boy he possessed good gifts both intellectual and moral. For these he gives God thanks.*

4. **a te...ibam foras**] The thought and expression here are alike coloured by Neo-Platonism. The Neo-Platonic sympathies of which A. describes the origin in VII, below, continued to influence his thought throughout his life, though they waned somewhat in his later period. When he wrote the *Confessions* they were still strong, though they had blended with, and been modified by, specifically Christian thought to a greater extent than in the dialogues written immediately after his conversion (see Introd.). With the phrase here, cf. Plotin. *Enn.* VI 9. 7 *πάντων τῶν ἔξω ἀφέμενον δεῖ ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς τὸ εἴσω πάντη.*

9. **longanimis...misericors**] Ps cii 8 (ciii 8).

ib. **et uerax**] Ps. lxxxv 15 (lxxxvi 15) 'patiens et multae misericordiae et uerax.'

10. **et nunc erues** etc.] Cf. Ps. lxxxv 13 (lxxxvi 13) 'eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori.'

11. **sitientem**] Cf. Ps. xli 3 (xlii 2) 'delectationes tuas,' and Ps. xv 11 (xvi 11) 'delectationes in dextera tua.'

12. **quaesiui** etc.] Ps. xxvi 8 (xxvii 8). Vulg. 'Tibi dixit cor meum, Exquisiuit te facies mea; faciem tuam, Domine, requiram.'

13. **nam longe** etc.] 'eram' must be understood.

14. **non enim pedibus** etc.] A. has here fused together the parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk. xv 11 *sq.*) and a passage from Plotinus. Some of the refs. ('filius ille tuus,' 'uiuens prodige dissiparet') are unmistakeably to the former, while some of the phrases are literally translated from the latter. Cf. *Enn.* I 6. 8 *φεύ-*

itur abs te aut reditur ad te, aut uero filius ille tuus equos aut currus uel naues quaesiuit aut auolauit pinna uisibili aut moto poplite iter egit, ut in longinqua regione uiuens prodige dissiparet quod dederas proficiscenti dulcis pater, quia dederas, et egeno redeunti dulcior: in affectu ergo libidinoso, id enim est tenebroso atque id est longe a uultu tuo.

Vide, domine deus meus, et patienter, ut uides, uide, quo- 29
modo diligenter obseruent filii hominum pacta litterarum et syllabarum accepta a prioribus locutoribus et a te accepta aeterna pacta perpetuae salutis neglegant, ut qui illa sonorum uetera placita teneat aut doceat, si contra disciplinam grammaticam sine adspiratione primae syllabae hominem dixerit, magis displiceat hominibus, quam si contra tua praecepta hominem oderit, cum sit homo. quasi uero quemlibet inimicum hominem perniciosius sentiat quam ipsum odium, quo in eum irritatur, aut uastet quisquam persequendo alium grauius, quam cor suum uastat inimicando. et certe non est interior litterarum scientia quam scripta conscientia, id se alteri facere quod nolit pati. quam tu secretus es, habitans in excelsis in silentio, deus solus magnus, lege infatigabili spargens poenales caecitates supra inlicitas cupiditates, cum homo eloquentiae

1 tuus]+minor BCFGHOPV *edd.* 12 ominem (h *ras*) O. 20 infatigabilis SV infatigabili* O.

γωμεν δὴ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα....τίς οὖν ὁ στόλος καὶ ἡ φυγή; οὐ ποσὶ δεῖ διανύσαι...οὐδέ σε δεῖ ἵππων ὄχημα ἤ τι θαλάττιον παρασκευάσαι.

12. **sine adspiratione ... hominem dixerit**] Boissier, *Roman Africa* (E. T. p. 207), quotes an inscription upon a gaming-table found at Timegad in Numidia in which the aspirate is omitted. It runs 'Venari, Lauari, Ludere, Ridere, *Occ* est Viuere.'

17. **inimicando**] *by cherishing hostile feelings.* For the neuter sense cp. Ecclus. xxviii 6 'desine inimicari.' On the strength of these two passages Georges *Lex. Lat.* assumes a deponent form 'inimicor.' 'Inimico' elsewhere means 'to set at variance.'

18. **scripta conscientia**] Cf. Rom. ii 15 'qui ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cordibus, testimonium reddente illis conscientia ipsorum.' A.'s phrase seems to be elliptical, since the consciousness that a man is doing a wrong can hardly itself be said to be written in the heart, but rather the inner law from which that consciousness results.

ib. **id se alteri facere**] Cf. Tob. iv 16 'quod ab alio oderis fieri tibi, uide ne tu aliquando alteri facias.' But probably A. was made familiar with the sentiment by the *Didaché* § 1.

famam quaeritans ante hominem iudicem circumstante hominum multitudine inimicum suum odio inmanissimo insectans uigilantissime cauet, ne per linguae errorem dicat: inter omines, et ne per mentis furorem hominem auferat ex hominibus, non cauet.

XIX. Horum ego puer morum in limine iacebam miser, et huius harenae palaestra erat illa, ubi magis timebam barbarismum facere quam cauebam, si facerem, non facientibus inuidere. dico haec et confiteor tibi, deus meus, in quibus laudabar ab eis, quibus placere tunc mihi erat honeste uiuere. non enim uidebam uoraginem turpitudinis, in quam proiectus eram ab oculis tuis. nam in illis iam quid me foedius fuit, ubi etiam talibus displicebam fallendo innumerabilibus mendaciis et paedagogum et magistros et parentes amore ludendi, studio spectandi nugatoria et imitandi ludicra inquietudine? furta etiam faciebam de cellario parentum et de mensa uel gula imperante, uel ut haberem quod darem pueris, ludum suum mihi, quo pariter utique delectabantur, tamen uendentibus. in quo etiam ludo fraudulentas uictorias ipse uana excellentiae cupiditate uictus saepe aucupabar. quid enim tam nolebam pati atque atrociter, si deprehenderem, arguebam, quam id quod aliis faciebam et, si deprehensus arguerer, saeuire magis quam cedere libebat? istane est innocentia puerilis? non est, domine, non est, oro te, deus meus. nam haec ipsa sunt,

1 quaeritans] quaerit astans BPQ *edd.* quaerit*stans (a *ras.*) C, quaerit stans FHM. 3 omines *coniec. Knöll*; homines GPQSVW; hominibus O. 17 imperitante BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 19 uanae BFGPQV *edd.* 20 enim] autem BCFGHMOPV *edd.*

3. **inter omines**] Knöll at first accepted the reading of O, 'hominibus,' but in a subsequent essay (*Serta. Harteliana* p. 137 ff.), he suggested the conjectural reading given here (which appears in the corrigenda to his *editio maior*), the vulgarism being the omission of the aspirate referred to above (p. 30, 12). It answers better to the following 'barbarismum' than 'hominibus,' which would be a solecism.

XIX. *Not even the period of childhood is truly innocent.*

11. **proiectus** etc.] Ps. xxx 23 (xxxi 12) (Vulg. 'Proiectus sum a facie oculorum tuorum.')

24. **oro te**] a parenthetic formula of reverence intended here to soften

quae a paedagogis et magistris, a nucibus et pilulis et passeribus, ad praefectos et reges, aurum, praedia, mancipia, haec ipsa omnino succedentibus maioribus aetatibus transeunt, sicuti ferulis maiora supplicia succedunt. humilitatis ergo signum in statura pueritiae, rex noster, probasti, cum aisti: talium est regnum caelorum.

XX. Sed tamen, domine, tibi excellentissimo, optimo 31
conditori et rectori uniuersitatis, deo nostro gratias, etiamsi me puerum tantum esse uoluisses. eram enim etiam tunc, uiuebam atque sentiebam meamque incolumitatem, uestigium secretissimae unitatis, ex qua eram, curae habebam, custodiebam interiore sensu integritatem sensuum meorum inque ipsis

the dictatorial vehemence of the statement. Cf. § 12 *sup.*, *fin.*, and XII 11 *fin.*

ib. **haec ipsa...succedunt** etc.] *These are the same offences which, as our years advance, come to be committed, not against tutors and teachers for the sake of nuts and balls and sparrows, but against kings and governors for the sake of gold, estates and slaves, just as the cane is succeeded by proportionately heavier penalties.*

4. **humilitatis...signum** etc.] *It was therefore the symbol of humility in the lowly stature* (not actual innocence) *that Thou didst approve.*

5. **talium est** etc.] Mt. xix 14.

XX. *A. gives thanks to God for the gifts of bodily and mental life, which He preserved to him, in spite of his misuse of them.*

9. **puerum tantum**] *i.e.* even if he had not lived beyond boyhood.

10. **uestig. secret. unitatis**] Here again the turn of thought is Neo-Platonic. For 'secretissima unitas' cf. Plotin. *Enn.* III 8. 10 *εἰ δὲ τὸ τῶν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ὄντων ἕν, τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πηγὴν καὶ δύναμιν, λαμβάνοι...τοιοῦτο μέντοι (ἐστὶ) οἷον μηδενὸς αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖσθαι δυναμένου, μὴ ὄντος, μὴ οὐσίας, μὴ ζωῆς, τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντα ταῦτα εἶναι.* For 'uestigium' (*ἴχνος*) cf. *Enn.* III 8. 11 *οἷον δὲ ἐνορᾶται ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἴχνος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τοιοῦτον τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐννοεῖν προσήκει τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἐκείνου ἐνθυμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ νῷ ἐπιθέοντος ἴχνους·* and, for the general thought, *Enn.* VI 9. 1 *πάντα τὰ ὄντα τῷ ἑνί ἐστιν ὄντα. ..καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια δέ, ὅταν εἰς ἓν συνταχθῇ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ κάλλος, ὅταν ἡ τοῦ ἑνὸς τὰ μόρια κατάσχῃ φύσις.*

12. **interiore sensu**] Consciousness, so far as conversant with sensation, A. thinks of as a kind of sixth sense—the 'common sense' of the Aristotelian and Stoic psychologies—by which the impressions conveyed through the sense organs are correlated. Siebeck *Anfänge der neueren Psychologie in der Scholastik* (*Zeitschr. f. Phil.*, 1888, 161 ff.) maintains that A. goes beyond his predecessors in the clearness with which he attributes to this sense, not merely the correlation of diverse sensations, but the consciousness of the self as the subject of sensation. Cf. *de Lib. Arb.* II 4. 10 'Arbitror etiam illud esse manifestum, sensum illum interiorem non ea tantum sentire, quae acceperit a quinque sensibus corporis, sed etiam ipsos ab eo sentiri.'

paruis paruarumque rerum cogitationibus ueritate delectabar. falli nolebam, memoria uigebam, locutione instruebar, amicitia mulcebar, fugiebam dolorem, abiectionem, ignorantiam. quid in tali animante non mirabile atque laudabile? at ista omnia dei mei dona sunt, non mihi ego dedi haec: et bona sunt et haec omnia ego. bonus ergo est qui fecit me, et ipse est bonum meum et illi exulto bonis omnibus, quibus etiam puer eram. hoc enim peccabam, quod non in ipso, sed in creaturis eius, me atque ceteris, uoluptates, sublimitates, ueritates quaerebam, atque ita inruebam in dolores, confusiones, errores. gratias tibi, dulcedo mea et honor meus et fiducia mea, deus meus, gratias tibi de donis tuis; sed tu mihi ea serua. ita enim seruabis me, et augebuntur et perficientur quae dedisti mihi, et ero ipse tecum, quia et ut sim tu dedisti mihi.

9 ceteris] ceteras FMSW.

8. **peccabam ... quod in creaturis**] Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* I 6. 8 *ἰδόντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ ἐν σώμασι καλὰ μήτοι προστρέχειν, ἀλλὰ γνόντα ὡς εἰσιν εἰκόνες καὶ ἴχνη καὶ σκιαί, φεύγειν πρὸς ἐκεῖνο, οὗ ταῦτα εἰκόνες.*

9. **me atque ceteris**] In apposition with 'creaturis.' Knöll printed 'ceteras' in his *editio maior*, following SW, but in the (later) *editio minor* restores 'ceteris.' There can be little doubt that the latter is the correct reading, as the other is both irrational and easily explicable as due to the influence of the following 'uoluptates.'

LIBER SECUNDUS.

I. Recordari uolo transactas foeditates meas et carnales 1
corruptiones animae meae, non quod eas amem, sed ut amem
te, deus meus. amore amoris tui facio istuc, recolens uias
meas nequissimas in amaritudine recogitationis meae, ut tu
5 dulcescas mihi, dulcedo non fallax, dulcedo felix et secura, et
colligens me a dispersione, in qua frustatim discissus sum,
dum ab uno te auersus in multa euanui. exarsi enim ali-
quando satiari inferis in adulescentia et siluescere ausus sum

3 istuc S, istud *cett. et edd.* 8 inferis] in inferis PQ, inferius C.

I. *A. gives his reasons for recalling the sins of his early life.*

5. **dulcedo...et colligens me**] For the form of the phrase cf. Ps. iii 4 (iii 3) 'gloria mea, et exaltans caput meum.'

6. **frustatim discissus**] Cf. *Enn.* VI 9. 1, where Plotinus illustrates the importance of the principle of Unity from the fact that even material bodies if divided up into a number of parts (*εἰς πλῆθος θρυπτόμενα*) lose their identity. Dr Bigg (*Translation of the Confessions*, p. 67 note) suggests that there is a reference in A.'s words to the myth of Osiris, whose brother Typhon (Set) slew him, divided up his body, and widely scattered its parts; which were afterwards sought out with pious care by Isis. (See Plutarch *de Iside et Osiride* xiii—xvi.) A. alludes to Osiris—as he does to most of the pagan divinities—in *de Ciu. Dei* (VI 10, VIII 26, 27, X 11), but not in such a way as to give any definite confirmation to this conjecture. The usual interpretation of the Osiris myth found in it a symbol of the death and resurrection of Nature (as in the story of Demeter and Persephone). See Athenag. *Apol.* 22, Tertull. *adu. Marc.* I 13.

7. **auersus...euanui**] Similarly Plotinus (VI 9. 8) says that our life depends on our relation to God; if that relation is not maintained destruction follows: *καὶ ὅταν μή, λύσις ἡμῖν παντελὴς ἔσται καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσόμεθα.*

8. **satiari inferis**] *to take my fill of Hell* (*i.e.* of evil). This is the natural meaning of the words. If A. had meant simply the things of this lower world, it is probable that he would have said 'inferioribus.' Cf. *de Vera Rel.* xii 23 where he plays on the connexion of the words: 'diligendo inferiora, in egestate uoluptatum suarum et in doloribus apud inferos ordinatur.' For a rhetorical use of 'inferi' cf. *de Ciu. Dei* XXII 22 'ab huius tam miserae quasi quibusdam inferis uitae non liberat nisi gratia Saluatoris Christi.' The variants do not suggest any corruption in the text. If a con-

uariis et umbrosis amoribus, et contabuit species mea et conputrui coram oculis tuis placens mihi et placere cupiens oculis hominum.

2 II. Et quid erat, quod me delectabat, nisi amare et amari? sed non tenebatur modus ab animo usque ad animum, quatenus est luminosus limes amicitiae, sed exhalabantur nebulae de limosa concupiscentia carnis et scatebra pubertatis et obnubilabant atque obfuscabant cor meum, ut non discerneretur serenitas dilectionis a caligine libidinis. utrumque in confuso aestuabat et rapiebat inbecillam aetatem per abrupta cupiditatum atque mersabat gurgite flagitiorum. inualuerat super me ira tua et nesciebam. obsurdueram stridore catenae mortalitatis meae, poena superbia animae meae, et ibam longius a te, et sinebas, et iactabar et effundebar et diffluebam et

13 superbia SW, superbiae *cett. et edd.*

jecture were legitimate 'infimis' would be tempting, cf. § 10 'infimis pulchris'; § 11 '(bona) quae infima diximus.'

ib. **siluescere ausus sum** etc.] *ran wild into a rank luxuriance of follies.* For the technical use of 'siluescere' ('run to leaf') from which the metaphor is drawn cf. Columella *de Re Rust.* IV. 11 'Nos autem magister docuit usus...nec pati uitem superuacuis frondibus luxuriantem siluescere.'

II. *He expresses regret that his friends did not seek to control his youthful lusts by means of marriage.*

6. **luminosus limes**] *friendship's fair bound*—carrying also the suggestion that the boundary is clear and unmistakeable. The sequence of similar forms 'luminosus, limes, limosa' is no doubt intentional. There is a striking reference to this passage in R. L. Stevenson's *Letters* (I 361) "See also (Augustine's) splendid passage about the 'luminosus limes amicitiae' and the 'nebulae de limosa concupiscentia carnis' going on: 'Utrumque in confuso aestuabat...' That 'utrumque' is a real contribution to life's science. Lust *alone* is but a pigmy; but it never or rarely attacks us single-handed."

12. **obsurdueram** etc.] *I had been deafened by the clanging chain of my mortality, by the penal pride of my mind, i.e.* the chain of pride which bound our mortality upon us. This seems to be the simplest explanation, but the sentence is in any case difficult, 'superbia' being logically in apposition with 'catenae,' but grammatically with 'stridore.' Again, in the apposition 'poena superbia,' 'poena' is virtually adjectival (cf. 'hominem iudicem' I 29). The reading 'superbia' is found in SW only, a combination to which Knöll attributes preponderant authority; all other MSS. have 'superbiae.' With the latter reading we might interpret: deafened by the clangour of the bodily senses ('mortalitatis' = mortal body, abstract for concrete) whose power to deafen me was the penalty of my pride in seeking to be independent of God.

ebulliebam per fornicationes meas, et tacebas. o tardum gaudium meum! tacebas tunc, et ego ibam porro longe a te in plura et plura sterilia semina dolorum superba deiectione et inquieta lassitudine.

Quis mihi modularetur aerumnam meam et nouissimarum 3
rerum fugaces pulchritudines in usum uerteret earumque suauitatibus metas praefigeret, ut usque ad coniugale litus exaestuarent fluctus aetatis meae, si tranquillitas in eis non poterat esse fine procreandorum liberorum contenta, sicut praescribit lex tua, domine, qui formas etiam propaginem mortis nostrae, potens inponere lenem manum ad temperamentum spinarum a paradiso tuo seclusarum? non enim longe est a nobis omnipotentia tua, etiam cum longe sumus a te. aut certe sonitum nubium tuarum uigilantius aduerterem: tribulationem autem carnis habebunt huius modi. ego autem uobis parco, et:

10 mortis] mortalitatis BO²PQ *m.*

1. **o tardum gaudium**] Cf. x 38 'sero te amaui.'

3. **superba deiectione** etc.] Oxymoron: *proud dejection and restless weariness.*

5. **nouissimarum rerum**] *of the least exalted things.*

7. **usque ad coniugale litus** etc.] It is not surprising that in revulsion from this unworthy idea of marriage A. should have felt that the earnestness of his conversion involved celibacy (VIII 30 fin.). It shows, on the other hand, his largeness of mind, that his ascetic sympathies did not prevent his adopting later the considerably higher view of marriage exhibited in *de Bono Coniugali.*

ib. **exaestuarent fluctus**] The phrase is reminiscent of Job xxxviii 11 'usque huc uenies...et hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos.'

11. **ad temperamentum** etc.] In late style an abst. subst. is often used as the object of the verb in preference to a verbal or participial phrase, *e.g.* here a gerundive. Cp. Goelzer *Latinité de St. Jérôme* p. 391 sq.

ib. **spinarum...seclusarum**] A verbal reference to Gen. iii. 18 seems to be combined with an allusion to Mt. xxii. 30.

13. **sonitum nubium**] By 'sonitum nubium tuarum' A. means 'the thunder of Thy Scriptures.' Cf. *de Gen. contr. Manich.* II 3. 5...'de nubibus eas irrigat, id est de Scripturis Prophetarum atque Apostolorum. Recte autem appellantur nubes, quia uerba ista quae sonant et percusso aere transeunt, addita etiam obscuritate allegoriarum quasi aliqua caligine obducta, uelut nubes fiunt.' See also *Enarr. in Ps.* lvi 11 (lvii 10) § 17 where he says 'nubes enim intellegimus praedicatores ueritatis, homines portantes istam carnem caliginosam quodammodo, inde Deus et coruscat miraculis et tonat praeceptis.'

14. **tribulationem ... parco**] 1 Cor. vii 28.

bonum est homini mulierem non tangere, et: qui sine uxore est, cogitat ea quae sunt dei, quomodo placeat deo; qui autem matrimonio iunctus est, cogitat ea quae sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uxori. has ergo uoces exaudirem uigilantior et abscisus propter regnum caelorum felicior expectarem amplexus tuos.

4 Sed efferbui miser, sequens impetum fluxus mei relicto te, et excessi omnia legitima tua nec euasi flagella tua: quis enim hoc mortalium? nam tu semper aderas misericorditer saeuiens, et amarissimis aspargens offensionibus omnes illicitas iucunditates meas, ut ita quaererem sine offensione iucundari, et ubi hoc possem, non inuenirem quicquam praeter te, domine, praeter te, qui fingis dolorem in praecepto et percutis, ut sanes, et occidis nos, ne moriamur abs te. ubi eram et quam longe exulabam a deliciis domus tuae anno illo sexto decimo aetatis carnis meae, cum accepit in me sceptrum et totas

10 aspergens BCGHMOQW *edd.*

1. **bonum ... tangere**] 1 Cor. vii 1.

2. **qui...placeat uxori**] 1 Cor. vii 32, 33.

5. **propter regnum caelorum**] Mt. xix 12.

7. **sequens impetum fluxus mei**] 'following the impulses of my unstable nature.' Cf. *Serm.* cxix 3 'Noli sequi flumen carnis. Caro quippe ista fluuius est: non enim manet.'

13. **qui fingis dolorem** etc.] Ps. xciii 20 (xciv 20). This curious rendering arises from a misunderstanding of the LXX on the part of the Latin translators. The meaning of the Heb. is 'Shall the throne of wickedness, which frameth mischief by statute, have fellowship with thee?' The LXX rendered correctly *μὴ συμπροσέσται σοι θρόνος ἀνομίας, ὁ πλάσσων κόπον ἐπὶ προστάγματι;* but the Latin translators took the ambiguous participle *ὁ πλάσσων* as referring to 'thee' instead of to 'throne.' A. interprets (*Enarr. in Ps.* ad loc.) the Lat. rendering as meaning that God makes suffering a lesson to His people ('ut ipse dolor praeceptum sit nobis') and takes the argument of the verse as 'a fortiori': 'Quomodo ergo erunt tecum iniqui, quando nec tuis fidelibus parcis, ut exerceas et erudias eos?'

ib. **percutis, ut sanes**] Cf. Deut. xxxii 39 'ego occidam et ego uiuere faciam, percutiam et ego sanabo.'

16. **accepit ... sceptrum**] The subject is 'uesania libidinis' (Hyperbaton).

ib. **totas manus ei dedi**] 'completely surrendered myself to it.' For the free metaphorical use cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI 568

'Non illum tectis ullae, non moenibus urbes
accepere: neque ipse manus feritate dedisset.'

manus ei dedi uesania libidinis, licentiosae per dedecus humanum, inlicitae autem per leges tuas? non fuit cura meorum ruentem excipere me matrimonio, sed cura fuit tantum, ut discerem sermonem facere quam optimum et persuadere dictione.

III. Et anno quidem illo intermissa erant studia mea, dum mihi reducto a Madauris, in qua uicina urbe iam coeperam litteraturae atque oratoriae percipiendae gratia peregrinari, longinquioris apud Carthaginem peregrinationis sumptus parabantur animositate magis quam opibus patris, municipis Thagastensis admodum tenuis. cui narro haec? neque enim tibi, deus meus, sed apud te narro haec generi meo, generi humano, quantulacumque ex particula incidere potest in istas

9 parabantur] praeparabantur BCDEFGHMOPQV *edd.*

1. **licentiosae ... inlicitae]** Paronomasia.

4. **sermonem facere]** 'Rhetoric was the one educational discipline of the Roman Empire, and the passport to success in every walk of life.' S. H. Butcher *Harvard Lect. on Greek Subjects*, p. 247. See I 27 sq. notes.

III. *On his return from Madaura he spends a year at home, as his father could not immediately bear the expense of sending him to Carthage. A year of evil idleness.*

7. **Madauris]** (For the nom., both Madauri, and Madaura, fem. sing., are found.) Madaura lay some 20 miles S. of Thagaste on the borders of Numidia and Gaetulia. It was the birthplace of the rhetorician Apuleius, who calls himself in reference to his origin 'Seminumida' and 'Semigaetulus.' Its schools attained some distinction, and its ruins show it to have been a place of importance. In a letter written to the people of Madaura urging them to abandon idolatry, A. addresses them, in reference probably to his sojourn among them, as 'fratres mei et parentes mei' *Ep.* ccxxxii 7.

10. **animositate** etc.] *with a spirit that outran his means.*

ib. **municipis]** A burgess with full civic rights. Possidius (*Vit. Aug.* cap. 1) mentions that he was a member of the local curia (which was a miniature copy of the Roman Senate—Marquardt *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I 501). After the time of Caracalla, who conferred the citizenship on all free inhabitants of the Empire, 'municipium' became the regular term for all other town-communities in contradistinction to Rome (*ib.* p. 463). Marquardt (*ut sup.* p. 512) says that, since the 'decuriones' were made personally answerable for all the obligations of the community, the status of 'decurio' became, instead of an honour, an intolerable burden, which those who were liable to serve did their best to avoid.

11. **Thagastensis]** Pliny mentions Thagaste as one of the thirty 'oppida libera' of the Province of Africa, *Nat. Hist.* v 4.

ib. **admodum tenuis]** A. speaks, *Ep.* cxxvi 7, of his 'scant acres' ('pauca agellula').

13. **quantulacumque ex particula]** A. is fond of combining

meas litteras. et ut quid hoc? ut uidelicet ego et quisquis haec legit cogitemus, de quam profundo clamandum sit ad te. et quid propius auribus tuis, si cor confitens et uita ex fide est? quis enim non extollebat laudibus tunc hominem patrem meum, quod ultra uires rei familiaris suae impenderet filio, quidquid etiam longe peregrinanti studiorum causa opus esset? multorum enim ciuium longe opulentiorum nullum tale negotium pro liberis erat, cum interea non satageret idem pater, qualis crescerem tibi aut quam castus essem, dummodo essem disertus uel desertus potius a cultura tua, deus, qui es unus uerus et bonus dominus agri tui, cordis mei.

6 Sed ubi sexto illo et decimo anno interposito otio ex necessitate domestica feriatus ab omni schola cum parentibus esse coepi, excesserunt caput meum uepres libidinum, et nulla erat eradicans manus. quin inmo ubi me ille pater in balneis uidit pubescentem et inquieta indutum adulescentia, quasi iam ex hoc in nepotes gestiret, gaudens matri indicauit, gaudens uinulentia, in qua te iste mundus oblitus est creatorem suum et creaturam tuam pro te amauit, de uino inuisibili peruersae atque inclinatae in ima uoluntatis suae. sed matris in pectore iam inchoaueras templum tuum et exordium sanctae habitatio-

20 inclinatae in ima] DFGHMPQV, inclinatae** in ima O, inclinata in ima C, in ima inclinatae B, inlicitae in anima SW.

diminutive subst. and adj. *e.g.* 'tantillus paruulus' (I 11), 'pauculis nummulis' (VI 9).

2. **de quam profundo**] Cf. Ps. cxxix 1 (cxxx 1) 'De profundis clamaui ad te, Domine.'

3. **uita ex fide**] Cf. Hab. ii 4; Rom. i 17; Gal. iii 11; Heb. x 38.

10. **cultura tua**] Cf. 1 Cor. iii 9 'Dei agricultura estis.'

15. **eradicans**] pregnant use of participle = 'qui eradicaret.'

19. **creaturam tuam pro te**] Cf. Rom. i 25.

20. **inclinatae in ima**] This is one of the few cases in which Knöll does not accept the reading of SW. See the textual note.

21. **inchoaueras templum**] *hadst begun to build Thy temple.* The slight but skilful touches by which A. brings before us his mother's character indicate clearly the growth and development of her Christian life. She is described in these early books as still not a little influenced by worldly ambitions: 'though she had fled from the midst of Babylon she walked more slowly in its outskirts' (§ 8 *infr.*). At a later period we see her as a 'chaste and sober widow, unremitting in prayer, in almsgiving, and in the service of the saints.' A marked advance in enlightenment is doubtless to be traced to the influence of Ambrose, under

nis tuae: nam ille adhuc catechumenus et hoc recens erat. itaque illa exsiluit pia trepidatione ac tremore et quamuis mihi nondum fideli, timuit tamen uias distortas, in quibus ambulant qui ponunt ad te tergum et non faciem.

Ei mihi! et audeo dicere tacuisse te, deus meus, cum 7
irem abs te longius? itane tu tacebas tunc mihi? et cuius erant nisi tua uerba illa per matrem meam, fidelem tuam, quae cantasti in aures meas? nec inde quicquam descendit in cor, ut facerem illud. uolebat enim illa, et secreto memini, ut monuerit cum sollicitudine ingenti, ne fornicarer maximeque ne adulterarem cuiusquam uxorem. qui mihi monitus muliebres uidebantur, quibus obtemperare erubescerem. illi autem tui erant, et nesciebam et te tacere putabam atque illam loqui, per quam mihi tu non tacebas, et in illa contemnebaris a me, a me, filio eius, filio ancillae tuae, seruo tuo. sed nesciebam et praeceps ibam tanta caecitate, ut inter coaetaneos meos puderet me minoris dedecoris, quoniam audiebam eos iactantes

15 a me] – BCDFGHMPQVW *edd.*

whose teaching she gave up some superstitious practices learned in Africa, and who spoke with warm admiration of her character to A. (VI 2). At Cassiciacum she is looked up to by the little group of earnest men for 'her masculine faith, her matronly tranquillity, her motherly charity and her Christian piety' (IX 8). The spiritual converse which she held with A. at Ostia shortly before her death inspires him to the highest flight of Christian mysticism in the *Confessions*; and the thought of being buried in a foreign land—which she had much dreaded earlier—could not shake the calm serenity of her life's close (IX 28).

1. **ille adhuc catechumenus**] He was baptized not long before his death (IX 22).

ib. **et hoc recens**] 'Mixed marriages' of Christians and Pagans were common at this period. See Dill *Roman Society in the last century of the Empire* p. 13, who refers to the case of Jerome's patroness Paula, 'married in youth to a noble named Julius Toxotius who boasted of his descent from Aeneas and refused to abandon the worship of his ancestors.' Their son, the younger Toxotius, was also a pagan, at any rate in youth, and married a Christian maiden, Laeta. Her mother was a Christian and was married to one of the most distinguished chiefs of the pagan aristocracy, Albinius, whose tolerance, however, is indicated by the fact that he could listen with pleasure to his little granddaughter repeating her Christian hymns (Jerome *Ep.* cviii 4, cvii 1).

4. **qui ponunt ad te tergum** etc.] Jer. ii 27.

14. **contemnebaris**] Cf. 1 Thess. iv 8; 2 Sam. xii 9.

15. **filio ancillae tuae**] Ps. cxv 16(7) (cxvi 16).

flagitia sua et tanto gloriantes magis, quanto magis turpes essent, et libebat facere non solum libidine facti uerum etiam laudis. quid dignum est uituperatione nisi uitium? ego, ne uituperarer, uitiosior fiebam, et ubi non suberat, quo admisso aequarer perditis, fingebam me fecisse quod non feceram, ne uiderer abiectior, quo eram innocentior, et ne uilior haberer, quo eram castior.

8 Ecce cum quibus comitibus iter agebam platearum Babyloniae et uolutabar in caeno eius tamquam in cinnamis et unguentis pretiosis. et in umbilico eius quo tenacius haererem, calcabat me inimicus inuisibilis et seducebat me, quia ego seductilis eram. non enim et illa, quae iam de medio Babylonis fugerat, sed ibat in ceteris eius tardior, mater carnis meae, sicut monuit me pudicitiam, ita curauit quod de me a uiro suo audierat, iamque pestilentiosum et in posterum periculosum sentiebat cohercere termino coniugalis affectus, si resecari ad uiuum non poterat. non curauit hoc, quia metus erat, ne inpediretur spes mea conpede uxoria, non spes illa, quam in te futuri saeculi habebat mater, sed spes litterarum, quas ut nossem nimis uolebat parens uterque, ille, quia de te prope nihil cogitabat, de me autem inania, illa autem, quia non solum nullo detrimento, sed etiam nonnullo adiumento ad te adipiscendum futura existimabat usitata illa studia doctrinae. ita enim conicio recolens, ut possum, mores parentum

3. **uituperatione...uitium**] A. plays on the derivational connexion of the words—'uitupero' = 'uitium paro,' 'find fault.'

9. **cinnamis et unguentis pretiosis**] Cf. Cant. iv 14 'cinnamomum ...cum omnibus primis unguentis.'

10. **in umbilico**] *in the centre*; probably used simply to avoid repeating 'in medio' of the quotation below. (Cf. Ezek. xxxviii 12 'habitator umbilici terrae.')

11. **calcabat me inimicus**] Cf. Ps. lv 3 (lvi 2) 'conculcauerunt me inimici mei tota die.'

12. **seductilis**] This appears to be the first occurrence of this form of the word. Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* cvi § 14 'seductiles animas, quae facile consentiunt seductoribus.'

ib. **de medio Babylonis**] Cf. Jer. li 6 'Fugite de medio Babylonis.'

13. **in ceteris**] *in the outskirts.*

22. **adiumento ... studia**] Cf. Tertull. *de Idol.* x 'Scimus dici posse...Quo modo repudiamus saecularia studia, sine quibus diuina non possunt?'

24. **mores** etc.] *the respective characters of my parents.*

meorum. relaxabantur etiam mihi ad ludendum habenae ultra temperamentum seueritatis in dissolutionem afflictionum uariarum, et in omnibus erat caligo intercludens mihi, deus meus, serenitatem ueritatis tuae, et prodiebat tamquam ex adipe iniquitas mea.

IV. Furtum certe punit lex tua, domine, et lex scripta in 9 cordibus hominum, quam ne ipsa quidem delet iniquitas: quis enim fur aequo animo furem patitur? nec copiosus adactum inopia. et ego furtum facere uolui et feci nulla conpulsus egestate nisi penuria et fastidio iustitiae et sagina iniquitatis. nam id furatus sum, quod mihi abundabat et multo melius, nec ea re uolebam frui, quam furto appetebam, sed ipso furto et peccato. arbor erat pirus in uicinia nostrae uineae pomis onusta nec forma nec sapore inlecebrosis. ad hanc excutiendam atque asportandam nequissimi adulescentuli perreximus nocte intempesta, quo usque ludum de pestilentiae more in

2 afflictionum] affectionum BCDGHMOPQV *edd.* 4 prodiebat] prodiębat CW, prodi**bat M, prodibat *mo.* 10 nisi] nec HM² *edd.* *pr* et] sed M *edd.*

1. **relaxabantur ... uariarum**] *Moreover I was set at liberty to amuse myself with a more complete freedom than a due strictness would have permitted, with the result that I fell into dissolute ways which brought upon me various punishments.*

4. **prodiebat**] This form is supported by the bulk of the MS. evidence and by the analogy of the fut. 'prodiet' which occurs in *Enarr. in Ps.* lxxii § 12 (both in text and commentary).

5. **iniquitas**] Ps. lxxii 7 (lxxiii 7). So LXX (ἀδικία), reading עון for עין (A.V. 'their eyes stand out for fatness').

IV. *Joined some lewd young fellows in robbing a pear-tree. Mere delight in doing something unlawful prompted the act, for they did not care for the fruit which they stole.*

8. **copiosus**] sc. 'fur, furem adactum.'

10. **nisi penuria et fastidio**] The combination is difficult to explain and it is not like A. to set two substantives in one member of the antithesis and only one in the other. But the reading 'nec' for 'nisi' and 'sed' for 'et' has insufficient MS. support, and looks suspiciously like a correction. 'Penuria et fastidio' are perhaps to be taken as a Hendiadys—the loathing that springs from emptiness (cf. III 1 'sine desiderio ...non quia plenus, sed quo inanior, fastidiosior').

ib. **sagina iniquitatis**] *from superfluity of wickedness.*

14. **nec ... inlecebrosis**] *not especially attractive.*

16. **nocte intempesta**] *at dead of night.* A. explains in *Enarr. in Ps.* Serm. 29 on Ps. cxviii (cxix), § 3 that midnight was called 'nox intempesta' because 'inopportuna

areis produxeramus, et abstulimus inde onera ingentia non ad nostras epulas, sed uel proicienda porcis, etiamsi aliquid inde comedimus, dum tamen fieret a nobis quod eo liberet, quo non liceret. ecce cor meum, deus, ecce cor meum, quod miseratus es in imo abyssi. dicat tibi nunc ecce cor meum, quid ibi quaerebat, ut essem gratis malus et malitiae meae causa nulla esset nisi malitia. foeda erat et amaui eam; amaui perire, amaui defectum meum, non illud, ad quod deficiebam, sed defectum meum ipsum amaui, turpis anima et dissiliens a firmamento tuo in exterminium, non dedecore aliquid, sed dedecus appetens.

10 V. Etenim species est pulchris corporibus et auro et

est actionibus uigilantium.' A similar explanation is given in Varro *Ling. Lat.* VI 53. Apul., *Met.* II 25, gives a scheme of the earlier periods of the night: 'cum ecce crepusculum, et nox prouecta, et nox altior, et dein concubia altiora, et iam nox intempesta.'

ib. **de pestilentiae more**] *according to our pestilent habit.* The genitive of the abstract substantive is practically equivalent to an adjective, as frequently in late style.

3. **quod eo liberet** etc.] Cf. Ovid, *Amor.* III 4. 17 and 18

'Nitimur in uetitum semper, cupimusque negata:
sic interdictis imminet aeger aquis.'

5. **in imo abyssi**] With allusion, perhaps, to Ps. lxxxv 13 (lxxxvi 13). In *Enarr. in Ps.* ad loc., however, the version followed by A. agrees with the Vulgate: 'ex inferno inferiori.'

ib. **dicat** etc.] *Let this heart of mine now tell thee what it sought there, that I should be evil for nought, and that my wickedness should have no cause but wickedness.* (Notice the indic. 'quaerebat' in dependent question.) The ensuing discussion turns on A.'s theory of sin. He holds that in sinning men do not seek evil 'per se' but some supposed good in the evil. This theft is discussed with special care because at first sight it seems to contradict the theory—to have been committed from sheer delight in sinning. The final solution is that the motive was pleasure in companionship—in itself a good (§§ 16 and 17).

9. **a firmamento** etc.] *Leaving the security which is with Thee and leaping down into destruction.* For 'firmamentum' in the sense of place of safety cf. Ps. lxx 3 (lxxi 3) and freq.: 'firmamentum et refugium.' 'Dissilio' occurs in the sense 'leap down' in 1 Macc. ix 48, 'dissiliuit Ionathan...in Iordanum.' 'Exterminium'=*ὄλεθρος* Wisd. i 14, xviii 13 (and freq.) and seems never to occur in Scripture in the sense of banishment.

V. *The usual motive in sin is to obtain something that seems desirable to the senses or to the spirit.*

12. **etenim** et seq.] The argument runs thus: (1) enumeration of the 'goods' sought in various kinds of sin § 10; (2) this principle is so general that whenever we hear of a sin we always enquire what was the motive for committing it § 11; (3) in this theft there is no obvious

argento et omnibus, et in contactu carnis congruentia ualet plurimum ceterisque sensibus est sua cuique adconmodata modificatio corporum; habet etiam honor temporalis et imperitandi atque superandi potentia suum decus, unde etiam uindictae auiditas oritur: et tamen in cuncta haec adipiscenda non est egrediendum abs te, domine, neque deuiandum a lege tua. et uita, quam hic uiuimus, habet inlecebram suam propter quendam modum decoris sui et conuenientiam cum his omnibus infimis pulchris. amicitia quoque hominum caro nodo dulcis est propter unitatem de multis animis. propter uniuersa haec atque huius modi peccatum admittitur, dum inmoderata in ista inclinatione, cum extrema bona sint, meliora et summa deseruntur, tu, domine deus noster, et ueritas tua et lex tua. habent enim et haec ima delectationes, sed non sicut deus meus, qui fecit omnia, quia in ipso delectatur iustus, et ipse est deliciae rectorum corde.

9 infimis] infirmis F.

motive (§ 12) except that general motive common to all sin, of exalting the self in rivalry with God §§ 13, 14 (§ 15 thanks God for forgiveness and for preservation from all the other sins which this signal instance of depravity shows A. to have been capable of), (4) but after all a rational motive is recognisable in the sin, viz. enjoyment of the companionship of those in whose company it was perpetrated, §§ 16 and 17.

ib. **corporibus**] quite general: *beautiful things.*

2. **ceterisque sensibus...corporum**] *there is some characteristic of material objects which appeals to each of the other senses in particular* (*e.g.* beauty to the eye, sweetness to the taste etc.).

5. **uindictae auiditas**] *the lust of vengeance.* Cf. Juv. XIII 180 'At uindicta bonum uita iucundius ipsa.' A.'s argument is that every sin attracts by the offer of some pleasure. Even in vengeance the motive is not mere malignity; the assertion of the outraged self carries with it a keen satisfaction. Von Raumer interprets 'uindictae auiditas' as the desire for liberation from slavery (*Begierde nach Befreiung aus der Sklaverei*) on the ground that it could not be said of vengeance that in seeking it we 'do not need to depart from God.' But surely here 'non egrediendum' does not mean 'we do not need to depart' but 'we ought not' etc.; and the meaning of 'uindicta' seems to be placed beyond doubt by the context in § 13 *infr.*, where, recapitulating the motives which lead to sin, A. says 'ira uindictam quaerit: te iustius quis uindicat?'

12. **cum extrema bona sint**] *seeing they are the lowest kind of 'goods.'* Cf. I 31.

ib. **meliora...deseruntur**] Cf. *de Lib. Arb.* III 1. 2 'animum uero peccati arguimus, cum eum conuincimus superioribus desertis ad fruendum inferiora praeponere.'

15. **delectatur iustus** etc.] Cf. Ps. lxiii 11 (lxiv 10).

11 Cum itaque de facinore quaeritur, qua causa factum sit, credi non solet, nisi cum appetitus adipiscendi alicuius illorum bonorum, quae infima diximus, esse potuisse adparuerit aut metus amittendi. pulchra sunt enim et decora, quamquam prae bonis superioribus et beatificis abiecta et iacentia. homicidium fecit. cur fecit? adamauit eius coniugem aut praedium aut uoluit depraedari, unde uiueret, aut timuit ab illo tale aliquid amittere, aut laesus ulcisci se exarsit. num homicidium sine causa faceret ipso homicidio delectatus? quis crediderit? nam et de quodam dictum est uecordi et nimis crudeli homine, quod gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat; praedicta est tamen causa: ne per otium, inquit, torpesceret manus aut animus. quare id quoque? cur ita? ut scilicet illa exercitatione scelerum capta urbe honores, imperia, diuitias adsequeretur et careret metu legum et difficultate rerum propter inopiam rei familiaris et conscientiam scelerum. nec ipse igitur Catilina amauit facinora sua, sed utique aliud, cuius causa illa faciebat.

12 VI. Quid ego miser in te amaui, o furtum meum, o facinus illud meum nocturnum sexti decimi anni aetatis meae? non enim pulchrum eras, cum furtum esses. aut uero aliquid es, ut loquar ad te? pulchra erant poma illa, quae furati sumus, quoniam creatura tua erat, pulcherrime omnium, creator omnium, deus bone, deus summum bonum et bonum uerum meum; pulchra erant illa poma, sed non ipsa concupiuit

3 infima] infirma SW. 10 quodam P^2S, quo BCFGHMOP^1QV *edd.* 13 quare] quaere CGHMO.

12. **ne per otium** etc.] Sall. *de Cat. Coni.* xvi 'Sed iuuentutem quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat... Si causa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat, nihilominus insontes, sicuti sontes, circumuenire, iugulare; scilicet ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat.'

14. **illa exercitatione** etc.] *by the aid of this practice in crime.* The words above quoted refer to the training of the young bravoes whom Catiline gathered around him as the nucleus of a revolutionary force.

VI. *The only motive A. can discover for his theft is the desire to do something which was forbidden.* (*But compare* IX *infr.*)

anima mea miserabilis. erat mihi enim meliorum copia, illa autem decerpsi, tantum ut furarer. nam decerpta proieci epulatus inde solam iniquitatem, qua laetabar fruens. nam et si quid illorum pomorum intrauit in os meum, condimentum ibi facinus erat. et nunc, domine deus meus, quaero, quid me in furto delectauerit, et ecce species nulla est: non dico sicut in aequitate atque prudentia, sed neque sicut in mente hominis atque memoria et sensibus et uegetante uita, neque sicut speciosa sunt sidera et decora locis suis et terra et mare plena fetibus, qui succedunt nascendo decedentibus; non saltem ut est quaedam defectiua species et umbratica uitiis fallentibus.

Nam et superbia celsitudinem imitatur, cum tu sis unus 13 super omnia deus excelsus. et ambitio quid nisi honores quaerit et gloriam, cum tu sis prae cunctis honorandus unus et gloriosus in aeternum? et saeuitia potestatum timeri uult: quis autem timendus nisi unus deus, cuius potestati eripi aut subtrahi quid, quando aut ubi aut quo uel a quo potest? et blanditiae lasciuientium amari uolunt: sed neque blandius est aliquid tua caritate nec amatur quicquam salubrius quam illa prae cunctis formosa et luminosa ueritas tua. et curiositas

17 quid]+potest BGHMOPQV *edd.*

4. **condimentum** etc.] *it was the sin that made them sweet.*

6. **non...sicut** etc.] A classification of various kinds of beauty corresponding to the various 'degrees' of life—moral, intellectual, sensuous and organic. (In *de Quant. Anim.* xxxiii 70—76 A. recognises seven grades of soul life, (1) organic ('corpus uiuificat'), (2) sensuous ('uis animae in sensibus'), (3) intellectual ('memoria, uis rationandi et excogitandi' etc.), (4) moral ('ex quo bonitas incipit'), (5) perseverance in good ('in seipsa laetissime tenet...aliud est enim efficere, aliud tenere puritatem'), (6) the desire to contemplate God ('iam serenum atque rectum aspectum in id quod uidendum est dirigere'), (7) serene contemplation ('neque iam gradus, sed quaedam mansio, quo illis gradibus peruenitur').)

10. **non saltem** etc.] *not even like the unreal and counterfeit beauty which gives vice its seductiveness.*

12. **nam et superbia** etc.] The argument of this and the next paragraph is that all sin is a kind of rivalry with God; it seeks from other sources what He alone has (and can give) in perfection. Will this principle then suffice to explain the theft, viz. as an act of self-assertion, a usurpation of liberty (§ 14)? Provisionally A. seems to accept this solution (cf. § 15 'gratuitum facinus amaui'), but in §§ 16—17 he goes on to suggest a simpler motive.

affectare uidetur studium scientiae, cum tu omnia summe noueris. ignorantia quoque ipsa atque stultitia simplicitatis et innocentiae nomine tegitur, quia te simplicius quicquam non reperitur. quid te autem innocentius, quandoquidem opera sua malis inimica sunt? et ignauia quasi quietem appetit: quae uero quies certa praeter dominum? luxuria satietatem atque abundantiam se cupit uocari: tu es autem plenitudo et indeficiens copia incorruptibilis suauitatis. effusio liberalitatis obtendit umbram: sed bonorum omnium largitor affluentissimus tu es. auaritia multa possidere uult: et tu possides omnia. inuidentia de excellentia litigat: quid te excellentius? ira uindictam quaerit: te iustius quis uindicat? timor insolita et repentina exhorrescit, rebus, quae amantur, aduersantia, dum praecauet securitati: tibi enim quid insolitum? quid repentinum? aut quis a te separat quod diligis? aut ubi nisi apud te firma securitas? tristitia rebus amissis contabescit, quibus se oblectabat cupiditas, quia ita sibi nollet, sicut tibi auferri nihil potest.

14 Ita fornicatur anima, cum auertitur abs te et quaerit extra te ea quae pura et liquida non inuenit, nisi cum redit ad te. peruerse te imitantur omnes, qui longe se a te faciunt et extollunt se aduersum te. sed etiam sic te imitando indicant creatorem te esse omnis naturae et ideo non esse, quo a te

4. **opera sua...inimica**] *i.e.* it is the sinners' own sins that injure them. Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* vii 15 '... ipsa peccata sic ordinare ut quae fuerunt delectamenta homini peccanti, sint instrumenta Domino punienti.' Cf. Sen. *Ep.* lxxxiii 25 'Proba istas, quae uoluptates uocantur, ubi transcenderint modum, poenas esse.'

11. **inuidentia**] Cicero, *Tusc.* III 9. 20, in connexion with the phrase 'incidere in inuidentiam' points out that it is necessary to use a specific term for the subjective feeling of envy, since 'incidere in inuidiam' might mean to become exposed to the envy of others. Cf. *ib.* IV 7. 16 'inuidentia utendum est enim docendi causa uerbo minus usitato; quoniam inuidia non in eo qui inuidet solum dicitur, sed etiam in eo cui inuidetur.'

12. **uindicat**] Cf. Rom. xii 19 'Mihi uindicta; ego retribuam, dicit Dominus.'

21. **peruerse...imitantur**] Cf. *de Trin.* XI 5. 8 'Nam et animae in ipsis peccatis suis non nisi quandam similitudinem Dei, superba et praepostera et, ut ita dicam, seruili libertate sectantur. Ita nec primis parentibus nostris persuaderi peccatum posset, nisi diceretur, Eritis sicut dii.'

omni modo recedatur. quid ergo in illo furto ego dilexi et in quo dominum meum uel uitiose atque peruerse imitatus sum? an libuit facere contra legem saltem fallacia, quia potentatu non poteram, ut mancam libertatem captiuus imitarer faciendo inpune, quod non liceret, tenebrosa omnipotentiae similitudine? ecce est ille seruus fugiens dominum suum et consecutus umbram. o putredo, o monstrum uitae et mortis profunditas! potuitne libere quod non licebat, non ob aliud, nisi quia non licebat?

VII. Quid retribuam domino, quod recolit haec memoria mea et anima mea non metuit inde? diligam te, domine, et gratias agam et confitear nomini tuo, quoniam tanta dimisisti mihi mala et nefaria opera mea. gratiae tuae deputo et misericordiae tuae, quod peccata mea tamquam glaciem soluisti. gratiae tuae deputo et quaecumque non feci mala: quid enim non facere potui, qui etiam gratuitum facinus amaui? et omnia mihi dimissa esse fateor, et quae mea sponte feci mala et quae te duce non feci. quis est hominum, qui suam cogitans infirmitatem audet uiribus suis tribuere castitatem atque innocentiam suam, ut minus amet te, quasi minus ei necessaria fuerit misericordia tua, qua donas peccata conuersis ad te? qui

3. **potentatu**] *by strength, might.* Cf. Arnob. *c. Gent.* I 51 'nam si facias ipse, quod possis, et tuis sit uiribus potentatuique conueniens, admiratio non habet quod exclamet.' Classical only in the sense of 'rule,' 'authority.'

6. **ille seruus**] sc. Adam (for the method of reference see I 28 'filius ille tuus'). 'Consecutus umbram' is a quotation from the Old Lat. of Job vii 2 'tamquam seruus metuens dominum suum et consecutus umbram' (Vulg. 'sicut seruus desiderat umbram'). A.'s comment ad loc. (*Adnot. in Iob*) is, 'Quod significat absconditio Adae a facie Domini et tectio foliorum de quibus umbra fit, quam relicto Deo consecutus est homo.'

7. **putredo**] 'corruption,' post-classical. Cf. Prov. xii 4 'putredo in ossibus,' Ambrose *in Lc.* v 27 'Aufer meorum putredines peccatorum.'

VII. *A. can recall the memory of his past sins without fear, because they have been forgiven. Whenever he has resisted temptation, it has been by the grace of God.*

10. **quid retribuam** etc.] Ps. cxv 12 (cxvi 12).

12. **confitear nomini tuo**] Cf. Ps. liii 8 (liv 6) 'Confitebor nomini tuo, Domine.'

14. **peccata...soluisti**] Cf. Ecclus. iii 17 'et sicut in sereno glacies soluentur peccata tua.'

21. **donas peccata**] See I 4, note.

enim uocatus a te secutus est uocem tuam et uitauit ea, quae me de me ipso recordantem et fatentem legit, non me derideat ab eo medico aegrum sanari, a quo sibi praestitum est, ut non aegrotaret, uel potius ut minus aegrotaret, et ideo te tantundem, inmo uero amplius diligat, quia per quem me uidet tantis peccatorum meorum languoribus exui, per eum se uidet tantis peccatorum languoribus non inplicari.

16 VIII. Quem fructum habui miser aliquando in his, quae nunc recolens erubesco, maxime in illo furto, in quo ipsum furtum amaui, nihil aliud, cum et ipsum esset nihil et eo ipso ego miserior? et tamen solus id non fecissem—sic recordor animum tunc meum—solus omnino id non fecissem. ergo amaui ibi etiam consortium eorum, cum quibus id feci. non ergo nihil aliud quam furtum amaui; inmo uero nihil aliud, quia et illud nihil est. quid est re uera? quis est, qui doceat me, nisi qui inluminat cor meum et discernit umbras eius? quid est, quod mihi uenit in mentem quaerere et discutere et considerare, quia si tunc amarem poma illa, quae furatus sum, et eis frui cuperem, possem etiam solus, si satis esset, conmittere illam iniquitatem, qua peruenirem ad uoluptatem meam, nec confricatione consciorum animorum accenderem pruritum cupiditatis meae? sed quoniam in illis pomis uoluptas mihi non erat, ea erat in ipso facinore, quam faciebat consortium simul peccantium.

17 IX. Quid erat ille affectus animi? certe enim plane

13 eorum] reorum H*m*. 21 consciorum] consociorum FGM[1].

VIII. *He would not have committed the theft had he been alone.*

8. **quem fructum ... erubesco**] Rom. vi 21.

13. **amaui...consortium**]
'Die schlechteste Gesellschaft lässt dich fühlen
dass du ein Mensch mit Menschen bist.'
Faust (Studirzimmer).

16. **qui inluminat cor meum**] Cf. Ecclus. ii 10 'qui timetis Dominum, diligite illum, et illuminabuntur corda uestra.'

21. **confricatione** etc.] *by the stimulus of association in evil* (lit. by the mutual friction of confederate minds). 'Confricatio' belongs to the class of abstract substantives ('nomen actionis in -tio') which includes a large proportion of the newly coined words in late Latin. This is the first occurrence of the word.

turpis erat nimis, et uae mihi erat, qui habebam illum. sed tamen quid erat? delicta quis intellegit? risus erat quasi titillato corde, quod fallebamus eos, qui haec a nobis fieri non putabant et uehementer nolebant. cur ergo eo me delectabat, quo id non faciebam solus? an quia etiam nemo facile solus ridet? nemo quidem facile, sed tamen etiam solos et singulos homines, cum alius nemo praesens est, uincit risus aliquando, si aliquid nimie ridiculum uel sensibus occurrit uel animo. at ego illud solus non facerem, non facerem omnino solus. ecce est coram te, deus meus, uiua recordatio animae meae. solus non facerem furtum illud, in quo me non libebat id quod furabar, sed quia furabar: quod me solum facere prorsus non liberet nec facerem. o nimis inimica amicitia, seductio mentis inuestigabilis, ex ludo et ioco nocendi auiditas et alieni damni appetitus nulla lucri mei, nulla ulciscendi libidine, sed cum dicitur: "eamus, faciamus" et pudet non esse impudentem.

X. Quis exaperit istam tortuosissimam et inplicatissimam 18
nodositatem? foeda est; nolo in eam intendere, nolo eam uidere. te uolo, iustitia et innocentia, pulchra et decora honestis luminibus et insatiabili satietate. quies est apud te

8 occurrit] occurrerit BPQV.

IX. *The attraction of companionship in evil.*

1. **uae mihi erat**] Cf. Job x 15 'et si impius fuero, uae mihi est.'

2. **delicta quis intellegit**] Ps. xviii 13 (xix 12).

ib. **risus erat** etc.] *i.e.* its attractiveness lay in the fact that it was what a modern schoolboy would call 'a lark.'

13. **o nimis inimica amicitia**] *Oh friendship most unfriendly.*

14. **inuestigabilis**] *incomprehensible.* The word seems to be always used in this negative sense though, so far as its form goes, it might mean the opposite. For the thought, cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* xli (xlii) § 13 'Si profunditas est abyssus, putamus non cor hominis abyssus est?...Quid intus gerat, quid intus agat, quid intus disponat, quid intus uelit, quid intus nolit, quis comprehendet?'

X. *He longs for the rest with God when sin will cease and no longer trouble the soul with its foul and disturbing presence.*

18. **exaperit**] The word first occurs here. The desire for elaborateness of expression leads to the formation of a large number of new compounds in late Latin.

19. **nodositatem**] Another 'first occurrence.' The '-tio' and '-tas' formations include the great majority of the 'late' substantives.

21. **honestis luminibus**] *to eyes*

ualde et uita inperturbabilis. qui intrat in te, intrat in gaudium domini sui et non timebit et habebit se optime in optimo. defluxi abs te ego et erraui, deus meus, nimis deuius ab stabilitate tua in adulescentia et factus sum mihi regio egestatis.

that see aright. 'Lumina' in the sense of 'eyes' is earlier usually poetic, but becomes common in late prose.

ib. **insatiabili satietate**] qualifies 'uolo.'

1. **in gaudium domini**] Mt. xxv 21.

3. **defluxi**] *seceded, deserted* ('ex nouem tribunis unus defluxit,' Cic. *pro Sest.* xxxii). The Vulg. use = 'defloresco,' Ps. i 3, is not so probable: the version of the Ps. which A. used has 'decedit.'

4. **regio egestatis**] Perhaps with allusion to Lk. xv 14 'facta est fames ualida in regione illa, et ipse cepit egere.'

LIBER TERTIUS.

I. Veni Carthaginem et circumstrepebat me undique 1
sartago flagitiosorum amorum. nondum amabam et amare
amabam et secretiore indigentia oderam me minus indigentem.
quaerebam quid amarem, amans amare, et oderam securitatem
5 et uiam sine muscipulis, quoniam famis mihi erat intus ab

5 fames BCGHMOPQV *edd.*

I. *A. goes, in his seventeenth year, to Carthage, where he becomes involved in lawless loves.*

1. **Carthaginem**] The remnants of Gaius Gracchus' unfortunate settlement of Iunonia were absorbed by strong colonies sent out in the reign of Augustus, and the old site was gradually reoccupied. Already in Strabo's time the new Carthage was the most flourishing city of Libya (*Ge.* 833). Herodian, about the middle of the third century, describes it (*Hist.* VII 6) as yielding only to Rome in wealth and population and disputing the second place in the Empire with Alexandria. A. alludes to it, *Ep.* xliii 7, as 'Ciuitas ampla et illustris...fama celeberrima nobilis.' Christianity had early found a footing there, and in A.'s time there were no fewer than seven basilicas; but paganism was still powerful and imposing, as he testifies in *de Ciu. Dei* II 4, VII 26 etc. For a good account of Carthage see Benson's *Cyprian*, pp. xxv—xxxvii.

ib. **circumstrepebat** etc.] *there seethed about me a hissing cauldron.* 'Sartago' is perhaps used for the sake of the assonance with Carthago (so von Hertling, *Die Bekenntnisse des hl. Aug.*, Vorrede, p. vi). African immorality was proverbial. Cf. Salvian (presbyter at Marseilles about the middle of the fifth century), *de Gubernatione Dei* VII 16 'Quis non omnes omnino Afros generaliter impudicos sciat nisi ad Deum forte conuersos?' Of Carthage in particular he says: 'Quae enim fuit pars ciuitatis non plena sordibus, quae intra urbem platea aut semita non lupanar?' *ib.* 17.

3. **et secretiore indigentia** etc.] A difficult phrase. It is perhaps best to understand 'indigens' with 'secretiore indigentia' and render 'and because my craving was more obscure I hated myself for (what I thought) my lack of craving.' The 'more obscure' craving may be interpreted either as the desire to love ('amare amabam') as compared with the more obvious craving for a definite object of love; or as referring to the unrecognised soul-hunger of which he goes on to speak.

5. **muscipulis**] 'pitfalls.' Cf. Wisd. xiv 11 'creaturae Dei...factae sunt...in muscipulam pedibus insipientium.'

ib. **ab**] By 'famis...ab interiore cibo' A. probably means *hunger for want of the food of the inner man*; it is possible however that the prep.

interiore cibo, te ipso, deus meus, et ea fame non esuriebam, sed eram sine desiderio alimentorum incorruptibilium, non quia plenus eis eram, sed quo inanior, fastidiosior. et ideo non bene ualebat anima mea et ulcerosa proiciebat se foras, miserabiliter scalpi auida contactu sensibilium. sed si non haberent animam, non utique amarentur. amare et amari dulce mihi erat magis, si et amantis corpore fruerer. uenam igitur amicitiae coinquinabam sordibus concupiscentiae candoremque eius obnubilabam de tartaro libidinis, et tamen foedus atque inhonestus, elegans et urbanus esse gestiebam abundanti uanitate. rui etiam in amorem, quo cupiebam capi. deus meus, misericordia mea, quanto felle mihi suauitatem illam et quam bonus aspersisti, quia et amatus sum et perueni ad uinculum fruendi et conligabar laetus aerumnosis nexibus, ut caederer uirgis ferreis ardentibus zeli et suspicionum et timorum et irarum atque rixarum.

2 II. Rapiebant me spectacula theatrica plena imaginibus

3 fastidiosior] eo f. $C^2M^2O^2Q$ *edd.* 13 perueni]+occulte BCFGHMOPQ *edd.*

may be used in pregnant sense: 'sent by,' 'inspired by' Thee, who art the food of the inner man. A. frequently applies to a metaphorical conception language only appropriate to the reality behind it, *e.g.* 'medicina... quae pependit in ligno' (of Christ), IX 35.

3. **quo inanior, fastidiosior**] 'the more I was famished for lack of them, the greater was my repugnance to them.' An accurate metaphor from hunger-nausea.

4. **ulcerosa proiciebat se foras**] Cf. Job ii 7, 8.

5. **miserabiliter ... sensibilium**] 'Vom Himmel fordert er die schönsten Sterne
und von der Erde jede höchste Lust,
und alle Näh' und alle Ferne
befriedigt nicht die tiefbewegte Brust.'
Faust, Prolog.

ib. **sed si non haberent animam** etc.] *i.e.* we do not speak of 'loving' inanimate objects. A.'s meaning is that, even in this association, stained as it was with lust, he was seeking, however mistakenly, the satisfaction of a real soul hunger. See II 2, with notes there.

7. **uenam ... coinquinabam**] *polluted the fountain of friendship.*

12. **misericordia mea**] Ps. cxliii 2 (cxliv 2) (LXX ἔλεός μου; Heb. חַסְדִּי).

13. **quam bonus aspersisti**] For the thought, cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 509 μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ ἀδικία τῷ ἀδικοῦντι, καὶ ἔτι τούτου μεῖζον μεγίστου ὄντος, εἰ οἷόν τε, τὸ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ διδόναι δίκην.

II. *His passion for stage plays. He seeks to answer the question why men take delight in witnessing tragedies representing sorrows and misfortunes which they do not desire to experience.*

miseriarum mearum et fomitibus ignis mei. quid est, quod ibi homo uult dolere luctuosa et tragica, quae tamen pati ipse nollet? et tamen pati uult ex eis dolorem spectator et dolor ipse est uoluptas eius. quid est nisi miserabilis insania? nam eo magis eis mouetur quisque, quo minus a talibus affectibus sanus est, quamquam, cum ipse patitur, miseria, cum aliis compatitur, misericordia dici solet. sed qualis tandem misericordia in rebus fictis et scenicis? non enim ad subueniendum prouocatur auditor, sed tantum ad dolendum inuitatur et auctori earum imaginum amplius fauet, cum amplius dolet. et si calamitates illae hominum uel antiquae uel falsae sic agantur, ut qui spectat non doleat, abscedit inde fastidiens et reprehendens; si autem doleat, manet intentus et gaudens.

Lacrimae ergo amantur et dolores. certe omnis homo 3 gaudere uult. an cum miserum esse neminem libeat, libet tamen esse misericordem, quod quia non sine dolore est, hac una causa amantur dolores? et hoc de illa uena amicitiae est. sed quo uadit? quo fluit? ut quid decurrit in torrentem picis bullientis, aestus inmanes taetrarum libidinum, in quos

2 dolere]+cum spectat BCDFGHMOPQV *edd.* 4 miserabilis] mirabilis CFHOPQVW. 14 Lacrimae ergo BO²PQSW, lacrimat. Ergo CDFGH, lacrimat* Ergo O¹, lacrimatur. Ergo V *edd.*, lacrimator. Ergo M.

1. **quid est, quod ibi homo uult dolere**] Cf. Plato, *Rep.* x 606–7, on the morally weakening effect of the indulgence of emotion; and on the other side, Aristotle's view of the drama as effecting the *κάθαρσις* of pity and fear, *Poet.* VI 2. For discussion, see Butcher *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, chaps. vi and vii. Browning has suggested how the *κάθαρσις* is accomplished:

'Small rebuked by large,
We felt our puny hates refine to air,
Our poor prides sink, prevent the humbling hand,
Our petty passions purify their tide.'
Balaustion's Adventure.

7. **misericordia**] Cf. *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.* xxvii 53 'Quis ignoret ex eo appellatam esse misericordiam, quod miserum cor faciat condolentis alieno malo?'

18. **ut quid**] *why.* Frequent in the Scripture versions as a rendering of *ἱνατί*, *e.g.* Ps. iv 3 (iv 2) 'ut quid diligitis uanitatem?'

ib. **decurrit**] The subject is 'uena amicitiae' understood from the context.

ib. **torrentem picis**] Watts, the seventeenth century translator of the *Conf.*, suggests that this is a ref. to the Dead Sea as described by Tacitus *Hist.* v 6 'Lacus immenso ambitu ... sapore corruptior, grauitate odoris accolis pestifer... Certo anni bitumen egerit.'

ipsa mutatur et uertitur per nutum proprium de caelesti serenitate detorta atque deiecta? repudietur ergo misericordia? nequaquam. ergo amentur dolores aliquando. sed caue inmunditiam, anima mea, sub tutore, deo meo, deo patrum nostrorum et laudabili et superelato in omnia saecula, caue inmunditiam. neque enim nunc non misereor, sed tunc in theatris congaudebam amantibus, cum sese fruebantur per flagitia, quamuis haec imaginarie gererent in ludo spectaculi, cum autem sese amittebant, quasi misericors contristabar; et utrumque delectabat tamen. nunc uero magis miseror gaudentem in flagitio quam uelut dura perpessum detrimento perniciosae uoluptatis et amissione miserae felicitatis. haec certe uerior misericordia, sed non in ea delectat dolor. nam etsi adprobatur officio caritatis qui dolet miserum, mallet tamen utique non esse quod doleret, qui germanitus misericors est. si enim est maliuola beniuolentia, quod fieri non potest, potest et ille, qui ueraciter sinceriterque miseretur, cupere esse miseros, ut misereatur. nonnullus itaque dolor adprobandus, nullus amandus est. hoc enim tu, domine deus, qui animas amas, longe alteque purius quam nos et incorruptibilius misereris, quod nullo dolore sauciaris. et ad haec quis idoneus?

4 At ego tunc miser dolere amabam et quaerebam, ut esset quod dolerem, quando mihi in aerumna aliena et falsa et saltatoria ea magis placebat actio histrionis meque alliciebat

5 superelato S, superexaltato BCDFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 10 miseror SW, misereor BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

4. **deo patrum nostrorum**] Cf. the opening of the apocryphal 'Hymn of the Three Children.' (Dan. iii 52 sq. in LXX and Lat. vss.) The Vulgate has 'superexaltatus' for 'superelatus.'

7. **congaudebam amantibus** etc.] The plays to which A. refers were evidently not of a quality to suggest the Aristotelian point of view.

14. **adprobatur officio caritatis**] *He who sorrows for the unhappy is approved for showing the virtue of charity.*

15. **germanitus**] genuinely, 'sincerely.' Cf. *Ep.* cxl 34. 79 'neque enim germanitus dixerunt Apud te laus mea...cum ignorantes Dei iustitiam, suam iustitiam constituerent.'

19. **hoc...quod**] *Thus it is that thou...for the very reason that* etc.

21. **et ad haec** etc.] 2 Cor. ii 16.

25. **saltatoria**] *theatrical.*

uehementius, qua mihi lacrimae excutiebantur. quid autem mirum, cum infelix pecus aberrans a grege tuo et inpatiens custodiae tuae turpi scabie foedarer? et inde erant dolorum amores, non quibus altius penetrarer—non enim amabam talia perpeti, qualia spectare—sed quibus auditis et fictis tamquam in superficie raderer: quos tamen quasi ungues scalpentium feruidus tumor et tabes et sanies horrida consequebatur. talis uita mea numquid uita erat, deus meus?

III. Et circumuolabat super me fidelis a longe misericordia tua. in quantas iniquitates distabui et sacrilega curiositate secutus sum, ut deserentem te deduceret me ad ima infida et circumuentoria obsequia daemoniorum, quibus immolabam facta mea mala, et in omnibus flagellabas me! ausus sum etiam in celebritate sollemnitatum tuarum intra parietes ecclesiae tuae concupiscere et agere negotium procurandi fructus mortis: unde me uerberasti grauibus poenis, sed nil ad culpam meam, o tu praegrandis misericordia mea, deus meus, refugium meum a terribilibus nocentibus, in quibus uagatus sum

10 sacrilega curiositate] s. curiositatem H, sacrilegam curiositatem O^1 *edd.* 15 agere negotium BCFGHMOPQV, augere SW.

III. *Takes the foremost place in the School of Rhetoric, and is inordinately proud of this success. Is on friendly terms with the disorderly band of students known as 'Euersores' but does not join in their escapades.*

9. **a longe**] *far above.* God's mercy is pictured as hovering over him, but so high above him as to be out of sight.

11. **ima infida**] Word play; treacherous abysses—depths of unbelief.

12. **circumuentoria**] The word first occurs here. Adjectives in -orius from the 'nomen agentis' in -or become increasingly frequent in late Latin. See F. T. Cooper *Word Formation in the Sermo Plebeius.*

ib. **quibus immolabam facta mea**] Cf. Deut. xxxii. 17 'Immolauerunt daemoniis et non Deo,' and see *c. Faust.* XX 22, quoted above on I 27.

14. **intra parietes ecclesiae**] A., who had been a catechumen from boyhood (I 17), evidently retained the outward habits impressed upon him by his mother's influence.

15. **fructus mortis**] Cf. Rom. vii 5.

18. **a terribilibus nocentibus**] *from the terrible dangers amid which I wandered.* For 'nocentia' in this sense cp. the early hymn which begins

'Iam lucis orto sidere
deum precemur supplices
ut in diurnis actibus
nos seruet a nocentibus.'

praefidenti collo ad longe recedendum a te, amans uias meas et non tuas, amans fugitiuam libertatem.

6 Habebant et illa studia, quae honesta uocabantur, ductum suum intuentem fora litigiosa, ut excellerem in eis, hoc laudabilior, quo fraudulentior. tanta est caecitas hominum de caecitate etiam gloriantium. et maior iam eram in schola rhetoris et gaudebam superbe et tumebam tyfo, quamquam longe sedatior, domine, tu scis, et remotus omnino ab euersionibus, quas faciebant euersores—hoc enim nomen scaeuum et diabolicum uelut insigne urbanitatis est—inter quos uiuebam pudore inpudenti, quia talis non eram: et cum eis eram et amicitiis eorum delectabar aliquando, a quorum semper factis abhorrebam, hoc est ab euersionibus, quibus proterue insectabantur ignotorum uerecundiam, quam proturbarent gratis inludendo atque inde pascendo maliuolas laetitias suas. nihil est illo actu similius actibus daemoniorum. quid itaque uerius quam euersores uocarentur, euersi plane prius ipsi atque peruersi deridentibus eos et seducentibus fallacibus occulte spiritibus in eo ipso, quo alios inridere amant et fallere?

7 IV. Inter hos ego inbecilla tunc aetate discebam libros eloquentiae, in qua eminere cupiebam fine damnabili et uentoso per gaudia uanitatis humanae, et usitato iam discendi

14 proturbarent] perturbarent MW *edd.*

1. **praefidenti**] *presumptuous.*

2. **fugitiuam**] *of a runaway slave.*

3. **habebant et...ductum suum**] *the end, moreover, towards which my studies tended was* etc.

6. **maior...in schola**] *head of the school.*

7. **tyfo**] (*τύφος*) *vanity.* One of the few Graecisms in A. which are not 'Biblical.' The first occurrence of it which has been noted is in Arnobius *c. Gentes* II 3, where however it is consciously used as a 'loan-word'—'Mentis elatio et typhus qui appellatur a Graecis.'

8. **remotus ... ab euersionibus**] See the description of his life at this time quoted in footnote on p. xiv of the Introduction.

9. **euersores**] From 'euertere,' to overthrow; destroy. Dr Bigg renders 'the Wreckers.' A pleasanter picture is drawn by Gregory of Nyssa (*Funeral Oration over Basil*) of the reception of freshmen at Athens.

14. **ignotorum**] *freshmen.* The act. sense is rare but classical (Cic. *in Verrem* II 5. 29 etc.).

IV. *The reading of the* Hortensius *of Cicero awakens in him a desire for wisdom and he prays to God to grant it to him.*

ordine perueneram in librum cuiusdam Ciceronis, cuius linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus non ita. sed liber ille ipsius exhortationem continet ad philosophiam et uocatur Hortensius. ille uero liber mutauit affectum meum et ad te ipsum, domine, mutauit preces meas et uota ac desideria mea fecit alia. uiluit mihi repente omnis uana spes et inmortalitatem sapientiae concupiscebam aestu cordis incredibili et surgere coeperam, ut ad te redirem. non enim

1 librum] + quendam BCFHPQ*m*, + quemdam – cuiusdam *o*.

1. **cuiusdam C.**] A strange way for A. to allude to Cicero, with whose writings he was so familiar (contrast *c. Acad.* I 3. 7 'placuit Ciceroni nostro'). It is hardly likely that the mere name of Cicero would be unfamiliar to any of his readers—though A. mentions in *Ep.* cxviii 9 that no copy of Cicero's works was to be found in Hippo—but probably this distant method of reference (cf. *Aeneae nescio cuius* I 20) was a concession to those Christians who would have banished the very names of heathen writers from the Church. In the same distant manner, when quoting Plato in *de Ciu. Dei* XIV 8, A. writes 'Alcibiadem (si me de nomine hominis memoria non fallit)....'

ib. **cuius linguam** etc.] The succinct criticism is noteworthy.

4. **Hortensius**] This lost treatise consisted of two books in praise of the study of philosophy, maintaining its superiority to the study of oratory, which is defended by 'Hortensius.' The extant fragments—of which the most important are preserved in A.'s own works—occupy pp. 314—327 of the Teubner ed. pt IV vol. III; Orelli vol. IV pt II, pp. 479—486. It has been suggested that the treatise was modelled on the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle (H. Diels in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philos.* 1888, 477—497). The passages in which A. quotes the *H.* are *c. Acad.* III 14. 31, *de Beata Vita* 10, *Soliloq.* I 17, *Ep.* CXXX 10, *de Ciu. Dei* III 15, *cont. Iul. Pelag.* IV 15. 78, *de Trin.* XIII 4. 7; 5. 8; XIV 9. 12; 19. 26.

ib. **ad te ipsum ...mutauit preces meas**] 'Ad te ipsum' is doubtless to be taken with 'preces meas' (for the hyperbaton cf. I 24 'in eis uanis peccata delectationum mearum') 'changed the character of the prayers which I offered to Thee'—meaning apparently that whereas he had previously prayed, *e.g.* for worldly success (cp. I 14 where he speaks of praying as a schoolboy that he might escape punishment), he now prayed for wisdom.

7. **inmortalitatem sapientiae**] Cf. the passage of the *Hortensius* quoted by A. *de Trin.* XIV 19. 26, in which Cicero, after contemplating the possibility of extinction, turns eagerly to the other alternative: 'aut si, ut antiquis philosophis hisque maximis longeque clarissimis placuit, aeternos animos et diuinos habemus, sic existimandum est, quo magis hi fuerint semper in suo cursu, id est, in ratione et inuestigandi cupiditate, et quo minus se admiscuerint atque implicuerint hominum uitiis et erroribus, hoc his faciliorem ascensum et reditum in caelum fore.'

ib. **aestu cordis incredibili**] Cf. Dante's ardent longing after wisdom, his 'second Love.' 'Oh quante notte furono, che gli occhi dell' altre persone chiusi dormendo si posavano, che li miei nell' abitacolo del mio amore fisamente miravano!' *Il Convito* I.

8. **surgere coeperam**] Cf. Lk. XV 18, 20.

ad acuendam linguam, quod uidebar emere maternis mercedibus, cum agerem annum aetatis undeuicensimum iam defuncto patre ante biennium, non ergo ad acuendam linguam referebam illum librum neque mihi locutionem, sed quod loquebatur persuaserat.

8 Quomodo ardebam, deus meus, quomodo ardebam reuolare a terrenis ad te, et nesciebam quid ageres mecum! apud te est enim sapientia. amor autem sapientiae nomen graecum habet philosophiam, quo me accendebant illae litterae. sunt qui seducant per philosophiam magno et blando et honesto nomine colorantes et fucantes errores suos, et prope omnes, qui ex illis et supra temporibus tales erant, notantur in eo libro et demonstrantur, et manifestatur ibi salutifera illa admonitio spiritus tui per seruum tuum bonum et pium: uidete, ne quis uos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem seductionem secundum traditionem hominum, secundum elementa huius mundi et non secundum Christum, quia in ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter. et ego illo tempore, scis tu, lumen cordis mei, quoniam necdum mihi haec apostolica nota erant, hoc tamen solo delectabar in illa exhortatione, quod non illam aut illam sectam, sed ipsam quaecumque esset sapientiam ut diligerem et quaererem et adsequerer et tenerem atque amplexarer fortiter, excitabar sermone illo et accendebar

19 necdum] nondum BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

1. **maternis mercedibus**] He received also at this time pecuniary and other help from a wealthy friend, Romanianus, to whom he makes grateful acknowledgments in *c. Acad.* II 2. 3.

3. **referebam**] *applied.*

4. **neque...locutionem** etc.] 'impressed upon me not the style but its subject matter.' An example of zeugma, as 'persuaserat' does not go naturally with 'locutionem.'

7. **apud te...sapientia**] Job xii 13 'Apud ipsum est fortitudo et sapientia.'

12. **ex illis et supra temporibus**] 'of Cicero's own and earlier times.'

14. **uidete, ne quis uos decipiat**] Col. ii 8, 9.

19. **necdum**] Properly 'not even yet,' but in late writers often merely equivalent to 'nondum.'

20. **in illa exhortatione**] *i.e.* the *Hortensius.*

21. **sectam**] *school* ('inter Stoicos et Epicuri sectam secutos pugna perpetua est' Quint. v 7. 35).

23. **excitabar sermone illo**] Cp. the description given by Marcus Aurelius of the effect on his mind of reading a treatise of Ariston of Chios: 'Aristonis libri me hac tem-

et ardebam, et hoc solum me in tanta flagrantia refrangebat, quod nomen Christi non erat ibi, quoniam hoc nomen secundum misericordiam tuam, domine, hoc nomen saluatoris mei, fili tui, in ipso adhuc lacte matris tenerum cor meum pie biberat et alte retinebat, et quidquid sine hoc nomine fuisset quamuis litteratum et expolitum et ueridicum, non me totum rapiebat.

V. Itaque institui animum intendere in scripturas sanctas et uidere, quales essent. et ecce uideo rem non conpertam superbis neque nudatam pueris, sed incessu humilem, successu excelsam et uelatam mysteriis, et non eram ego talis, ut intrare in eam possem aut inclinare ceruicem ad eius gressus. non enim sicut modo loquor, ita sensi, cum adtendi ad illam scripturam, sed uisa est mihi indigna, quam Tullianae dignitati

3 filii BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 9 et uidere] ut uiderem PBQ *edd.*

pestate bene accipiunt atque idem habent male: cum docent meliora, tum scilicet bene accipiunt: cum uero ostendunt, quantum ab his melioribus ingenium meum relictum sit, nimis quam saepe erubescit discipulus tuus sibique suscenset quod uiginti quinque natus annos nihildum bonarum opinionum et puriorum rationum animo hauserim. Itaque poenas do, irascor, tristis sum, ζηλοτυπῶ, cibo careo.' (*Ep. Frontoni* IV xiii, Naber p. 75.)

1. **in tanta flagrantia refrangebat**] *checked the ardour of my enthusiasm.* The form 'refrangebat' (which is the reading of all MSS. except BO[1]) does not appear to have been noted elsewhere.

2. **secundum misericordiam**] Ps. xxiv 7 (xxv 7).

3. **hoc nomen ... tenerum cor biberat**] For the influence of the 'Name' and its associations, impressed upon the mind in childhood, compare:

'Zu jenen Sphären wag' ich nicht zu streben
woher die holde Nachricht tönt;
und doch, an diesen Klang von Jugend auf gewöhnt,
ruft er auch jetzt zurück mich in das Leben.'

Faust (hearing the Angel Chorus, 'Christ ist erstanden!').

V. *He turns to the Holy Scriptures for guidance, but is disappointed in their simple, unpretending style, so inferior, it seemed to him, to the eloquent pages of Cicero.*

10. **incessu...excelsam**] Either (1) 'lowly as one enters, lofty as one advances' (so, von Hertling: 'niedrig im Eingange, erhaben im Fortgange'), or (2) 'lowly in mien, lofty in operation' (Bigg). Each rendering finds some support in the context, but it seems rather more probable that the metaphor is continued in the immediately following 'intrare in eam' than that it is resumed in 'inclinare...ad gressus eius' after being broken by the intervening words.

14. **indigna** etc.] Jerome records a similar experience. After reading the classics he found the style of the prophets rude and repellent.

conpararem. tumor enim meus refugiebat modum eius et acies mea non penetrabat interiora eius. uerum tamen illa erat, quae cresceret cum paruulis, sed ego dedignabar esse paruulus et turgidus fastu mihi grandis uidebar.

VI. Itaque incidi in homines superbe delirantes, carnales nimis et loquaces, in quorum ore laquei diaboli et uiscum confectum conmixtione syllabarum nominis tui et domini Iesu Christi et paracleti consolatoris nostri spiritus sancti. haec nomina non recedebant de ore eorum, sed tenus sono et strepitu linguae; ceterum cor inane ueri. et dicebant: "ueritas et ueritas" et multum eam dicebant mihi et nusquam erat in

Ep. xxii 30 (Migne *P. L.* XXII 416).

4. **turgidus fastu**] The high-sounding phrase carries a hint of mockery. Cf. Horace *Ep.* II 2. 92

> .....'Aspice primum
> quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-
> spectemus uacuam Romanis uatibus aedem.'

VI. *He meets with Manichaeans, and joins the sect as an 'Auditor,' being attracted by their profession of devotion to truth and the graphic mythological representations which they dressed out in Christian language.*

5. **delirantes**] In *c. Faust.* XIX 22, A. derives the name 'Manicheus' (Knöll thinks that this spelling is implied) from *μανία* and *χέω*, rendering it Insanifusor. The derivation is, of course, polemical. The Manichaean counter-stroke was to derive it from *μάννα* and *χέω* as indicating that Mani supplied the bread of life abundantly.

6. **loquaces**] for an amusing description of the talkativeness of heretics see the *Theol. Orations of Greg. Naz.* I 1 and 2 (ed. Mason).

ib. **laquei diaboli**] Cf. 1 Tim. iii 7, vi 9; 2 Tim. ii 26.

ib. **uiscum**] Contrast with this grotesque metaphor the fine one in *c. Faust.* XIII 17 'that they may anoint the brim of their poisoned cup with the honey of Christ's name' ('ut hoc melle scilicet uenenati sui poculi labra perungerent').

8. **paracleti consolatoris**] Cf. Jn xiv 16 and 26.

9. **non recedebant de ore**] Cf. Jos. i 8 'Non recedat uolumen legis huius ab ore tuo.' The *Fundamental Epistle* of Manichaeus (Aug. *c. Ep. Fund.*) began in Apostolic style: 'Manichaeus Apostolus Iesu Christi, prouidentia Dei Patris.'

ib. **sed tenus sono**] As to the hollowness of the usage—the Manichaean dualism sets at once a great gulf between the Ruler of the Light-Realm and the Christian God; their Christ was a cosmic being whose 'Power' dwelt in the sun while his 'Wisdom' inhabited the moon, and who was distinct both from 'Jesus patibilis' who 'hung on every tree' (incarnate in vegetable life) and from the historic Christ who was merely docetic. To the Spirit was vaguely assigned the lordship of the air, for the sake as A. hints 'of saying something about Him.' Manichaeus himself was the promised Paraclete. (See *Ep. Fund. Man.*, and *c. Faust.* XX 2—7.)

10. **ueritas et ueritas**] *Truth, Truth, i.e.* they were constantly talking about Truth. In the tractate

eis, sed falsa loquebantur non de te tantum, qui uere ueritas es, sed etiam de istis elementis mundi, creatura tua, de quibus etiam uera dicentes philosophos transgredi debui prae amore tuo, mi pater summe bone, pulchritudo pulchrorum omnium. o ueritas, ueritas, quam intime etiam tum medullae animi mei suspirabant tibi, cum te illi sonarent mihi frequenter et multipliciter uoce sola et libris multis et ingentibus! et illa erant fercula, in quibus mihi esurienti te inferebatur sol et luna, pulchra opera tua, sed tamen opera tua, non tu, nec ipsa prima. priora enim spiritalia opera tua quam ista corporea quamuis lucida et caelestia. at ego nec priora illa, sed te ipsam, ueritas, in qua non est conmutatio nec momenti obumbratio, esuriebam et sitiebam. et apponebantur adhuc mihi in illis ferculis phantasmata splendida, quibus iam melius

8 inferebatur]+pro te BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 12 ueritas] te u. BCF²GHMO *edd.*

de Util. Cred. (i 2), addressed to his friend Honoratus with a view to converting him from Manichaeism, A. recalls that the bait by which he himself had been first attracted to the heresy was the promise of a revelation addressed to pure reason and not depending, like that of the Church, on authority. Similarly in *de Beata Vita* i 4 he says 'mihi persuasi docentibus potius quam iubentibus esse credendum.'

4. **pulchritudo pulchrorum omnium**] Cf. Plotinus *Enn.* VI 9. 4 *πᾶν καλὸν ὕστερον ἐκείνου καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου, ὥσπερ πᾶν φῶς μεθημερινὸν παρ' ἡλίου.*

7. **libris multis et ingentibus**] This statement is to be noted, in view of Beausobre's contention that A. had no intimate knowledge of Manichaean tenets.

8. **fercula**] 'platters.'

ib. **sol et luna**] The sun and moon played a large part in the Manichaean system, serving as vessels for the conveyance of the purified light-elements, when released from the world, to the Realm of Light, and being themselves in a certain sense divine—'Quidquid uero undique purgatur luminis per quasdam naues, quas esse lunam et solem uolunt, regno Dei...reddi. Quas itidem naues de substantia Dei pura perhibent fabricatas,' Aug. *de Haeres.* XLVI. Cf. *de Beata Vita* 4 'incidi in homines quibus lux ista quae oculis cernitur, inter summa et diuina colenda uideretur.'

10. **priora enim spiritalia**] In Gen. i 1, A. understands by 'caelum' all spiritual existences—'mentem puram...ciuium ciuitatis tuae in caelestibus,' while 'terra' stands for the whole natural universe including the visible heavens. See XII 7 and 12.

12. **non est conmutatio**] Ja. i 17 (Vulg. 'transmutatio nec uicissitudinis obumbratio').

14. **phantasmata**] In *de Mus.* VI 11. 32 A. explains 'phantasma' as the visual image formed by arbitrarily combining and working up sense impressions in contrast

erat amare istum solem saltem istis oculis uerum quam illa falsa animo decepto per oculos. et tamen, quia te putabam, manducabam, non auide quidem, quia nec sapiebas in ore meo sicuti es—neque enim tu eras illa figmenta inania—nec nutriebar eis, sed exhauriebar magis. cibus in somnis simillimus est cibis uigilantium, quo tamen dormientes non aluntur; dormiunt enim. at illa nec similia erant ullo modo tibi, sicut nunc mihi locuta es, quia illa erant corporalia phantasmata, falsa corpora, quibus certiora sunt uera corpora ista, quae uidemus uisu carneo, siue caelestia siue terrestria: cum pecudibus et uolatilibus uidemus, et certiora sunt, quam cum imaginamur ea. et rursus certius imaginamur ea quam ex eis suspicamur alia grandiora et infinita, quae omnino nulla sunt. qualibus ego tunc pascebar inanibus et non pascebar. at tu, amor meus, in quem deficio, ut fortis sim, nec ista corpora es, quae uidemus quamquam in caelo, nec ea, quae

11 uidemus SW, + haec BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

with the simple memory-image, 'phantasia'; *e.g.* his mental image of his father was a 'phantasia,' that of his grandfather, whom he had never seen, a 'phantasma.' A. seems to have been the first Latin writer to use the word in a philosophical sense (=ghost, Pliny *Ep.* VII 27. 1). He is in general accordance with the Stoic usage, *φάντασμα μέν ἐστι δόκησις διανοίας, οἷα γίνεται κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους, φαντασία δέ ἐστι τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ*, Diog. Laert. *Zeno* xxxvi 50.

ib. **quibus...quam**] A loosely constructed sentence with double comparison.

8. **locuta es**] 'Veritas' is still the subject.

ib. **corporalia phantasmata**] *imaginations of material bodies.*

11. **cum imaginamur ea**] *i.e.* when we are seeing them with the mind's eye, calling up a memory-image of them. The reference is to actual, not imaginary objects.

12. **ex eis suspicamur**] 'from them form conceptions of other things.' A. was well aware that imagination works by recombining the material provided by sense-impression. Cf. *Ep.* vii 6 'Licet igitur animae imaginanti, ex his quae illi sensus inuexit, demendo ut dictum est, et addendo, ea gignere quae nullo sensu attingit tota.'

15. **in quem deficio**] *for whom I faint* (with longing). Cf. Ps. xviii 81 'defecit in salutare tuum anima mea' (LXX *ἐκλείπει...ἡ ψυχή μου*); and, for the thought, 2 Cor. xii 10 'cum enim infirmor, tunc potens sum.'

16. **nec ea**] 'corpora' is *not* to be understood. The reference is to the 'caelum caeli,' the abode of the angels. Cf. XII 2 'tu fecisti...hoc caelum quod uideo...sed ubi est caelum caeli...?...ubi es, caelum, quod non cernimus?'

non uidemus ibi, quia tu ista condidisti nec in summis tuis conditionibus habes. quanto ergo longe es a phantasmatis illis meis, phantasmatis corporum, quae omnino non sunt! quibus certiores sunt phantasiae corporum eorum, quae sunt, et eis certiora corpora, quae tamen non es. sed nec anima es, quae uita est corporum—ideo melior uita corporum certiorque quam corpora—sed tu uita es animarum, uita uitarum, uiuens te ipsa et non mutaris, uita animae meae.

Ubi ergo mihi tunc eras et quam longe? et longe pere- 11
grinabar abs te exclusus et a siliquis porcorum, quos de sili-

2 phantasmatis] phantasmatibus CP^2Q^2 *edd.*, fantasmatibus H^2MV^2. 3 phantasmatibus CH^2 *edd.*, fantasmatibus MP^2Q^2.

1. **ista**] refers back to 'ista corpora.'

ib. **nec in summis tuis** etc.] *dost not count them among thy highest creations*—the highest being spiritual existences.

2. **conditionibus**] The word is used in Biblical and ecclesiastical language in the sense of 'creation,' both abstract and concrete ('a die conditionis tuae' Ezech. xxviii 15; 'neque alia conditio potest nos a dilectione Dei separare' Rom. viii 39 ap. Tertull. *Scorp.* xiii).

ib. **phantasmatis**] Abl. plur. as if from a sing. 'phantasmatum.' 'Phantasmatibus' however is the reading of several MSS.

4. **phantasiae**] The mental images produced by actual sense-impression, in contrast with the imaginary 'phantasmata' (v. *sup.* 62. 14 n.). Cf. Diog. Laert. *Zeno* 50 *νοεῖται δὲ ἡ φαντασία ἡ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος... ἐναπομεμαγμένη καὶ ἐναποτετυπωμένη καὶ ἐναπεσφραγισμένη.* Plutarch (*Cic.* xl) mentions the word as introduced by Cicero, who however writes it as Greek and renders it by 'uisum.' *Acad.* I 2. 40; II 6. 18. In the former passage he defines the sense in which it is used by Xenocrates as 'quasi impulsio oblata extrinsecus.' A. uses it more specifically of the memory-image, for which the 'uisum' is a presupposition.

5. **quae uita est corporum**] There is not necessarily here an allusion to the theory of an 'anima mundi' (for 'corporum' may mean only such as are animate in the ordinary sense); but A. was acquainted with the theory, inclines to accept it in *de Immort. Anim.*, and leaves it in suspense in *Retract.* I 11. 4. It is the Platonic form of the theory, in which the cosmic soul is a link between the world and God, that attracts him. The Stoic pantheistic form he definitely rejects: 'Hoc sane inconcusse retinendum esse non dubito, Deum nobis non esse istum mundum, siue anima eius ulla siue nulla sit,' *ib.*

7. **uita animarum, uita uitarum**] Cf. Plotinus *Enn.* V 3. 14 *ὁ ἔνδον νοῦς ὁ δοὺς οὐσίαν καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα τούτου τοῦ στοίχου* (of this order).

10. **exclusus et a siliquis porcorum**] Cf. Lk. xv 16. A. apparently means that he had lost his interest even in the literature with which he fed his pupils. Jerome gives a similar interpretation, *Ep. Damaso, de Filio Prodigo* etc. (Migne *P. L.* XXII 385) 'Possumus autem et aliter siliquas interpretari: Daemonum cibus est carmina poetarum, saecularis sapientia, rhetoricorum pompa uerborum.'

quis pascebam. quanto enim meliores grammaticorum et poetarum fabellae quam illa decipula! nam uersus et carmen et Medea uolans utiliores certe quam quinque elementa uarie fucata propter quinque antra tenebrarum, quae omnino nulla sunt et occidunt credentem. nam uersum et carmen etiam ad uera pulmenta transfero; uolantem autem Medeam etsi cantabam, non asserebam, etsi cantari audiebam, non credebam: illa autem credidi, uae, uae! quibus gradibus deductus in profunda inferi, quippe laborans et aestuans inopia ueri, cum te, deus meus—tibi confiteor, qui me miseratus es et nondum confitentem—cum te non secundum intellectum mentis, quo modo praestare uoluisti beluis, sed secundum sensum carnis quaererem. tu autem eras interior intimo meo et superior summo meo. offendi illam mulierem audacem, inopem prudentiae, aenigma Salomonis, sedentem super sellam

8 deductus] +sum BCFMPQ *edd.* 12 quo modo SW, quo me BCFGHMO²PQV *edd.*

2. **decipula**] *traps, gins.* Jer. v. 27 'decipula plena auibus.'

3. **Medea uolans**] sc. in her dragon-chariot. A. refers to this as a typical example of an imaginary conception *Ep.* vii 4 'ego Medeae cum suis anguibus alitibus iunctis iugo (fingo speciem).' Cf. Ovid *Metam.* VII 219—236

'...aderat demissus ab aethere currus.
quo simul ascendit, frenataque colla draconum
permulsit, manibusque leues agitauit habenas;
sublimis rapitur....'

This aerial flight was probably a favourite subject for poetical compositions.

ib. **quinque elementa...tenebrarum**] The Manichaeans divided the Realm of Darkness into five regions, or caverns, distinguished as those of Darkness, Smoke, Evil Wind, Evil Fire, Evil Water. Against these the 'First Man,' a Cosmic Being who fought as champion of the Realm of Light, was armed with the five good elements, Light, Air, Wind, Fire, Water. These he had the power to metamorphose ('uarie fucata') in order to deceive the enemy. See *c. Faust.* II 3 and 4 etc.

5. **carmen...transfero**] According to the Benedictine editors it was upon this passage that Petilianus the Donatist founded his charge against A. of administering love charms ('amatoria malefica data mulieri'). A. indignantly replies 'Eulogiae panis simpliciter et hilariter datae ridiculo nomine uenenosae turpitudinis et furoris infamauit,' *c. Litt. Petil.* III 16. 19. The identification does not appear certain. A.'s meaning seems to be that he could gain his bread by literary pursuits.

9. **in profunda inferi**] Cf. Prov. ix 18 'et in profundis inferni conuiuae eius.'

13. **interior intimo meo** etc.] One of A.'s memorable phrases.

15. **aenigma**] Cf. *de Trin.* XV

in foribus et dicentem : panes occultos libenter edite et aquam dulcem furtiuam bibite. quae me seduxit, quia inuenit foris habitantem in oculo carnis meae et talia ruminantem apud me, qualia per illum uorassem.

5 VII. Nesciebam enim aliud, uere quod est, et quasi 12 acutule mouebar, ut suffragarer stultis deceptoribus, cum a me quaereretur, unde malum est et utrum forma corporea deus finiretur et haberet capillos et ungues et utrum iusti existimandi essent qui haberent uxores multas simul et occiderent homines

7 quaereretur] quaererent BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* malum est SW, – est BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

9. 15 'Aenigma est autem, ut breuiter explicem, obscura allegoria, sicuti est, Sanguisugae erant tres filiae ; et quaecumque similia.' (Similarly Quintilian, *Inst.* VIII 6. 52 'Allegoria, quae est obscurior, aenigma dicitur'). The passage alluded to (Prov. ix 17, 18) is an 'aenigma' in this sense, because according to A. all the imagery is symbolical—the woman stands for folly, 'in foribus sedere' means to live in what is outward and material.

1. **panes occultos**] Prov. ix. 17 (Vulg. 'aquae furtiuae deliciores sunt, et panis absconditus suauior').

4. **per illum**] sc. 'oculum.'

VII. *Many of their arguments would have lost their weight if he had then understood the spirituality of God and the negative character of evil. Another of their arguments which laid stress upon the moral difficulties of the Old Testament (permission of polygamy etc.), he now proceeds to discuss, urging that some moral precepts are relative to periods and circumstances.*

5. **aliud, uere quod est**] *that other, true, reality*, viz. things spiritual—material objects were as yet the only 'reality' he knew.

ib. **quasi acutule mouebar** etc.] *I was influenced in a rather subtle fashion to accept the views of these deceivers—by their asking us, namely, whence* etc.

7. **unde malum**] It was as purporting to solve this problem that Manichaeism made its chief appeal. A. says in reference to it *de Lib. Arb.* I 2. 4 'Eam quaestionem moues, quae me admodum adulescentem uehementer exercuit, et fatigatum in haereticos impulit.' Dualism is the most obvious solution, and the Manichaeans presented it in forms which appealed to the imagination. The grotesqueness of some of these forms might repel a cultured convert like A., but he was given to understand that they concealed a mystery—'Non assentiebar, sed putabam eos magnum aliquid tegere illis inuolucris, quod essent aliquando aperturi.' *de B. Vita* i 4.

ib. **utrum forma corporea** etc.] As the *Contra Faustum* shows, criticism of the anthropomorphism and imperfect morality of the O.T. were among the strongest points of the Manichaean attack. The difficulties were real, and could only be solved by the application of principles of historical development which, as a rule, lay outside the horizon of orthodox and heretic alike. It is part of A.'s greatness that he had a glimpse of these principles, though he frequently falls back on the easier allegorical

et sacrificarent de animalibus. quibus rerum ignarus perturbabar et recedens a ueritate ire in eam mihi uidebar, quia non noueram malum non esse nisi priuationem boni usque ad quod omnino non est. quod unde uiderem, cuius uidere usque ad corpus erat oculis et animo usque ad phantasma? non noueram deum esse spiritum, non cui membra essent per longum et latum nec cui esse moles esset, quia moles in parte minor est quam in toto suo, et si infinita sit, minor est in aliqua parte certo spatio definita quam per infinitum et non est tota ubique sicut spiritus, sicut deus. et quid in nobis esset, secundum quod essemus, et quid in scriptura diceremur ad imaginem dei, prorsus ignorabam.

13 Et non noueram iustitiam ueram interiorem non ex consuetudine iudicantem, sed ex lege lectissima dei omnipotentis,

11 essemus]+similes deo BCFGHMPQ *edd.* et quid SW, et recte BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 14 lectissima] rectissima BFHOPQV *mo.*

method. The discussion which follows here is remarkable for breadth and insight.

1. **de animalibus**] Two constructions are possible here:

(1) The late instrumental use of 'de' (cf. XII 17 'de gladio occidere') instead of the simple abl. which is not uncommon with 'sacrifico,' *e.g.* Liv. XXXVII 47 'uicenis maioribus hostiis in singulas supplicationes sacrificare consul est iussus.'

(2) Partitive, either without special significance, cf. the French 'ils sacrifiaient des animaux' (so Wölfflin in *Archiv für Lat. Lexicog.* VII 477); or pointing to the fact that only some classes of animals were sacrificed (the last being however an improbable refinement).

3. **priuationem boni**] The conception of evil as negative was adopted by A. from Neo-Platonism. Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* III 2. 5 ὅλως δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἔλλειψιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θετέον. See VII 18 for fuller discussion.

4. **quod unde uiderem**...?] *How could I see that, when all the seeing of which I was capable was to see material forms with the eye and imaginary forms with the mind?* On A.'s free use of the substantival inf. ('cuius uidere'; 'cui esse,' l. 7), see Wölfflin *Archiv für Lat. Lexicog.* III 70, and for further examples see IV 10, VIII 10 and 20 and IX 14.

10. **et quid in nobis** etc.] In XIII 32 A. notes that in the account of the creation of man the words 'ad imaginem' Gen. i 27 take the place of the words 'secundum genus' applied to the other creatures. The latter phrase he interprets as 'imitating one another' (living the common life of nature), the former, as indicating that man is capable of conforming himself to the will of God. This interp. confirms Knöll's reading (following SW) here. The majority of MSS. have 'secundum quod essemus similes deo,' giving the more obvious meaning that man's spirit is that by which he resembles God.

qua formarentur mores regionum et dierum pro regionibus et diebus, cum ipsa ubique ac semper esset, non alibi alia nec alias aliter, secundum quam iusti essent Abraham et Isaac et Iacob et Moyses et Dauid et illi omnes laudati ore dei; sed eos ab imperitis iudicari iniquos, iudicantibus ex humano die et uniuersos mores humani generis ex parte moris sui metientibus, tamquam si quis nescius in armamentis, quid cui membro adcommodatum sit, ocrea uelit caput contegi et galea calciari et murmuret, quod non apte conueniat, aut in uno die indicto a pomeridianis horis iustitio quisquam stomachetur non sibi concedi quod uenale proponere, quia mane concessum est, aut in una domo uideat aliquid tractari manibus a quoquam seruo, quod facere non sinatur qui pocula ministrat, aut aliquid post praesepia fieri, quod ante mensam prohibeatur, et indignetur, cum sit unum habitaculum et una familia, non ubique atque omnibus idem tribui. sic sunt isti qui indignantur, cum audierint illo saeculo licuisse iustis aliquid, quod isto non licet iustis, et quia illis aliud praecepit deus, istis aliud pro temporalibus causis, cum eidem iustitiae utrique seruierint, cum in uno homine et in uno die et in unis aedibus uideant aliud alii membro congruere et aliud iam dudum licuisse, post horam non licere, quiddam in illo angulo permitti aut iuberi, quod

11 quod SW, quid BCFGHIMOPQV *edd.*

1. **qua formarentur ... diebus**] *whereby the customs of countries and periods were adapted to the country and the period.*

2. **ipsa**] Used in the sense of 'eadem.'

ib. **alibi...aliter**] *one thing in one place and another elsewhere, at one time thus, at another otherwise.*

5. **ab imperitis iudicari iniquos**] *are held unjust by men who judge from their own limited experience.*

'Who shall gainsay that the raw new-come guest
Blames oft, too sensitive? On every side
Of—larger than your stage—life's spectacle
Convention here permits and there forbids
Impulse and action, nor alleges more
Than some mysterious "So do all, and so
Does no one" which the hasty stranger blames....'
Browning,
Balaustion's Adventure.

ib. **ex humano die**] Cf. 1 Cor. iv 3 'mihi autem pro minimo est ut a uobis iudicer aut ab humano die.'

10. **iustitio**] A cessation of business in the law courts ('ius sisto'), hence a legal holiday.

in isto iuxta uetetur et uindicetur. numquid iustitia uaria est et mutabilis? sed tempora, quibus praesidet, non pariter eunt; tempora enim sunt. homines autem, quorum uita super terram breuis est, quia sensu non ualent causas contexere saeculorum priorum aliarumque gentium, quas experti non sunt, cum his quas experti sunt, in uno autem corpore uel die uel domo facile possunt uidere, quid cui membro, quibus momentis, quibus partibus personisue congruat, in illis offenduntur, hic seruiunt.

14 Haec ego tunc nesciebam et non aduertebam, et feriebant undique ista oculos meos et non uidebam. et cantabam carmina et non mihi licebat ponere pedem quemlibet et ubilibet, sed in alio atque alio metro aliter atque aliter et in uno aliquo uersu non omnibus locis eundem pedem; et ars ipsa, qua canebam, non habebat aliud alibi, sed omnia simul. et non intuebar iustitiam, cui seruirent boni et sancti homines, longe excellentius atque sublimius habere simul omnia quae praecipit et nulla ex parte uarie, tamen uariis temporibus non omnia simul, sed propria distribuentem ac praecipientem. et reprehendebam caecus pios patres non solum, sicut deus iuberet atque inspiraret, utentes praesentibus, uerum quoque, sicut deus reuelaret, futura praenuntiantes.

9 hic] his HO^2 *edd.* 17 praecipit] praecepit BCFGHMPQV *mo.* 18 uarie] uariari et BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

9. **hic seruiunt**] The reading 'his seruiunt' of the MSS. HO^2 deserves notice on internal grounds, as the unusual sense of 'seruire' (with an impersonal object = submit to) may have led to its being altered. The usage is classical, though rare, cf. Cic. *de Or.* II 40, 171 'si aerarii copiis ad belli armamenta et ad ornamenta pacis utimur, uectigalibus seruiamus' ('submissively accept,' 'put up with'—which is exactly the meaning required here). Codex H is the 'Corbeiensis' of the Bened. edd., to which they attached prime importance. The 'second hand' in O 'nonnumquam genuinam scripturam restituit' Knöll *Praef.* X. The use of 'seruire' in its usual sense in 68. 19 above and line 16 below is however rather against this and in favour of Knöll's reading.

15. **et non intuebar** etc.] *and I had not the insight to discern that justice, of which all good and holy men were the servants, contained in itself the principle of all that it prescribes, and that without inconsistency; but yet allotted and prescribed at each period that which was appropriate thereto and not all things at all times.*

22. **futura praenuntiantes**] *e.g.* in *c. Faust.* XXII 38, A. makes

VIII. Numquid aliquando aut alicubi iniustum est diligere deum ex toto corde et ex tota anima et ex tota mente et diligere proximum tamquam te ipsum? itaque flagitia, quae sunt contra naturam, ubique ac semper detestanda atque punienda sunt, qualia Sodomitarum fuerunt. quae si omnes gentes facerent, eodem criminis reatu diuina lege tenerentur, quae non sic fecit homines, ut hoc se uterentur modo. uiolatur quippe ipsa societas, quae cum deo nobis esse debet, cum eadem natura, cuius ille auctor est, libidinis peruersitate polluitur. quae autem contra mores hominum sunt flagitia, pro morum diuersitate uitanda sunt, ut pactum inter se ciuitatis aut gentis consuetudine uel lege firmatum nulla ciuis aut peregrini libidine uioletur. turpis enim omnis pars uniuerso suo non congruens. cum autem deus aliquid contra morem aut pactum quorumlibet iubet, etsi numquam ibi factum est, faciendum est, et si omissum, instaurandum, et si institutum non erat, instituendum est. si enim regi licet in ciuitate, cui regnat, iubere aliquid, quod neque ante illum quisquam nec ipse umquam iusserat, et non contra societatem ciuitatis eius obtemperatur, inmo contra societatem non obtemperatur—

6 –reatu SW. 7 hoc se SW, se illo BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

Abraham's denying his wife in Egypt a type of the fact that the Church is the secret spouse of Christ—secret, because the depth of her devotion was not manifested until the monarchs attempted to violate her by persecution. He discusses the morality of the action, however, independently of the allegorical interpretation.

VIII. *The same discussion continued. There are vices and crimes which violate permanent moral principles and are always reprehensible, but there are violations of law and custom which might be sanctioned by royal edict, how much more by God? And since the root of all sin is the desertion of God, to Him alone belong the prerogatives of punishing and forgiving sin.*

1. **diligere deum** etc.] Cf. Mt. xxii. 37, 39.

11. **pro morum diuersitate**] Cf. *c. Faust.* XXII 47 (in reference to polygamy) 'quando enim mos erat, crimen non erat; et nunc propterea crimen est, quia mos non est. Alia enim sunt peccata contra naturam, alia contra mores, alia contra praecepta.'

16. **omissum**] 'intermitted.'

17. **cui regnat**] 'regnare' is construed with dat. on the analogy of 'imperare.'

20. **inmo contra societatem** etc.] *nay, to disobey him is to oppose the principles of human society.*

generale quippe pactum est societatis humanae oboedire regibus suis—quanto magis deus regnator uniuersae creaturae, cui ad ea quae iusserit sine dubitatione seruiendum est! sicut enim in potestatibus societatis humanae maior potestas minori ad oboediendum praeponitur, ita deus omnibus.

16 Item in facinoribus, ubi libido est nocendi siue per contumeliam siue per iniuriam et utrumque uel ulciscendi causa, sicut inimico inimicus, uel adipiscendi alicuius extra conmodi, sicut latro uiatori, uel euitandi mali, sicut ei qui timetur, uel inuidendo, sicut feliciori miserior aut in aliquo prosperatus ei, quem sibi aequari timet aut aequalem dolet, uel sola uoluptate alieni mali, sicut spectatores gladiatorum aut inrisores aut inlusores quorumlibet. haec sunt capita iniquitatis, quae pullulant principandi et spectandi et sentiendi libidine aut una

2 deus] deo CGO^{1}P^2 *edd.* regnator] regnatori CGO^{1}P^1 *edd.* 3 cui *coniec.* Knöll, siue SW, suae BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 10 inuidendo] inuidendi SW.

1. **generale...pactum societatis humanae**] A. was probably acquainted with Aristotle's description of the State as a κοινωνία (*Polit.* I 1), and refers, in *de Ciu. Dei* XIX 21, to Cicero's definition (*de Rep.* I 25)—'Res publica res populi. Populus autem non omnis hominum coetus quoquo modo congregatus sed coetus multitudinis iuris consensu sociatus.' The definiteness of A.'s statement, however, and the use of the word 'pactum' give this incidental remark a place in the line of development of the Social Contract Theory. In *de Ciu. Dei* XIX 17 he speaks of human society as involving 'imperandi oboediendique concordiam'; and of a 'compositio uoluntatum.' Cf. Locke, *On Civil Government* chap. vii. 'The only way whereby anyone divests himself of his natural liberty and puts on the bonds of human society, is by agreeing with other men to join and unite with them into a community.'

2. **deus regnator**] After the parenthesis A. resumes as if he had begun the sentence with 'si enim rex potest' (anacoluthon).

6. **item** etc.] 'It is the same with crimes,' etc., *i.e.* they are always worthy of punishment. The verbal idea is to be supplied from the beginning of the previous paragraph—'flagitia...semper detestanda atque punienda sunt.'

ib. **facinoribus**] A. defines the difference between 'flagitia' and 'facinora' thus: 'Quod agit indomita cupiditas ad corrumpendum animum et corpus suum, flagitium uocatur; quod autem agit ut alteri noceat, facinus dicitur,' *de Doct. Christ.* III 10. 16.

13. **capita ... quae pullulant**] *main-shoots...which sprout.*

14. **principandi et...sentiendi**] 'Haec autem tria genera uitiorum, id est uoluptas carnis et superbia et curiositas, omnia peccata concludunt.' *Enarr. in Ps.* viii § 13. Cf. 1 Jn ii 16.

aut duabus earum aut simul omnibus, et uiuitur male aduersus tria et septem, psalterium decem chordarum, decalogum tuum, deus altissime et dulcissime. sed quae flagitia in te, qui non corrumperis? aut quae aduersus te facinora, cui noceri non potest? sed hoc uindicas, quod in se homines perpetrant, quia etiam cum in te peccant, inpie faciunt in animas suas, et mentitur iniquitas sibi siue corrumpendo ac peruertendo naturam suam, quam tu fecisti et ordinasti, uel inmoderate utendo concessis rebus uel in non concessa flagrando in eum usum, qui est contra naturam; aut rei tenentur animo et uerbis saeuientes aduersus te et aduersus stimulum calcitrantes, aut cum diruptis limitibus humanae societatis laetantur audaces priuatis conciliationibus aut diremptionibus, prout quidque delectauerit aut offenderit. et ea fiunt, cum tu derelinqueris, fons uitae, qui es unus et uerus creator et rector uniuersitatis, et priuata superbia diligitur in parte unum falsum. itaque pietate humili reditur in te et purgas nos a consuetudine mala et propitius es peccatis confitentium et exaudis gemitus conpeditorum et soluis a uinculis, quae nobis fecimus, si iam non erigamus aduersus te cornua falsae libertatis auaritia plus

2. **tria et septem**] 'Decalogus enim legis decem praecepta habet quae sic sunt distributa ut tria pertineant ad Deum, septem pertineant ad homines.' *Serm. IX, de X chordis*, v 6.

ib. **psalterium decem chordarum**] Ps. cxliii 9 (cxliv 9).

7. **mentitur iniquitas sibi**] Ps. xxvi 12 (xxvii 12) (LXX καὶ ἐψεύσατο ἡ ἀδικία ἑαυτῇ). In his exposition of the Psalm A. interprets that the malice of his enemies defeats itself; here, however, that sin plays itself false and so becomes its own punishment. For the rendering, see note on 1 6.

9. **in eum ... naturam**] Rom. i 26.

11. **aduersus stimulum calcitrantes**] Cf. Act. ix 5.

14. **et ea...unum falsum**] The phraseology is coloured by the Neo-Platonic doctrine according to which τὸ ἕν 'the One' (unum) is man's true life-centre and sin is essentially a turning away from that true centre to become absorbed in the things of sense, which then constitute a false life centre or substitute for 'the One.' We may render: *and these are the consequences when Thou art departed from...and, from self-regarding pride, a false unity is loved in the part.*

ib. **tu derelinqueris**] Cf. Jer. ii 13 'me dereliquerunt fontem aquae uiuae.'

18. **propitius es peccatis**] Cf. Ps. lxxvii 38, lxxviii 9 (lxxviii 38, lxxix 9).

ib. **exaudis gemitus conpeditorum**] Ps. ci 21 (cii 20).

20. **cornua falsae libertatis**] Cf. Ps. lxxiv 5, 6 (lxxv 4, 5).

habendi et damno totum amittendi, amplius amando proprium nostrum quam te, omnium bonum.

17 IX. Sed inter flagitia et facinora et tam multas iniquitates sunt peccata proficientium, quae bene iudicantibus et uituperantur ex regula perfectionis et laudantur spe frugis sicut herba segetis. et sunt quaedam similia uel flagitio uel facinori et non sunt peccata, quia nec te offendunt, dominum deum nostrum, nec sociale consortium, cum conciliantur aliqua in usum uitae congrua et tempori, et incertum est an libidine habendi, aut puniuntur corrigendi studio potestate ordinata, et incertum est an libidine nocendi. multa itaque facta, quae hominibus inprobanda uiderentur, testimonio tuo adprobata sunt, et multa laudata ab hominibus te teste damnantur, cum saepe se aliter habet species facti et aliter facientis animus atque articulus occulti temporis. cum uero aliquid tu repente

4 bene SW, a bene BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* uituperantur] uituperantibus S *Knöll in ed. mai.* 9 congrua] + et SW, – et BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

1. **habendi...amittendi**] Antithesis pointed by assonance of ending ('homoeoteleuton'). The ablatives 'auaritia, damno,' are used with Tacitean pregnancy: *urged on by the lust of grasping more, and incurring the loss of all.*

ib. **amplius amando proprium**] Cf. *de Lib. Arb.* II 19. 53 'uoluntas autem auersa ab incommutabili et communi bono, et conuersa ad proprium bonum...peccat.'

IX. *Since circumstance and motive count for so much—the faults of learners may sometimes even deserve praise—none but God can justly judge human conduct in all cases.*

4. **peccata proficientium** etc.] *the faulty attempts of learners, which, by discriminating persons, are both censured from the point of view of perfection and praised for their promise of better things.* A rather bold oxymoron. For the thought, cf. the proverb 'Causa difficilis laudare puerum, non enim res laudanda sed spes est.' Cicero apud Seruium *ad Aen.* VI 877.

6. **herba segetis**] Ellipsis—'herba (laudatur spe) segetis.'

8. **conciliantur**] 'are procured,' cf. Plaut. *Pers.* IV 3. 69 'ut tibi recte conciliandi (of making a bargain) primo facerem copiam.'

ib. **aliqua in usum uitae** etc.] *things adapted to supply ordinary needs and suitable to the circumstances.* 'Congrua' goes both with 'in usum' and with the dative 'tempori.'

9. **et incertum est** etc.] *without necessarily implying cupidity.* The reference is to such incidents as the spoiling of the Egyptians (*c. Faust.* XXII 71).

10. **puniuntur** etc.] Cf. Exod. xxxii 26 sq., to which A. refers in this connexion *c. Faust.* XXII 79.

15. **articulus occulti temporis**] In *de Cat. Rud.* 6 (cf. 39) A. speaks of the five periods into which he divides pre-Christian history as 'quinque temporum articulos,'

inusitatum et inprouisum imperas, etiamsi hoc aliquando uetuisti, quamuis causam imperii tui pro tempore occultes et quamuis contra pactum sit aliquorum hominum societatis, quis dubitet esse faciendum, quando ea iusta est societas hominum, quae seruit tibi? sed beati qui te imperasse sciunt. fiunt enim omnia a seruientibus tibi uel ad exhibendum, quod ad praesens opus est, uel ad futura praenuntianda.

X. Haec ego nesciens inridebam illos sanctos seruos et 18 prophetas tuos. et quid agebam, cum inridebam eos, nisi ut inriderer abs te sensim atque paulatim perductus ad eas nugas, ut crederem ficum plorare, cum decerpitur, et matrem eius arborem lacrimis lacteis? quam tamen ficum si comedisset aliquis sanctus alieno sane, non suo scelere decerptam, misceret uisceribus et anhelaret de illa angelos, inmo uero particulas dei gemendo in oratione atque ructando: quae particulae summi et ueri dei ligatae fuissent in illo pomo, nisi electi sancti dente ac uentre soluerentur. et credidi miser magis

17 magis]+esse BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

where the phrase means simply epochs. Here, however, the division of the phrase by the adjective throws more emphasis on 'articulus,' probably in the sense 'critical point' (cp. the Eng. phrase 'at this juncture'), and we might render freely 'and the special circumstances of the time, of which our knowledge is imperfect.'

1. **inusitatum imperas**] In *de Ciu. Dei* I 26 A. brings under this category the death of Samson by his own hand, as well as the more obvious instance of the sacrifice of Isaac.

5. **sed beati** etc.] *But blessed are they who are well assured that Thou hast commanded them.*

X. *A. recalls how, while ridiculing the actions of the Patriarchs and Prophets as irrational and immoral, he accepted the irrational ideas and immoral practices of the Manichaeans.*

13. **non suo scelere**] It was plucked for them by the Auditores, whose trespass in plucking it was in turn purged by the prayers which the Elect offered while consuming the food (*de Mor. Manich.* XV 36, *de Haeres.* XLV). The Electi, were the fully initiate members of the sect, who took vows of abstinence from flesh-meat, from marriage and from active occupation. The Auditores were content with the lower grade of sanctity compatible with ordinary avocations, and the Elect were supported by their offerings.

15. **gemendo atque ructando**] In the strangely materialistic conceptions of the Manichaeans the 'light-particles' imprisoned in the food consumed by the elect were thought of as released by such bodily activities as eructation, the exhalation of heat, etc. (*de Mor. Manich.* XV 37).

17. **dente ac uentre**] The jingling assonance gives point to the contemptuous phrase.

misericordiam praestandam fructibus terrae quam hominibus, propter quos nascerentur. si quis uero esuriens peteret, qui manichaeus non esset, quasi capitali supplicio damnanda buccella uideretur, si ei daretur.

19 XI. Et misisti manum tuam ex alto et de hac profunda caligine eruisti animam meam, cum pro me fleret ad te mea mater, fidelis tua, amplius quam flent matres corporea funera. uidebat enim illa mortem meam ex fide et spiritu, quem habebat ex te, et exaudisti eam, domine. exaudisti eam nec despexisti lacrimas eius, cum profluentes rigarent terram sub oculis eius in omni loco orationis eius: exaudisti eam. nam unde illud somnium, quo eam consolatus es, ut uiuere mecum cederet et habere mecum eandem mensam in domo? quod nolle coeperat auersans et detestans blasphemias erroris mei. uidit enim se stantem in quadam regula lignea et uenientem ad se iuuenem splendidum hilarem atque arridentem sibi, cum illa esset maerens et maerore confecta. qui cum causas ab ea quaesisset maestitiae suae cotidianarumque lacrimarum docendi, ut adsolet, non discendi gratia, atque illa respondisset perditionem meam se plangere, iussisse illum, quo secura

2 uero] enim BCFGHMOPQ *edd.* 15 uenientem] aduenientem BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

3. **quasi capitali supplicio damnanda**] To give food to one who was not a Manichaean was to plunge the 'Light-elements' which it contained deeper than ever into their material prison. The restrictions which this belief imposed on charity are pressed by A. in *de Mor. Manich.* xv 36.

XI. *Monnica grieves deeply over his joining the Manichaeans; but is comforted by a vision which assures her that he will yet resume his place beside her in the Catholic Church.*

5. **misisti manum**] Cf. Ps. cxliii 7 (cxliv 7) 'Emitte manum tuum de alto, eripe me.'

6. **eruisti** etc.] Cf. Ps. lxxxv 13 (lxxxvi 13) 'eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori.'

13. **quod nolle coeperat**] From the fact that A. in *c. Acad.* II 2. 3 speaks of Romanianus (v. *sup.* III 7) as allowing him to share his home 'in nostro ipso municipio' it appears that Monnica had carried this resolution into effect for a time.

15. **in quadam regula lignea**] When A. relates his conversion (*infr.* VIII 30), he speaks of himself as 'stans in ea regula fidei in qua me ante tot annos ei reuelaueras.' The present passage is interesting in that 'regula' is used with full consciousness of the metaphor but with a distinct reference to the 'regula fidei.'

19. **docendi, ut adsolet** etc.] Cf. *e.g.* Jn xxi 3; Acts i 11.

20. **iussisse, quo...esset**] The con-

esset, atque admonuisse, ut adtenderet et uideret, ubi esset illa, ibi esse et me. quod illa ubi adtendit, uidit me iuxta se in eadem regula stantem. unde hoc, nisi quia erant aures tuae ad cor eius, o tu bone omnipotens, qui sic curas unumquemque nostrum, tamquam solum cures, et sic omnes, tamquam singulos?

Unde illud etiam, quod cum mihi narrasset ipsum uisum et ego ad id detrahere conarer, ut illa se potius non desperaret futuram esse quod eram, continuo sine aliqua haesitatione: "non" inquit; "non enim mihi dictum est: ubi ille, ibi et tu, ed: ubi tu, ibi et ille." confiteor tibi, domine, recordationem meam, quantum recolo, quod saepe non tacui, amplius me isto per matrem responso tuo, quod tam uicina interpretationis falsitate turbata non est et tam cito uidit quod uidendum fuit, quod ego certe, antequam dixisset, non uideram, etiam tum fuisse conmotum quam ipso somnio, quo feminae piae gaudium tanto post futurum ad consolationem tunc praesentis sollicitudinis tanto ante praedictum est. nam nouem ferme anni secuti sunt, quibus ego in illo limo profundi ac tenebris falsitatis, cum saepe surgere conarer et grauius alliderer, uolutatus sum, cum tamen illa uidua casta, pia et sobria, quales amas, iam quidem spe alacrior, sed fletu et gemitu non segnior, non desineret horis omnibus orationum suarum de me plangere ad te, et intrabant in conspectum tuum preces eius, et tamen dimittebas adhuc uolui et inuolui illa caligine. 20

XII. Et dedisti alterum responsum interim, quod recolo. 21 nam et multa praetereo, propter quod propero ad ea quae me

8 detrahere] trahere BFGHMOPQV *edd.* 13 matrem] + uigilantem BFGHMPQV *edd.* 24 et tamen] et me t. BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

struction is peculiar. Perhaps 'quo ...esset' is to be taken parenthetically. 'He commanded and admonished her—a command intended to reassure her—to observe' etc.

3. **aures tuae...ad cor eius**] Cf. Ps. x 17 (x 17) 'praeparationem cordis eorum audiuit auris tua.'

19. **in...limo profundi**] Ps. lxviii 3 (lxix 2).

24. **intrabant in conspectum tuum**] Ps. lxxxvii 3 (lxxxviii 2) ('intret in conspectu tuo oratio mea').

XII. *A certain Bishop consoles Monnica. He refuses to enter into controversy with Augustine, saying to Monnica 'Only pray to the Lord for him.'*

magis urguent confiteri tibi, et multa non memini. dedisti ergo alterum per sacerdotem tuum, quendam episcopum nutritum in ecclesia et exercitatum in libris tuis. quem cum illa femina rogasset, ut dignaretur mecum conloqui et refellere errores meos et dedocere me mala ac docere bona—faciebat enim hoc, quos forte idoneos inuenisset—noluit ille, prudenter sane, quantum sensi postea. respondit enim me adhuc esse indocilem, et quod inflatus essem nouitate haeresis illius et nonnullis quaestiunculis iam multos inperitos exagitassem, sicut illa indicauerat ei. "sed" inquit "sine illum ibi. tantum roga pro eo dominum: ipse legendo reperiet, quis ille sit error et quanta inpietas." simul etiam narrauit se quoque paruulum a seducta matre sua datum fuisse manichaeis et omnes paene non legisse tantum uerum etiam scriptitasse libros eorum sibique adparuisse, nullo contra disputante et conuincente, quam esset illa secta fugienda: itaque fugisse. quae cum ille dixisset atque illa nollet adquiescere, sed instaret magis deprecando et ubertim flendo, ut me uideret et mecum dissereret, ille iam substomachans: "uade" inquit "a me; ita uiuas, fieri non potest, ut filius istarum lacrimarum pereat." quod illa ita se accepisse inter conloquia sua mecum saepe recordabatur, ac si de caelo sonuisset.

6 quos] si quos *edd.* 8 *pr.* et] eo BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 19 substomachans] +taedio BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

8. **inflatus nouitate...inperitos exagitassem**] A. is quite frank as to the part played by vanity in attaching him to the Manichaeans. He mentions it again in *de Duab. Anim.* ix 11, where he also speaks of a certain insinuating friendliness on the part of the sectaries. Elsewhere he mentions two other motives which influenced him, (1) the youthful pride of reason which revolted against a revelation based on authority, *de Util. Cred.* i 2 ('quis non his pollicitationibus illiceretur, praesertim adulescentis animus cupidus ueri, etiam nonnullorum in schola doctorum hominum disputationibus superbus et garrulus?'); (2) the pressure of the problem of evil (see passage quoted in note at § 12 *sup.*).

12. **se...datum fuisse manichaeis**] At first sight this appears to conflict with 'nutritum in ecclesia' l. 3 sup. The meaning apparently is that his mother had been a Christian but was perverted (seducta) by the Manichaeans while he was still in early boyhood.

19. **ita uiuas**] A confirmatory formula (Cic. *ad Fam.* XVI 20 'Sollicitat, ita uiuam, me tua... ualetudo').

LIBER QUARTUS.

I. Per idem tempus annorum nouem, ab undeuicensimo anno aetatis meae usque ad duodetricensimum, seducebamur et seducebamus falsi atque fallentes in uariis cupiditatibus, et palam per doctrinas, quas liberales uocant, occulte autem falso nomine religionis, hic superbi, ibi superstitiosi, ubique uani, hac popularis gloriae sectantes inanitatem usque ad theatricos plausus et contentiosa carmina et agonem coronarum faenearum et spectaculorum nugas et intemperantiam libidinum, illac autem purgari nos ab istis sordibus expetentes, cum eis, qui appellarentur electi et sancti, afferremus escas, de quibus nobis in officina aqualiculi sui fabricarent angelos et deos, per quos liberaremur. et sectabar ista atque faciebam

I. *For nine years—from his nineteenth to his twenty-eighth year—A. remained a Manichaean. He gives thanks to God for his deliverance, but acknowledges his own shame.*

3. **falsi atque fallentes**] Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 13 (Vulg. 'errantes, et in errorem mittentes').

4. **occulte**] The Manichaeans were under the ban of the State as well as of the Church. Severe laws had been enacted against them by Valentinian I in 372, as well as by earlier Emperors from Diocletian onwards, though these laws do not appear to have been very strictly enforced. To a generous youth like A. the fact that the Manichaeans were liable to persecution may have proved an attraction—it added force to their repudiation of authority. See III 21, note.

8. **faenearum**] probably carries a shade of contempt, though hardly the ridiculous suggestion of 'hay crowns' since 'faenum' is freely used of growing grass, *e.g.* Ps. xci 8 (xcii 7) 'cum exorti fuerunt peccatores sicut faenum.' Perhaps *quickly fading*. For the award of a wreath as a prize in an oratorical contest cf. Sueton. *Nero* xii 'orationis carminisque latini coronam.'

11. **officina**] 'laboratory.' The sarcastic metaphor frequently recurs, *e.g. c. Faust.* VI 4 'ad officinam aqualiculi uestri, ubi deum uestrum illo proelio confractum reformare possetis.'

ib. **aqualiculi**] Small water vessel. Hence, contemptuously, 'paunch' (cf. Pers. *Sat.* I 57 'pinguis aqualiculus propenso sesquipede extet').

12. **liberaremur**] The liberated

cum amicis meis per me ac mecum deceptis. inrideant me arrogantes et nondum salubriter prostrati et elisi a te, deus meus, et ego tamen confitear tibi dedecora mea in laude tua. sine me, obsecro, et da mihi circuire praesenti memoria praeteritos circuitus erroris mei et immolare tibi hostiam iubilationis. quid enim sum ego mihi sine te nisi dux in praeceps? aut quid sum, cum mihi bene est, nisi sugens lac tuum aut fruens te cibo, qui non corrumpitur? et quis homo est quilibet homo, cum sit homo? sed inrideant nos fortes et potentes, nos autem infirmi et inopes confiteamur tibi.

2 II. Docebam in illis annis artem rhetoricam et uictoriosam loquacitatem uictus cupiditate uendebam. malebam tamen,

3 et] – BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 4 circuire] circumire CFGHMO¹PQ.

light-elements reinforce the Realm of Light and thus contribute to its final victory over the Realm of Darkness.

3. **in laude tua**] Cf. Ps. cv 41 (cvi 41) 'ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo: et gloriemur in laude tua.'

5. **immolare...hostiam iubilationis**] Cf. Ps. xlix 14 (l 14) 'immola Deo sacrificium laudis.'

6. **dux in praeceps**] *a guide to mine own downfall.*

7. **sugens lac**] Cf. Ps. viii 3 (viii 2) 'ex ore...lactentium perfecisti laudem'; and 1 Cor. iii 1, 2 'tamquam paruulis in Christo lac uobis potum dedi, non escam.'

8. **cibo, qui non corrumpitur**] Cf. Jn vi 27 'operamini non cibum qui perit, sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam.'

ib. **et quis homo** etc.] *and what kind of a man is any man when he is merely a man? i.e.* who is truly a man when he is only a man?

10. **infirmi et inopes confiteamur**] Cf. Ps. lxxiii 21 (lxxiv 29) 'pauper et inops laudabunt nomen tuum.'

II. *As a teacher of rhetoric he sells the artifices of the pleader; but is not without scruple as to the cause in which they shall be employed. He refuses the offer of an augur to bring him success in an oratorical contest, because the man would have sacrificed some living creatures.*

11. **in illis annis**] *i.e.* during the time that he was a Manichaean 'auditor.' The note of time is perhaps intentionally vague, since it seems probable that A. is here anticipating events subsequent to those in § 7 seq. Otherwise we should have to suppose that the events which he now relates took place at Thagaste (see § 7). Against that there are two strong arguments: (1) that his secretary and biographer Possidius (*Vit. Aug.* i 2) so distinctly says that he first taught *grammaticam* at Thagaste and only subsequently *rhetoricam* at Carthage; (2) that it is improbable that rhetorical contests were held at a small provincial town like Thagaste. See the 'Life' of A. by the Benedictine editors 1 viii 1 (Migne *P. L.* xxxii col. 83 seq.). It may be conjectured that his aim in collecting these incidents unchronologically is to give a general indication of his state of mind while a Manichaean. 'In illis annis' is repeated at the beginning of § 7.

domine, tu scis, bonos habere discipulos, sicut appellantur boni, et eos sine dolo docebam dolos, non quibus contra caput innocentis agerent, sed aliquando pro capite nocentis. et, deus, uidisti de longinquo lapsantem in lubrico et in multo fumo scintillantem fidem meam, quam exhibebam in illo magisterio diligentibus uanitatem et quaerentibus mendacium, socius eorum. in illis annis unam habebam non eo quod legitimum uocatur coniugio cognitam, sed quam indagauerat uagus ardor inops prudentiae; sed unam tamen, ei quoque seruans tori fidem, in qua sane experirer exemplo meo, quid distaret inter coniugalis placiti modum, quod foederatum esset generandi gratia, et pactum libidinosi amoris, ubi proles etiam contra uotum nascitur, quamuis iam nata cogat se diligi.

Recolo etiam, cum mihi theatrici carminis certamen inire 3 placuisset, mandasse mihi nescio quem haruspicem, quid ei dare uellem mercedis, ut uincerem, me autem foeda illa sacra-

2. **docebam dolos**] In a similar manner Prudentius in the *Prooemium* (l. 8) speaks of the rhetorical studies which were designed to secure forensic success:

'...mox docuit toga
infectum uitiis falsa loqui non sine crimine.'

The moral objection against teaching men the arts of advocacy was thus answered by Aristotle: *Rhet.* I 1. 12 ἔτι δὲ τἀναντία δεῖ δύνασθαι πείθειν, ...οὐχ ὅπως ἀμφότερα πράττωμεν· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὰ φαῦλα πείθειν· ἀλλ' ἵνα μήτε λανθάνῃ πῶς ἔχει, καὶ ὅπως, ἄλλου χρωμένου μὴ δικαίως τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῖς, λύειν ἔχωμεν.

4. **in multo fumo scintillantem**] Cf. Mt. xii 20 'linum fumigans non extinguet' (= Is. xlii 3). A. recognises with thankfulness that there was a spark of goodness in his life.

6. **uanitatem**...**mendacium**] Ps. iv 3 (iv 2).

9. **ei quoque fidem**] See Introd. p. xiv. For the quasi-recognition accorded at that period to a union of this kind cf. Concil. Tolet. (A.D. 400) Can. xvii 'qui non habet uxorem et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur, tamen ut unius mulieris, aut uxoris aut concubinae...sit coniunctione contentus.'

11. **placiti**] The context shows that 'placitum' is here practically synonymous with 'pactum.' Cf. I 22 'id pactum et placitum quo inter se homines...firmauerunt.'

13. **cogat se diligi**] To a son born of this union, Adeodatus, A. was fondly attached. See IX 14.

15. **mandasse mihi**] *sent me a message* (*asking*). For 'mandare' = 'to send word' cf. Eutrop. V 5 '(Mithridates) senatui mandauit bellum se ei...inlaturum.'

16. **foeda**...**sacramenta**] *unhallowed rites*. Similarly Tertullian *Apol.* vii speaks of the ritual child-murder with which Christians were often charged as 'sacramentum infanticidii.' 'Sacramentum' was the regular translation in the O. L. (and freq. also in Vulg.) of μυστήριον (*e.g.* A. quotes 1 Cor. xiii 2 in the form

menta detestatum et abominatum respondisse, nec si corona illa ita esset inmortaliter aurea, muscam pro uictoria mea necari sinere. necaturus enim erat ille in sacrificiis suis animantia et illis honoribus inuitaturus mihi suffragatura daemonia uidebatur. sed hoc quoque malum non ex tua castitate repudiaui, deus cordis mei. non enim amare te noueram, qui nisi fulgores corporeos cogitare non noueram. talibus enim figmentis suspirans anima nonne fornicatur abs te et fidit in falsis et pascit uentos? sed uidelicet sacrificari pro me nollem daemonibus, quibus me illa superstitione ipse sacrificabam. quid est enim aliud uentos pascere quam ipsos pascere, hoc est errando eis esse uoluptati atque derisui?

4 III. Itaque illos planos, quos mathematicos uocant, plane

2 ita] – BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 13 itaque] ideoque BCFGHMOPQV *mo.*

'si...sciero omnia sacramenta,' *Serm.* xc 6 etc.); it thus bears the general sense 'religious mystery,' and A. gives the definition: '(signa) cum ad res diuinas pertinent, sacramenta appellantur' (*Ep.* cxxxviii 7). For various shades of meaning, note *Conf.* VI 8, where it refers to difficult passages of Scripture mystically interpreted; VIII 4 ('primis instructionum sacramentis') the ceremonies observed on the reception of a catechumen; XIII 30, where A. groups together 'miracula et sacramenta et uoces mysticas' as 'occulta signa' which arouse the wonder of the ignorant; *c. Faust.* XIX 16, where 'sacramenta Legis et Prophetarum' means O.T. institutions generally. (Similarly Tertull. *Apol.* xix speaks of the whole O.T. dispensation as 'Iudaicum sacramentum.') Of sacraments in the narrower sense A. gives the definition: 'accedit uerbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam uisibile uerbum' (*Tract. in Ioann.* LXXX 3).

2. **ita...aurea**] 'ita' is here used simply with intensive force, without any suggestion of comparison; cf. the similar classical use with a negative 'non ita magna mercede,' Cic. *Fam.* I 9. 3.

5. **non ex tua castitate**] Animal sacrifice was contrary to his principles as a Manichaean. Cf. *de Mor. Manich.* II 17. 54 'arborem necare, ut uos dicitis, homicidium est, aut necare animalia.'

6. **deus cordis mei**] Ps. lxxii 26 (lxxiii 26).

ib. **nisi fulgores**] Cf. *c. Faust.* XXII 8 'non distinguunt inter lucem quod est ipse Deus et lucem quam fecit Deus.'

8. **fornicatur abs te**] Cf. Ps. lxxii 27 (lxxiii 27) 'perdidisti omnes qui fornicantur abs te.'

9. **pascit uentos**] Cf. Hos. xii 1 'Ephraim pascit uentum...tota die mendacium...multiplicat.'

10. **daemonibus...sacrificabam**] See I 27, note.

III. *He consults astrologers however, and puts faith in them, despite the arguments of a learned physician Vindicianus, and of his friend Nebridius.*

13. **planos**] *impostors.*

ib. **mathematicos**] The name, like ἀστρολόγος in Greek (cf. 'astrologer' in Eng.) had descended from

consulere non desistebam, quod quasi nullum eis esset sacrificium et nullae preces ad aliquem spiritum ob diuinationem dirigerentur. quod tamen christiana et uera pietas consequenter repellit et damnat. bonum est enim confiteri tibi, domine, et dicere: miserere mei: cura animam meam, quoniam peccaui tibi, neque ad licentiam peccandi abuti indulgentia tua, sed meminisse dominicae uocis: ecce sanus factus es; iam noli peccare, ne quid tibi deterius contingat. quam totam illi salubritatem interficere conantur, cum dicunt: "de caelo tibi est ineuitabilis causa peccandi" et "Venus hoc fecit aut Saturnus aut Mars," scilicet ut homo sine culpa sit, caro et sanguis et superba putredo, culpandus sit autem caeli ac siderum creator et ordinator. et quis est hic nisi deus noster, suauitas et origo iustitiae, qui reddes unicuique secundum opera eius et cor contritum et humiliatum non spernis?

Erat eo tempore uir sagax, medicinae artis peritissimus

a higher to a lower use. Cf. *de Diu. Quaest.* LXXXIII, xiv 1, 2 'non eos appellarunt mathematicos qui nunc appellantur, sed illos qui temporum numeros motu caeli ac siderum peruestigarunt...qui nunc appellantur mathematici, uolentes actus nostros corporibus caelestibus subdere et nos uendere stellis....' The death penalty had been denounced by Valentinian I against the 'mathematici' and those who consulted them (*Cod. Theod.* IX 16. 8) but apparently without much effect; the epigram of Tacitus was still applicable—'genus hominum...quod in ciuitate nostro et uetabitur semper et retinebitur' (*Hist.* I 22). A. mentions in *c. Acad.* I 6. 17 a certain Albicerius who was in high repute at Carthage for divination, and instances are given of his revealing the whereabouts of a lost article etc.

3. **consequenter**] *in accordance with its principles.*

4. **bonum est** etc.] Cf. Ps. xci 1 (xcii 1) 'bonum est confiteri Domino' (where however 'confiteri' is used in the sense 'give thanks,' cf. 1 1, note).

5. **miserere mei** etc.] Ps. xl 5 (xli 4).

6. **licentiam peccandi**] Cf. Ecclus. xv 21, which A. *Enchirid.* lxx 19 quotes in the form 'nemini dedit laxamentum peccandi' (Vulg. 'spatium peccandi,' LXX ἄνεσιν ἁμαρτάνειν).

7. **dominicae uocis**] *the Lord's saying.* The use of the adj. for the genitive of the subst. is common in late style.

ib. **ecce sanus** etc.] Jn v 14.

14. **unicuique** etc.] Mt. xvi 27; Rom. ii 6. Cf. Job xxxiv 11; 2 Chron. vi 30.

15. **cor contritum** etc.] Ps. l 19 (li 17).

16. **uir sagax**] By name Vindicianus (VII 8). He is described in *Ep.* CXXXVIII 3 as 'magnus ille nostrorum temporum medicus.' He had been physician to the Emperor Valentinian, and in accordance with the customs of the time had been

atque in ea nobilissimus, qui proconsul manu sua coronam illam agonisticam inposuerat non sano capiti meo, sed non ut medicus. nam illius morbi tu sanator, qui resistis superbis, humilibus autem das gratiam. numquid tamen etiam per illum senem defuisti mihi aut destitisti mederi animae meae? quia enim factus ei eram familiarior et eius sermonibus—erant enim sine uerborum cultu uiuacitate sententiarum iucundi et graues—adsiduus et fixus inhaerebam, ubi cognouit et ex conloquio meo libris genethliacorum esse me deditum, benigne ac paterne monuit, ut eos abicerem neque curam et operam rebus utilibus necessariam illi uanitati frustra inpenderem, dicens ita se illa didicisse, ut eam professionem primis annis aetatis suae deferre uoluisset, qua uitam degeret, et si Hippocraten intellexisset, et illas utique litteras potuisse intellegere: et tamen non ob aliam causam se postea illis relictis medicinam adsecutum, nisi eas falsissimas conperisset et nollet uir grauis decipiendis hominibus uictum quaerere. "at tu" inquit "quo te in hominibus sustentas, rhetoricam tenes, hanc autem fallaciam libero studio, non necessitate rei familiaris sectaris. quo magis mihi te oportet de illa credere, qui eam tam

1 proconsul] pro consule BCFHPQ *m.*, pro consul × (e *ras.*) O, proconsule *o.* 8 *tert.* et] – BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 12 illa] illam GM *edd.* ut] + uictus O^3 *s. l.* BFPQ. eam] eius BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 16 nisi SW, nisi quod *cett. et edd.*

rewarded with a proconsulship. Cp. the case of Ausonius, who, after acting as tutor to Gratian, was made successively quaestor, praefect of Latium, of Libya, and of Gaul, and finally consul.

3. **qui resistis superbis**] Ja. iv 6; 1 Pet. v 5. Cf. Prov. iii 34 (LXX).

9. **genethliacorum**] *nativity-casters* (γενεθλιακός, having to do with birth). Cf. *de Doct. Christ.* II 21. 32 'qui genethliaci propter natalium dierum consideriationes, nunc autem uulgo mathematici uocantur.' Gellius, *Noct. Att.* I 9 'uulgus autem, quos gentilicio uocabulo Chaldaeos dicere oportet, mathematicos dicit'; XIV 11 'qui sese Chaldaeos seu genethliacos appellant.'

12. **professionem...deferre**] The technical phrase for making a return to the censor of one's occupation. The addition of 'uictus' ('of livelihood') in some MSS. is doubtless an explanatory gloss added when the technicality had become unfamiliar.

13. **Hippocraten**] Hippocrates of Cos, 'the Father of Medicine,' born about 460 B.C. His pathology, based on the theory of the 'four humours,' 'held its ground in Europe as the prevailing doctrine of all medical sects for more than twenty centuries.' W. A. Greenwood, M.D., in *Dict. Class. Biog.*

perfecte discere elaboraui, quam ex ea sola uiuere uolui." a quo ego cum quaesissem, quae causa ergo faceret, ut multa inde uera pronuntiarentur, respondit ille, ut potuit, sortem hoc facere in rerum natura usquequaque diffusam. si enim de paginis poetae cuiuspiam longe aliud canentis atque intendentis, cum forte quis consulit, mirabiliter consonus negotio saepe uersus exiret, et mirandum non esse dicebat, si ex anima humana superiore aliquo instinctu nesciente, quid in se fieret, non arte, sed sorte sonaret aliquid, quod interrogantis rebus factisque concineret.

Et hoc quidem ab illo uel per illum procurasti mihi, et 6
quid ipse postea per me ipsum quaererem, in memoria mea deliniasti. tunc autem nec ipse nec carissimus Nebridius,

1 uolui BCFGHMOPQV, nolui SW. 3 sortem *coniec.* Knöll, sortes SW, uim sortis BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 4 diffusam CGHMO¹SW *edd.*, diffusa BFO³PQV. 7 et SW, – BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 13 carissimus] +meus BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

4. **de paginis poetae**] The Sortes Vergilianae were consulted by opening the volume at haphazard. The argument is a fortiori—if a correct prediction sometimes results from this mechanical method, it is not surprising that the human mind with its subtle powers should sometimes make remarkable guesses.

6. **mirabiliter consonus**] The accession of the Emperor Hadrian is said to have been predicted in this way: 'Being anxious as to the disposition of Trajan towards him he consulted the Sortes Vergilianae, and the lot fell out:

Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis oliuae
sacra ferens? nosco crines incanaque menta
regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem
fundabit, Curibus paruis et paupere terra
missus in imperium magnum: cui deinde subibit...'

(*Aen.* VI 808 sq.) Spartian. *Vit. Hadr.* 2.

8. **superiore...instinctu**] Had the skilled physician an inkling of subconscious suggestion passing from the mind of the enquirer to that of the diviner? It is mentioned in *c. Acad.* I 6. 18 that Albicerius gave correctly a line of Vergil of which one of the company was thinking, so that the phenomena of 'thought-reading' appear to have been familiar. A. however returns to the subject in *Conf.* VII 10, and leaves us in no doubt as to his own view: 'tu enim, Domine,...consulentibus consultisque nescientibus occulto instinctu agis, ut dum quisque consulit hoc audiat quod eum oportet audire.'

13. **deliniasti**] *dïdst sketch in outline.* The use with dependent sentence is rare.

ib. **Nebridius**] He became one of A.'s closest friends and followed him to Milan. He was baptized not long after A. and died within a short time of his conversion (see VI 17, VII 3 and 8, VIII 13, IX 6). Ep. III—XIV of A.'s letters are to or from Nebridius.

adulescens ualde bonus et ualde castus, inridens totum illud diuinationis genus, persuadere mihi potuerunt, ut haec abicerem, quoniam me amplius ipsorum auctorum mouebat auctoritas et nullum certum quale quaerebam documentum adhuc inueneram, quo mihi sine ambiguitate appareret, quae ab eis consultis uera dicerentur, forte uel sorte, non arte inspectorum siderum dici.

7 IV. In illis annis, quo primum tempore in municipio, quo natus sum, docere coeperam, conparaueram amicum societate studiorum nimis carum, coaeuum mihi et conflorentem flore adulescentiae. mecum puer creuerat et pariter in scholam ieramus pariterque luseramus. sed nondum erat sic amicus, quamquam ne tum quidem sic, uti est uera amicitia, quia non est uera, nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter haerentes sibi caritate diffusa in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis. sed tamen dulcis erat nobis, cocta feruore parilium studiorum. nam et a fide uera, quam non germanitus et penitus adulescens tenebat, deflexeram eum in superstitiosas fabellas et perniciosas, propter quas me plangebat mater. mecum iam errabat in animo ille homo et non poterat

1 castus] cautus BCFMOPQ *m*. 6 non arte] – SW. 13 tum] tunc BCFGHMOPQV *edd*. 14 haerentes] inhaerentes BCFHPQ *mo*, cohaerentes GM. sibi] GSW, tibi BCFHMOPQV *edd*. 16 *alt*. nobis SW, nimis BCFGHMOPQV *edd*. cocta] coacta CHMO¹W *m*.

1. **castus**] The reading 'cautus' might seem more relevant to his attitude here. On the other hand A. emphasizes his 'castitas' in IX 6 ('castitate perfecta atque continentia tibi seruientem').

IV. *When teaching at Thagaste he becomes very deeply attached to a young man of his own age whom he had known from boyhood, and persuades him to embrace the tenets of the Manichaeans. This friend falls ill and is baptized when unconscious. Recovering consciousness however, he refuses to allow A. to jest at the rite which he now holds sacred. He dies soon after, and A. is plunged into the extremity of grief at his loss.*

10. **conflorentem flore**] For other examples of the 'figura etymologica' see I 12, note.

12. **nondum sic amicus**] There is an ellipsis, 'ut postea factus est,' or some such words, being understood. *But at that time he was not such a friend as he afterwards became, though even at that later time our relation had not the quality of true friendship, for that only is true friendship where Thou etc.*

15. **caritate diffusa**] Rom. v 5.

16. **cocta**] *ripened.*

anima mea sine illo. et ecce tu inminens dorso fugitiuorum tuorum, deus ultionum et fons misericordiarum simul, qui conuertis nos ad te miris modis, ecce abstulisti hominem de hac uita, cum uix expleuisset annum in amicitia mea, suaui mihi super omnes suauitates illius uitae meae.

Quis laudes tuas enumerat unus in se uno, quas expertus 8
est? quid tunc fecisti, deus meus, et quam inuestigabilis abyssus iudiciorum tuorum? cum enim laboraret ille febribus, iacuit diu sine sensu sudore letali et, cum desperaretur, baptizatus est nesciens me non curante et praesumente id retinere potius animam eius quod a me acceperat, non quod in nescientis corpore fiebat. longe autem aliter erat. nam recreatus est et saluus factus, statimque, ut primo cum eo loqui potui—potui autem mox, ut ille potuit, quando non

13 primo] primum BFPQ *edd.*

2. **deus ultionum**] Ps. xciii 1 (xciv 1).

6. **quis laudes...enumerat**] Cf. Ps. cv 2 (cvi 2) 'quis loquetur potentias Domini, auditas faciet omnes laudes eius?'

8. **abyssus iudiciorum**] Cf. Ps. xxxv 7 (xxxvi 6) 'iudicia tua abyssus multa.' For 'inuestigabilis' cf. Rom. xi. 33, and see above, II 17, note.

10. **baptizatus est**] Probably he had, like A., been enrolled as a catechumen in childhood (cf. I 17). Sick-bed or 'clinic' baptism was esteemed of inferior value by the Church as being due to necessity rather than choice, and persons so baptized were not as a rule allowed to become presbyters (Conc. Neo-Caes. A.D. 314 xii). On the other hand the desire that a catechumen should not die unbaptized led to the baptism even of the unconscious, a practice which the 3rd Council of Carthage sanctioned in cases where the relatives took the responsibility of declaring the desire of the sick person for baptism. (Can. xxxiv 'ut aegrotantes, si per se respondere non possunt, cum uoluntatis eorum testimonium hi qui sui sunt periculo proprio dixerint, baptizentur.') A. in *de Coniug. Adult.* I 33, doubtless with the present instance in mind, urges that the sick person may well be given the benefit of the doubt, where such exists, since it is highly improbable that, in the face of death, a catechumen would not desire baptism.

ib. **nesciens**] Fulgentius Ferrandus, writing to Fulgentius Bishop of Ruspe (circ. 508), raises the question why, if an unconscious person may be baptized, baptism may not be administered to a corpse in case of sudden death. The bishop replies that we shall be judged according to the 'deeds done in the body' (2 Cor. v 10), consequently nothing which takes place after the severance of soul and body can be of any avail. Fulgent. Rusp. *Ep.* XI and XII.

14. **mox, ut**] For 'mox ut'='as soon as,' cf. Flor. II 4. 2 'mox ut caluere pugna, statim in sudorem eunt.'

discedebam et nimis pendebamus ex inuicem—temtaui apud illum inridere, tamquam et illo inrisuro mecum baptismum, quem acceperat mente atque sensu absentissimus. sed tamen iam se accepisse didicerat. at ille ita me exhorruit ut inimicum admonuitque mirabili et repentina libertate, ut, si amicus esse uellem, talia sibi dicere desinerem. ego autem stupefactus atque turbatus distuli omnes motus meos, ut conualesceret prius essetque idoneus uiribus ualetudinis, cum quo agere possem quod uellem. sed ille abreptus dementiae meae, ut apud te seruaretur consolationi meae: post paucos dies me absente repetitur febribus et defungitur.

9 Quo dolore contenebratum est cor meum et quidquid aspiciebam mors erat. et erat mihi patria supplicium et paterna domus mira infelicitas, et quidquid cum illo conmunicaueram, sine illo in cruciatum inmanem uerterat. expetebant eum undique oculi mei, et non dabatur; et oderam omnia, quod non haberent eum, nec mihi iam dicere poterant: "ecce uenit," sicut cum ueniret, quando absens erat. factus eram ipse mihi

16 dabatur]+mihi *edd.* 17 uenit] ueniet BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 18 cum ueniret] cum uiueret BCFGHMOPQ *edd.*

2. **illo inrisuro**] A loose ablative absolute. *I essayed to jest with him, thinking that he would be prepared to laugh with me at the baptism which* etc. The Manichaeans rejected baptism ('nihil cuiquam perhibent salutis afferre,' A. *de Haeres.*), but the mockery seems to be suggested rather by the conditions under which in this instance it took place.

3. **absentissimus**] Rhetorical superlative. See I 4, note.

10. **apud te...consolationi meae**] See § 14 *infr.* 'solus enim nullum carum amittit cui omnes in illo cari qui non amittitur.'

'I trust he lives in Thee, and there
I find him worthier to be loved.'
In Memoriam, Prologue.

The number of the parallels in the following pages with the modern poet's treatment of the same theme furnishes an interesting commentary on the identity of the deeper emotions even at widely separated epochs.

12. **contenebratum...cor**] Cf. Lament. v 17 'maestum factum est cor nostrum, ideo contenebrati sunt oculi nostri.'

ib. **quidquid aspiciebam mors erat**]

'I dream'd there would be Spring
no more,
That Nature's ancient power was
lost.' *I. M.* LXIX.

15. **expetebant eum**]

'Numquam ego te, uita frater amabilior,
adspiciam posthac; at certe semper
amabo.'
Catull. lxv, *ad Hortalum.*

16. **quod...erat**] Cf. Dante, *Vita Nuova*, 'Poiche la gentilissima

magna quaestio et interrogabam animam meam, quare tristis esset et quare conturbaret me ualde, et nihil nouerat respondere mihi. et si dicebam: "spera in deum," iuste non obtemperabat, quia uerior erat et melior homo, quem carissimum amiserat, quam phantasma, in quod sperare iubebatur. solus fletus erat dulcis mihi et successerat amico meo in deliciis animi mei.

V. Et nunc, domine, iam illa transierunt et tempore lenitum est uulnus meum. possumne audire abs te, qui ueritas es, et admouere aurem cordis mei ori tuo, ut dicas mihi, cur fletus dulcis sit miseris? an tu, quamuis ubique adsis, longe abiecisti a te miseriam nostram, et tu in te manes, nos autem in experimentis uoluimur? et tamen nisi ad aures tuas ploraremus, nihil residui de spe nostra fieret. unde igitur suauis fructus de amaritudine uitae carpitur gemere et flere et suspirare et conqueri? an hoc ibi dulce est, quod speramus exaudire te? recte istud in precibus, quia desiderium perueniendi habent. num in dolore amissae rei et luctu, quo tunc operiebar? neque enim sperabam reuiuescere illum aut hoc petebam

donna fu partita da questo secolo, rimase tutta la sopradetta cittade quasi vedova e dispogliata di ogni dignitade.'

1. **quare tristis ... conturbaret me**] Cf. Ps. xli 6, 12 (xlii 5, 11); xlii 5 (xliii 5).

3. **spera in deum**] continues the reference to the Psalm.

5. **phantasma**] See III 10, note.

6. **successerat amico meo in deliciis animi mei**] Cf. *King John* III iv,

'*Philip.* You are as fond of grief as of your child.
Constance. Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me,
Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words,
Remembers me of all his gracious parts...
Then have I reason to be fond of grief.'

For the phrase 'in deliciis animi mei' cf. Ps. cxxxviii 11 (cxxxix 11) 'et nox illuminatio mea in deliciis meis' (LXX *ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ μου*); Prov. xxix 17 'dabit delicias animae tuae.'

V. *A. discusses the question why weeping is sweet to the miserable.*

10. **fletus dulcis**] Cf. Eurip. *Oenom.* Nauck, Fragm. 577

Ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ δὴ κἀν κακοῖσιν ἡδονὴ
θνητοῖς ὀδυρμοὶ δακρύων τ' ἐπιρροαί.
ἀλγηδόνας δὲ ταῦτα κουφίζει φρενῶν
καὶ καρδίας ἔλυσε τοὺς ἄγαν πόνους.

13. **experimentis**] Almost = 'experience' in the philosophical sense.

15. **gemere et flere**] The infinitives are in apposition with 'fructus.'

lacrimis, sed tantum dolebam et flebam. miser enim eram et amiseram gaudium meum. an et fletus res amara est et prae fastidio rerum, quibus prius fruebamur, et tunc, dum ab eis abhorremus, delectat?

VI. Quid autem ista loquor? non enim tempus quaerendi nunc est, sed confitendi tibi. miser eram et miser est omnis animus uinctus amicitia rerum mortalium et dilaniatur, cum eas amittit, et tunc sentit miseriam, qua miser est et antequam amittat eas. sic ego eram illo tempore et flebam amarissime et requiescebam in amaritudine. ita miser eram et habebam cariorem illo amico meo uitam ipsam miseram. nam quamuis eam mutare uellem, nollem tamen amittere magis quam illum et nescio an uellem uel pro illo, sicut de Oreste et Pylade traditur, si non fingitur, qui uellent pro inuicem simul mori, quia morte peius eis erat non simul uiuere. sed in me nescio quis affectus nimis huic contrarius ortus erat et taedium uiuendi erat in me grauissimum et moriendi metus. credo, quo magis illum amabam, hoc magis mortem, quae mihi eum abstulerat, tamquam atrocissimam inimicam oderam et timebam et eam repente consumpturam omnes homines putabam, quia illum potuit. sic eram omnino, memini. ecce cor meum, deus meus, ecce intus; uide, quia memini, spes mea, qui me mundas a talium affectionum inmunditia, dirigens oculos meos ad te et euellens de laqueo pedes meos. mirabar enim

15 *pr.* simul] uel s. BCGHMOPQV *edd.*

2. **an et fletus**] A.'s meaning appears to be that the painful sensation of weeping harmonizes with the painful emotion, and thus gives that satisfaction which is afforded by the appropriate expression of feeling. In this he approaches the modern physico-psychological explanation that weeping relieves the painful tension which is set up by the reaction of emotion on the physical organism.

VI. *Life had become unendurable to him because of his loss; but while he loathed life he feared to die.*

10. **in amaritudine**] Job iii 20.

15. **morte peius eis erat** etc.] Cf. Ovid *Trist.* IV 4. 75 sq.

'Nec tamen hunc sua mors, nec mors sua terruit illum;
alter ob alterius funera maestus erat.'

19. **atrocissimam inimicam**] 'There sat the Shadow feared of man.' *I.M.* XXII.

24. **de laqueo pedes meos**] Ps. xxiv 15 (xxv 15).

ceteros mortales uiuere, quia ille, quem quasi non moriturum dilexeram, mortuus erat, et me magis, quia ille alter eram, uiuere illo mortuo mirabar. bene quidam dixit de amico suo: dimidium animae suae. nam ego sensi animam meam et animam illius unam fuisse animam in duobus corporibus, et ideo mihi horrori erat uita, quia nolebam dimidius uiuere, et ideo forte mori metuebam, ne totus ille moreretur, quem multum amaueram.

VII. O dementiam nescientem diligere homines humaniter! 12 o stultum hominem inmoderate humana patientem! quod ego tunc eram. itaque aestuabam, suspirabam, flebam, turbabar, nec requies erat nec consilium. portabam enim concisam et cruentam animam meam inpatientem portari a me, et ubi eam ponerem non inueniebam. non in amoenis nemoribus, non in ludis atque cantibus nec in suaue olentibus locis nec in conuiuiis apparatis nec in uoluptate cubilis et lecti, non denique in libris atque carminibus adquiescebat. horrebant omnia et ipsa lux, et quidquid non erat quod ille erat, inprobum et taedio sum erat praeter gemitum et lacrimas: nam in eis solis aliquantula requies. ubi autem inde auferebatur anima mea, onerabat me grandis sarcina miseriae. ad te, domine, leuanda

4 suae] meae *edd.* 12 concisam] conscissam CP *edd.* 18 taedio-sum SW, odiosum BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

3. **bene quidam dixit**] sc. Horace *Carm.* I 3

'Nauis, quae tibi creditum
debes Vergilium, finibus Atticis
reddas incolumem, precor,
et serues animae dimidium meae.'

5. **unam fuisse animam**] A reminiscence of Ovid *Trist.* IV 4. 72 'qui duo corporibus mentibus unus erant.' This description of friendship is ascribed by Diogenes Laertius VI 1. 20 to Aristotle: *ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστι φίλος, ἔφη μία ψυχὴ δύο σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα.*

7. **ideo...mori metuebam** etc.] With fine sincerity A., in *Retract.* II 6. 2, withdraws this phrase as seeming to him then rather 'declamatio leuis quam grauis confessio.'

VII. *Unable to live among the scenes which recalled his friend, he leaves Thagaste and returns to Carthage.*

9. **humaniter**] *i.e.* with a recognition of human limitations.

17. **horrebant omnia et ipsa lux**] Similarly Tennyson speaks of the day

'Which sicken'd every living bloom
And blurred the splendour of the sun.'

21. **ad te...leuanda erat**] Cf. Ps. xxiv 1 (xxv 1) 'ad te, Domine, leuaui animam meam.'

erat et curanda, sciebam, sed nec uolebam nec ualebam, eo magis quod mihi non eras aliquid solidum et firmum, cum de te cogitabam. non enim tu eras, sed uanum phantasma et error meus erat deus meus. si conabar eam ibi ponere, ut requiesceret, per inane labebatur et iterum ruebat super me, et ego mihi remanseram infelix locus, ubi nec esse possem nec inde recedere. quo enim cor meum fugeret a corde meo? quo a me ipso fugerem? quo non me sequerer? et tamen fugi de patria. minus enim eum quaerebant oculi mei, ubi uidere non solebant, atque a Thagastensi oppido ueni Carthaginem.

13 VIII. Non uacant tempora nec otiose uoluuntur per sensus nostros: faciunt in animo mira opera. ecce ueniebant et praeteribant de die in diem et ueniendo et praetereundo inserebant mihi spes alias et alias memorias et paulatim resarciebant me pristinis generibus delectationum, quibus cedebat dolor meus ille; sed succedebant non quidem dolores alii, causae tamen aliorum dolorum. nam unde me facillime et in intima dolor ille penetrauerat, nisi quia fuderam in harenam animam meam diligendo moriturum acsi non moriturum? maxime quippe me reparabant atque recreabant aliorum amicorum solacia, cum

15 spes] species BCFHMPQW² *edd.*

8. **quo a me ipso fugerem**] Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II 16. 19 'Patriae quis exsul Se quoque fugit?' Sen. *Ep.* xxviii 1 'Animam debes mutare non caelum....quaeris quare te fuga ista non adiuuet? tecum fugis.'

10. **ueni Carthaginem**] A. left Thagaste without informing his mother (*c. Acad.* II 2. 3). Romanianus, a wealthy citizen of Thagaste, with whom he lived for a time when his mother forbade him her house (*c. Acad.* II 2. 3, compared with *Conf.* III 19, where see note), furnished him with the means. His mother afterwards joined him at Carthage.

VIII. *In progress of time and amid the society of other friends he is gradually restored to a calmer frame of mind. He vividly describes the pleasures of companionship with like-minded friends.*

17. **causae tamen ... dolorum**] viz. earthly pleasures.

19. **fuderam in harenam**] *i.e.* he had lavished his love on that which could not retain it permanently.

20. **acsi**] For 'acsi' without any foregoing word of comparison (=quasi) cf. Herm. *Vis.* I 1 (vulg.) 'nonne semper te acsi dominam arbitratus sum?' and see *Thesaur. Ling. Lat.* II 1083 for numerous examples.

quibus amabam quod postea amabam, et hoc erat ingens fabula et longum mendacium, cuius adulterina confricatione corrumpebatur mens nostra pruriens in auribus. sed illa mihi fabula non moriebatur, si quis amicorum meorum moreretur. alia erant, quae in eis amplius capiebant animum: conloqui et conridere et uicissim beniuole obsequi, simul legere libros dulciloquos, simul nugari et simul honestari, dissentire interdum sine odio tamquam ipse homo secum atque ipsa rarissima dissensione condire consensiones plurimas, docere aliquid inuicem aut discere ab inuicem, desiderare absentes cum molestia, suscipere uenientes cum laetitia: his atque huius modi signis a corde amantium et redamantium procedentibus per os, per linguam, per oculos et mille motus gratissimos quasi fomitibus flagrare animos et ex pluribus unum facere.

IX. Hoc est, quod diligitur in amicis et sic diligitur, ut rea sibi sit humana conscientia, si non amauerit redamantem aut si amantem non redamauerit, nihil quaerens ex eius corpore praeter indicia beniuolentiae. hinc ille luctus, si quis moriatur, et tenebrae dolorum et uersa dulcedine in amaritudinem cor madidum et ex amissa uita morientium mors uiuentium. beatus qui amat te et amicum in te et inimicum propter te. solus

1 postea SW, pro te BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 14 flagrare SW, conflare BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

1. **ingens fabula**] sc. the Manichaean system.

3. **pruriens in auribus**] Cf. 2 Tim. iv 3 'coaceruabunt sibi magistros, prurientes auribus.'

4. **alia erant** etc.] A. often shows that he had a genius for friendship, and here gives a very happy description of the intercourse of kindred spirits (see Introd. p. xvi).

9. **condire**] *season*—an accurate psychological touch.

12. **redamantium**] The word 'redamare' was first introduced by Cicero *de Amicit.* xiv 49 'quid enim tam absurdum quam delectari multis inanibus rebus ... animante uirtute praedito, eo qui uel amare uel, ut ita dicam, redamare possit non admodum delectari?' but, like many of the words coined by him, it first reappears in the late writers like Aug., Macrob. *Sat.* VI 6. 8, Symmachus *Ep.* III 2, etc.

14. **flagrare**] *set ablaze.* This is the reading of SW. The other MSS. have 'conflare,' 'fuse together.'

IX. *The only friendship which is secure against loss is a friendship 'in God.'*

20. **beatus qui amat te**] Cf. Tob. xiii 18 'beati omnes qui diligunt te.'

21. **et inimicum propter te**] Cf. Mt. v 44.

enim nullum carum amittit, cui omnes in illo cari, qui non amittitur. et quis est iste nisi deus noster, deus, qui fecit caelum et terram et inplet ea, quia inplendo ea fecit ea? te nemo amittit, nisi qui dimittit, et quia dimittit, quo it aut quo fugit nisi a te placido ad te iratum? nam ubi non inuenit legem tuam in poena sua? et lex tua ueritas et ueritas tu.

X. Deus uirtutum, conuerte nos et ostende faciem tuam, et salui erimus. nam quoquouersum se uerterit anima hominis, ad dolores figitur alibi praeterquam in te, tametsi figitur in pulchris extra te et extra se. quae tamen nulla essent, nisi essent abs te. quae oriuntur et occidunt et oriendo quasi esse incipiunt et crescunt, ut perficiantur, et perfecta senescunt et intereunt: et non omnia senescunt et omnia intereunt. ergo cum oriuntur et tendunt esse, quo magis celeriter crescunt, ut sint, eo magis festinant, ut non sint. sic est modus eorum. tantum dedisti eis, quia partes sunt rerum, quae non sunt omnes simul, sed decedendo ac succedendo agunt omnes uniuersum, cuius partes sunt. ecce sic peragitur et sermo noster per signa sonantia. non enim erit totus sermo, si unum uerbum non decedat, cum sonuerit, partes suas, ut succedat aliud. laudet te ex illis anima mea, deus, creator

1 cari]+sunt BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 4 quia] qui CFGMQ *edd.*

2. **qui fecit**] Gen. i 1, ii 1.

3. **inplet ea**] Cf. Jer. xxiii 24 'numquid non caelum et terram impleo, dicit Dominus?' Cf. the passage from *de Gen. ad Lit.* quoted 1 2 ('an quia sine te' etc.).

6. **et lex tua ueritas**] Ps. cxviii 142 (cxix 142).

ib. **et ueritas tu**] Cf. Jn xiv 6.

X. *All things about us are transitory; only in God is perfect rest to be found.*

7. **deus uirtutum...erimus**] Ps. lxxix 8 (lxxx 7).

8. **nam quoquouersum** etc.] Cf. à Kempis *Imit.* 1 22. 1 'Miser es ubicumque fueris et quocumque te uerteris; nisi ad Deum te conuertas.'

13. **et non ... intereunt**] *yea, though they do not all grow old yet they all perish.*

18. **sic ... sermo**] A favourite illustration with A. (cf. xi 38; *de Gen. c. Manich.* 1 21. 32, etc.). The point here is that in listening to speech only sense-perception is concerned with individual sounds, the mind is directed to the whole from the first. This consciousness of the whole—of a meaning behind the transient things of sense—we ought, A. argues, to carry throughout all experience.

21. **laudet...anima mea**] Cf. Ps. cxlv 2 (cxlvi 1) 'lauda, anima mea, Dominum.'

ib. **deus, creator omnium**] The opening line of the evening hymn of Ambrose (see ix 15 and 32).

omnium, sed non eis infigatur glutine amore per sensus corporis. eunt enim quo ibant, ut non sint, et conscindunt eam desideriis pestilentiosis, quoniam ipsa esse uult et requiescere amat in eis, quae amat. in illis autem non est ubi, quia non stant: fugiunt, et quis ea sequitur sensu carnis? aut quis ea conprehendit, uel cum praesto sunt? tardus est enim sensus carnis, quoniam sensus carnis est: ipse est modus eius. sufficit ad aliud, ad quod factus est, ad illud autem non sufficit, ut teneat transcurrentia ab initio debito usque ad finem debitum. in uerbo enim tuo, per quod creantur, ibi audiunt: "hinc et huc usque."

XI. Noli esse uana, anima mea, et obsurdescere in aure cordis tumultu uanitatis tuae. audi et tu: uerbum ipsum clamat, ut redeas, et ibi est locus quietis imperturbabilis, ubi non deseritur amor, si ipse non deserat. ecce illa discedunt, ut alia succedant et omnibus suis partibus constet infima uniuersitas. "numquid ego aliquo discedo?" ait uerbum dei. ibi fige mansionem tuam, ibi conmenda quidquid inde habes, anima mea, saltem fatigata fallaciis. ueritati conmenda quidquid tibi est a ueritate, et non perdes aliquid, et reflorescent putria tua et sanabuntur omnes languores tui et fluxa tua reformabuntur et renouabuntur et constringentur ad te et non te deponent, quo descendunt, sed stabunt tecum et permanebunt ad semper stantem ac permanentem deum.

1 eis] in eis BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* amore] amoris BCFGMPQV *cdd.*, amorẹs H.

4. **non est ubi**] sc. 'requiescat,' cf. I 1. The passage is Neo-Platonic in colouring, cf. II 1, XI 38, 39.

7. **ipse...eius**] *it is limited by its own character* (sc. as fleshly).

XI. *He calls upon his soul not to seek rest in those things which pass away, but to give heed to God's promise of a rest which shall endure for ever. If the soul finds delight in that which is only a part of God's creation, how much more in the whole!*

16. **infima uniuersitas**] *a whole though a lowly one* (viz. the material universe).

21. **sanabuntur** etc.] Ps. cii 3 (ciii 3) 'qui sanat omnes languores tuos' (so A. in *Enarr. in Ps.*; Vulg. 'infirmitates'). Cf. Mt. iv 23.

ib. **fluxa...reformabuntur**] *thy perishable parts shall be restored* (referring to the resurrection of the body). See the passage from *Serm.* cxix 3, quoted at II 4.

23. **semper...permanentem**] Cf.

17 Utquid peruersa sequeris carnem tuam? ipsa te sequatur conuersam. quidquid per illam sentis, in parte est et ignoras totum, cuius hae partes sunt, et delectant te tamen. sed si ad totum conprehendendum esset idoneus sensus carnis tuae ac non et ipse in parte uniuersi accepisset pro tua poena iustum modum, uelles, ut transiret quidquid existit in praesentia, ut magis tibi omnia placerent. nam et quod loquimur, per eundem sensum carnis audis et non uis utique stare syllabas, sed transuolare, ut aliae ueniant et totum audias. ita semper omnia, quibus unum aliquid constat, et non sunt omnia simul ea, quibus constat: plus delectant omnia quam singula, si possint sentiri omnia. sed longe his melior qui fecit omnia, et ipse est deus noster, et non discedit, quia nec succeditur ei.

18 XII. Si placent corpora, deum ex illis lauda et in artificem eorum retorque amorem, ne in his, quae tibi placent, tu displiceas. si placent animae, in deo amentur, quia et ipsae mutabiles sunt et illo fixae stabiliuntur: alioquin irent et perirent. in illo ergo amentur, et rape ad eum tecum quas potes et dic eis: "hunc amemus; ipse fecit haec et non est longe. non enim fecit atque abiit, sed ex illo in illo sunt. ecce ubi est, ubi sapit ueritas? intimus cordi est, sed cor errauit ab eo. redite, praeuaricatores, ad cor et inhaerete illi, qui

2 conuersam] conuersa BCFGHMPQVW *edd.* 17 illo] in illo BCFHOPQV *edd.*, in ipso GM. 19 hunc amemus] + hunc amemus BGPQ *edd.*

Ps. ci 13 (cii 12) 'tu autem, Domine, in aeternum permanes.'

5. **ac non...modum**] *and had not, for thy punishment, been limited to a mere part of the whole.*

XII. *To seek satisfaction in anything that is not God is to seek life in the realm of death. It was in pity for men in this error and misery that Christ, the Life, came into this world of death, to lead men up to the world of life. But in order to ascend men must first descend into the valley of weeping.*

14. **si placent corpora** etc.] Cf. the passage from Plotinus quoted at I 31.

19. **hunc amemus** etc.] The summary of the preacher's message continues to the end of § 19 ('dic eis ista').

ib. **non est longe**] Cf. Act. xvii 27 'quamuis non longe sit ab unoquoque nostrorum.'

21. **ubi sapit ueritas**] *where does truth taste sweet?* sc. in that inner soul in which, according to Neo-Platonist teaching, we have an intuition of truth.

22. **redite...ad cor**] Is. xlvi 8 (cf. LXX ἐπιστρέψατε τῇ καρδίᾳ). This is a mistranslation of the Hebrew

fecit uos. state cum eo et stabitis, requiescite in eo et quieti eritis. quo itis in aspera? quo itis? bonum, quod amatis, ab illo est: sed quantum est ad illum, bonum est et suaue; sed amarum erit iuste, quia iniuste amatur deserto illo quidquid ab illo est. quo uobis adhuc et adhuc ambulare uias difficiles et laboriosas? non est requies, ubi quaeritis eam. quaerite quod quaeritis, sed ibi non est, ubi quaeritis. beatam uitam quaeritis in regione mortis: non est illic. quomodo enim beata uita, ubi nec uita?

Et descendit huc ipsa uita nostra et tulit mortem nostram 19 et occidit eam de abundantia uitae suae et tonuit clamans, ut redeamus hinc ad eum in illum secretum, unde processit ad nos in ipsum primum uirginalem uterum, ubi ei nupsit humana creatura, caro mortalis, ne semper mortalis; et inde uelut sponsus procedens de thalamo suo exultauit ut gigans ad currendam uiam. non enim tardauit, sed cucurrit clamans dictis, factis, morte, uita, descensu, ascensu, clamans, ut redeamus ad eum. et discessit ab oculis, ut redeamus ad cor

15 gigans] gigas $CH^2MO^2P^2Q$ *edd.*

which means 'bring it again to mind.' A. understands the words as referring to the 'law written in the heart.' Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* lvii (lviii) § 1 'scripta lex quid clamat eis qui deseruerunt legem scriptam in cordibus suis? redite praeuaricatores ad cor.'

2. **bonum...ab illo est**] Cf. II 13, 14.

3. **quantum...ad illum**] *so far as it is referred to Him.*

5. **quo uobis** etc.] *Why will ye still continually walk* etc. (lit. 'to what end is it for you?').

ib. **uias difficiles**] Cf. Wisd. v 7 'ambulauimus uias difficiles.'

10. **descendit uita nostra**] Cf. Jn vi 33 'panis enim Dei est qui de caelo descendit et dat uitam mundo.'

11. **occidit eam de abundantia** etc.] The manner in which A. in the following passage represents the Incarnation as itself the redemptive act brings him into close contact with the characteristic teaching of the Greek Fathers, *e.g.* of Athanasius *de Inc.* xliv 6 *διὰ τοῦτο ἐνεδύσατο σῶμα, ἵνα τὸν θάνατον ἐν τῷ σώματι εὑρὼν ἀπαλείψῃ.*

ib. **ut redeamus hinc ad eum** etc.] 'ut' introduces the command, as though after 'imperauit,' to which 'tonuit clamans' is equivalent.

14. **ne semper mortalis**] Cf. *de Inc.* xliv 6 *διὰ τοῦτο εἰκότως ἐνεδύσατο σῶμα ὁ Σωτὴρ ἵνα συμπλακέντος τοῦ σώματος τῇ ζωῇ, μηκέτι ὡς θνητὸν ἀπομείνῃ ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ.*

ib. **uelut sponsus procedens** etc.] Ps. xviii 6 (xix 5), made more familiar to A. through a famous hymn of Ambrose.

18. **ut redeamus ad cor**] Is. xlvi 8, see note above 95. 22.

et inueniamus eum. abscessit enim et ecce hic est. noluit nobiscum diu esse, et non reliquit nos. illuc enim abscessit, unde numquam recessit, quia mundus per eum factus est et in hoc mundo erat et uenit in hunc mundum peccatores saluos facere. cui confitetur anima mea, et sanat eam, quoniam peccauit illi. fili hominum, quo usque graues corde? numquid et post descensum uitae non uultis ascendere et uiuere? sed quo ascenditis, quando in alto estis et posuistis in caelo os uestrum? descendite, ut ascendatis et ascendatis ad deum. cecidistis enim ascendendo contra deum." dic eis ista, ut plorent in conualle plorationis, et sic eos rape tecum ad deum, quia de spiritu eius haec dicis eis, si dicis ardens igne caritatis.

XIII. Haec tunc non noueram et amabam pulchra inferiora et ibam in profundum et dicebam amicis meis: "num amamus aliquid nisi pulchrum? quid est ergo pulchrum? et quid est pulchritudo? quid est quod nos allicit et conciliat rebus, quas amamus? nisi enim esset in eis decus et species, nullo modo nos ad se mouerent." et animaduertebam et uidebam in ipsis corporibus aliud esse quasi totum et ideo pulchrum, aliud autem, quod ideo deceret, quoniam apte accommodaretur alicui, sicut pars corporis ad uniuersum suum aut calciamentum ad

5 quoniam] quia *edd.* 9 caelo] caelum BFMPQ *edd.* 10 *alt.* deum] eum BCFHPQV *edd.*

1. **ecce hic** etc.] Cf. Mt. xxiv 23.

3. **unde numquam recessit**] Cf. *de Inc.* xvii 5 καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν τοῦτο ἦν, ὅτι καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐπολιτεύετο, καὶ ὡς λόγος τὰ πάντα ἐζωογόνει, καὶ ὡς Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ συνῆν.

ib. **mundus...erat**] Jn i 10.

4. **uenit...facere**] 1 Tim. i 15.

5. **sanat eam**] Cf. Ps. xl 5 (xli 4) 'sana animam meam quia peccaui tibi.'

6. **fili hominum**] Ps. iv 3 (2).

8. **posuistis in caelo os** etc.] Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 9. A. interprets 'loquuntur superbiam' (*Enarr. in Ps.* ad loc.).

11. **in conualle plorationis**] Ps. lxxxiii 7 (lxxxiv 6) (Vulg. 'in ualle lachrymarum').

XIII. *But at this time A.'s heart still clung to what was beautiful upon earth, and he was wont to say to his friends, 'Do we love anything save the Beautiful?' When in this frame of mind he wrote a work 'Concerning the Beautiful and Harmonious.'*

14. **amabam pulcra inferiora**] See I 31, note.

pedem et similia. et ista consideratio scaturriit in animo meo ex intimo corde meo, et scripsi libros "de pulchro et apto," puto, duos aut tres; tu scis, deus: nam excidit mihi. non enim habemus eos, sed aberrauerunt a nobis nescio quomodo.

XIV. Quid est autem, quod me mouit, domine deus meus, 21
ut ad Hierium, Romanae urbis oratorem, scriberem illos libros? quem non noueram facie, sed amaueram hominem ex doctrinae fama, quae illi clara erat, et quaedam uerba eius audieram, et placuerant mihi. sed magis quia placebat aliis et eum efferebant laudibus, stupentes, quod ex homine Syro, docto prius graecae facundiae, post in latina etiam dictor mirabilis extitisset et esset scientissimus rerum ad studium sapientiae pertinentium, mihi placebat. laudabatur homo et amabatur absens. utrumnam ab ore laudantis intrat in cor audientis amor ille? absit; sed ex amante alio accenditur alius. hinc enim amatur qui laudatur, dum non fallaci corde laudatoris praedicari creditur, id est cum amans eum laudat.

Sic enim tunc amabam homines ex hominum iudicio; non 22
enim ex tuo, deus meus, in quo nemo fallitur. sed tamen cur non sicut auriga nobilis, sicut uenator studiis popularibus

8 clara erat] claruerat SW, '*fort. scrib.* qua ille claruerat'—Knöll.
13 laudabatur, amabatur] laudatur, amatur BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

1. **scaturriit**] *welled up* ('ibi de terra oleum scaturit' Ampel. viii 5). The point emphasized is the spontaneousness of the thought. In its metaphorical use the word is susceptible of a tinge of irony '(Curio) ut nunc est hoc scaturit' ('is bubbling over with') Cic. *Fam.* VIII 4. 2, but the solemn phrase 'ex intimo corde meo' precludes the idea that A. is smiling at his own youthful enthusiasm; he is impressed, rather, with the semi-independent force of the inner mind—a Neo-Platonic thought.

XIV. *He dedicated his work to Hierius, a famous orator of Rome, whom he only knew by reputation. He enquires for what reasons men bestow their love; and why they often love persons of very different characters? In the case of Hierius he comes to the conclusion that his admiration was inspired by the enthusiasm of others.*

6. **Hierium**] Possibly identical with the Hierius mentioned incidentally by Suidas (art. Παμπρέπιος), as the father of Plutarchus a noted teacher of rhetoric at Athens in the latter part of the fifth century.

14. **utrumnam ab ore** etc.] *Can it be that love passes from the mouth of the speaker into the heart of the listener* (*sc.* literally)*? That is impossible, but it is true that one enthusiast kindles another.*

diffamatus, sed longe aliter et grauiter et ita, quemadmodum et me laudari uellem? non autem uellem ita laudari et amari me ut histriones, quamquam eos et ipse laudarem et amarem, sed eligens latere quam ita notus esse et uel haberi odio quam sic amari. ubi distribuuntur ista pondera uariorum et diuersorum amorum in anima una? quid est, quod amo in alio, quod rursus nisi odissem, non a me detestarer et repellerem, cum sit uterque nostrum homo? non enim sicut equus bonus amatur ab eo qui nollet hoc esse, etiamsi posset, hoc et de histrione dicendum est, qui naturae nostrae socius est. ergone amo in homine quod odi esse, cum sim homo? grande profundum est ipse homo, cuius etiam capillos tu, domine, numeratos habes et non minuuntur in te: et tamen capilli eius magis numerabiles quam affectus eius et motus cordis eius.

23 At ille rhetor ex eo erat genere, quem sic amabam, ut esse me uellem talem; et errabam tyfo et circumferebar omni uento et nimis occulte gubernabar abs te. et unde scio et unde certus confiteor tibi, quod illum in amore laudantium magis amaueram quam in rebus ipsis, de quibus laudabatur? quia si non laudatum uituperarent eum idem ipsi et uituperando atque spernendo ea ipsa narrarent, non accenderer in eo et non excitarer, et certe res non aliae forent nec homo ipse alius, sed tantummodo alius affectus narrantium. ecce ubi iacet anima infirma nondum haerens soliditati ueritatis. sicut aurae linguarum flauerint a pectoribus opinantium, ita fertur

14 numerabiles]+sunt *edd.* 22 eo] eum CFO^3 *edd.*

11. **amo in homine quod odi esse**] Cf. Plato *Rep.* x 605 (in reference to the excessive emotion displayed by the characters in epic and tragedy) ἦ καλῶς οὖν...οὗτος ὁ ἔπαινος ἔχει, τὸ ὀρῶντα τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα, οἷον ἑαυτόν τις μὴ ἀξιοῖ εἶναι ἀλλ' αἰσχύνοιτο ἄν, μὴ βδελύττεσθαι ἀλλὰ χαίρειν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν; A. feels that in admiring an actor or gladiator he is considering him merely as a means to his own enjoyment and not in conformity with the dignity of human nature (cf. Kant's maxim that men must be treated as ends in themselves). But though the moral problem is implicit, A. is more directly concerned with the psychological puzzle as to the different kinds of admiration.

12. **capillos...numeratos habes**] Cf. Mt. x 30.

16. **omni uento**] Cf. Eph. iv 14.

25. **opinantium**] *of those who*

et uertitur, torquetur ac retorquetur, et obnubilatur ei lumen et non cernitur ueritas. et ecce est ante nos. et magnum quiddam mihi erat, si sermo meus et studia mea illi uiro innotescerent: quae si probaret, flagrarem magis; si autem in-
5 probaret, sauciaretur cor uanum et inane soliditatis tuae. et tamen pulchrum illud atque aptum, unde ad eum scripseram, libenter animo uersabam ob os contemplationis meae et nullo conlaudatore mirabar.

XV. Sed tantae rei cardinem in arte tua nondum uidebam, 24
10 omnipotens, qui facis mirabilia solus, et ibat animus meus per formas corporeas et pulchrum, quod per se ipsum, aptum autem, quod ad aliquid adconmodatum deceret, definiebam et distinguebam et exemplis corporeis adstruebam. et conuerti me ad animi naturam et non me sinebat falsa opinio, quam
15 de spiritalibus habebam, ueram cernere. et inruebat in oculos ipsa uis ueri et auertebam palpitantem mentem ab incorporea

think they know. Cf. *de Util. Cred.* xi 25 'unum (genus hominum) est opinantium, id est eorum qui se arbitrantur scire quod nesciunt.'

5. **soliditatis tuae**] *i.e.* that unvarying standard of truth to which a right relation to God gives us access. Cf. VII 23 'inueneram inconmutabilem ueritatis aeternitatem supra mentem meam conmutabilem'; and *de Vera Rel.* xii 25 '(anima) non per se stabilitur, sed per Deum quo fruitur.'

7. **ob os contemp.**] An elaborate variation, in the manner of the late rhetoric, on the phrase 'ob oculos mentis.'

ib. **nullo conlaudatore**] Cf. Ambrose *Hexaëm.* I 34 (in reference to the Creation) 'bonorum operum proprium est ut externo commendatore non egeant, sed gratiam suam, cum uidentur, ipsa testentur.'

XV. *He gives an account of the line of thought which he followed in his book on the Beautiful and Harmonious. His false ideas regarding the things of the Spirit prevented him from seeing the Truth. He was groping dimly after God (as the Source of Beauty) but his pride stood in his way.*

9. **in arte tua**] Cf. *c. Faust.* XXI 5 'ars enim diuina, qua caelestia et terrena opera fiunt, cum ea sint inter se dissimilia, ipsa in omnibus sui similis est, quia in suo quoque genere perficiendo ubique perfecta est.'

10. **qui facis mirabilia solus**] Ps. lxxi 18 (lxxii 18).

14. **ad animi naturam**] According to A.'s later teaching this should have formed the next stage in the progress upward from nature to God (cf. IX 24, X 10 *seq.*). He here laments that at the time of this early study he was baffled at this point, owing to his inability to conceive of immaterial existence, and so failed to pass beyond the soul to God. Videre animum—which he clearly implies that he ought to have been able to do—is of course metaphorical, like the 'vision of God' to which it ought to have led up.

re ad liniamenta et colores et tumentes magnitudines et, quia non poteram ea uidere in animo, putabam me non posse uidere animum meum. et cum in uirtute pacem amarem, in uitiositate autem odissem discordiam, in illa unitatem, in ista quandam diuisionem notabam, inque illa unitate mens rationalis et natura ueritatis ac summi boni mihi esse uidebatur, in ista uero diuisione inrationalis uitae nescio quam substantiam et naturam summi mali, quae non solum esset substantia, sed omnino uita esset et tamen abs te non esset, deus meus, ex quo sunt omnia, miser opinabar. et illam "monadem" appellabam tamquam sine ullo sexu mentem, hanc uero "dyadem," iram in facinoribus, libidinem in flagitiis, nesciens quid loquerer. non enim noueram neque didiceram nec ullam substantiam malum esse nec ipsam mentem nostram summum atque inconmutabile bonum.

Sicut enim facinora sunt, si uitiosus est ille animi motus, in quo est impetus, et se iactat insolenter ac turbide, et flagitia, si est inmoderata illa animae affectio, qua carnales hauriuntur uoluptates, ita errores et falsae opiniones uitam contaminant, si rationalis mens ipsa uitiosa est. qualis in me tunc erat nesciente alio lumine illam inlustrandam esse, ut sit particeps ueritatis, quia non est ipsa natura ueritatis, quoniam tu inluminabis lucernam meam, domine; deus meus, inluminabis tenebras meas, et de plenitudine tua omnes nos accepimus.

10 et]+tamen BPQ *edd.* 11 sexu] sensu CFGHM.

5. **inque illa unitate** etc.] This passage gives the impression that A., dissatisfied with the mythological forms in which Manichaeism was ordinarily presented, endeavoured in this lost treatise to recast its tenets for himself in a philosophical terminology.

9. **ex quo sunt omnia**] 1 Cor. viii 6.

10. **monadem ... dyadem**] The terms are Pythagorean, but A. gives them an application of his own.

11. **sexu**] This is doubtless the right reading (not 'sensu'), cf. Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* I 6. 8 'unum autem, quod *μονάς*, id est unitas, dicitur, et mas idem et femina est.'

12. **facinoribus ... flagitiis**] See III 16, note.

21. **particeps ueritatis** etc.] Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* xvii *v.* 29 (xviii 28) 'quoniam non est lumen nostrum ex nobis; sed tu illuminabis lucernam meam, Domine.'

22. **quoniam ... tenebras meas**] Ps. xvii 29 (xviii 28).

24. **de plenitudine ... accepimus**] Jn i 16.

es enim tu lumen uerum, quod inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum, quia in te non est transmutatio nec momenti obumbratio.

Sed ego conabar ad te et repellebar abs te, ut saperem 26
mortem, quoniam superbis resistis. quid autem superbius, quam ut assererem mira dementia me id esse naturaliter, quod tu es? cum enim ego essem mutabilis et eo mihi manifestum esset, quod utique ideo sapiens esse cupiebam, ut ex deteriore melior fierem, malebam tamen etiam te opinari mutabilem quam me non hoc esse, quod tu es. itaque repellebar et resistebas uentosae ceruici meae et imaginabar formas corporeas et caro carnem accusabam et spiritus ambulans non reuertebar ad te et ambulando ambulabam in ea, quae non sunt, neque in te neque in me neque in corpore neque mihi creabantur a ueritate tua, sed a mea uanitate fingebantur ex corpore, et dicebam paruulis fidelibus tuis, ciuibus meis, a quibus nesciens exulabam, dicebam illis garrulus et ineptus: "cur ergo errat anima, quam fecit deus?" et mihi nolebam dici: "cur ergo errat deus?" et contendebam magis inconmutabilem tuam substantiam coactam errare quam meam mutabilem sponte deuiasse et poena errare confitebar.

12 non] nondum BCGHMOPQ *edd.*

1. **lumen uerum...mundum**] Jn i 9 (Vulg. 'lux uera').

2. **non est...obumbratio**] Ja. i 17 (Vulg. 'uicissitudinis obumbratio').

4. **ut saperem mortem**] Cf. Mt. xvi 28, Mk viii 39, Jn viii 52 ('gustare mortem').

5. **superbis resistis**] 1 Pet. v 5, Ja. iv 6.

6. **me id esse naturaliter**] In the Manichaean system the 'good soul' in man was 'de ipsa Dei substantia' (*de Duab. Anim.* i 1).

11. **uentosae ceruici**] *conceited obstinacy*. The bold combination of metaphors ('windy neck') is probably deliberate. Cf. 'culmen diffunditur,' vi 19.

12. **spiritus ambulans**] Ps. lxxvii 39 (lxxviii 39).

16. **paruulis**] Cf. Mt. xviii 3.

ib. **ciuibus meis**] sc. 'in the heavenly city'—a hint of the idea afterwards developed in the *de Ciuitate Dei*.

19. **contendebam** etc.] The construction is 'contendebam magis quam confitebar.'

20. **coactam errare**] The reference is to the captivity of the light elements according to the Manichaean system.

21. **et poena errare**] *and that my error was penal* (lit. 'that I erred by reason of punishment'). Cf. *de Lib. Arb.* iii 18. 52 'illa est enim peccati poena iustissima, ut

27 Et eram aetate annorum fortasse uiginti sex aut septem, cum illa uolumina scripsi, uoluens apud me corporalia figmenta obstrepentia cordis mei auribus, quas intendebam, dulcis ueritas, in interiorem melodiam tuam, cogitans de pulchro et apto et stare cupiens et audire te et gaudio gaudere propter uocem sponsi, et non poteram, quia uocibus erroris mei rapiebar foras et pondere superbiae meae in ima decidebam. non enim dabas auditui meo gaudium et laetitiam, aut exultabant ossa, quae humiliata non erant.

28 XVI. Et quid mihi proderat, quod annos natus ferme uiginti, cum in manus meas uenissent Aristotelica quaedam, quas appellant decem categorias—quarum nomine, cum eas rhetor Carthaginiensis, magister meus, buccis tyfo crepantibus commemoraret et alii qui docti habebantur, tamquam in nescio quid magnum et diuinum suspensus inhiabam legi eas solus et intellexi? quas cum contulissem cum eis, qui se dicebant uix eas magistris eruditissimis non loquentibus tantum, sed multa in puluere depingentibus intellexisse, nihil inde aliud

amittat quisque quo bene uti noluit.... id est autem ut...qui recte facere cum posset, noluit, amittat posse cum uelit.' See v 16 'originalis peccati uinculum,' note.

5. **stare...sponsi**] Jn iii 29.

8. **auditui ... humiliata**] Ps. l 10 (li 8).

XVI. *He reads and understands the Categories of Aristotle, but his understanding of Aristotle does not enable him to understand God; nor, when he reads other works of philosophy or literature, does he perceive whence came what was true in them. He could form no true idea of God, for in accordance with his Manichaean tenets he thought of Him as a vast, luminous substance, and of himself as a fragment of that substance.*

12. **decem categorias**] The Categories—οὐσία (substantia), ποσόν (quantitas), ποιόν (qualitas), πρὸς τί (relatio), ποῦ (ubi), πότε (quando), κεῖσθαι (positio), ἔχειν (habitus), ποιεῖν (actio), πάσχειν (passio)—constitute a classification of the kinds of assertion which can be made about a subject, the 'summa genera' of predicates. A. follows the order 'qualitas, quantitas,' and, keeping close to the concrete example, gives 'statura' for the latter and 'cognatio' for 'relatio.' Throughout the scholastic period a treatise on the Categories (printed Append. tom. I of the Benedictine ed.), now recognised as spurious, was attributed to A. His Pelagian opponent Julian of Eclanum nicknamed him, though probably rather as a sarcastic tribute to his eminence as a thinker than with special reference to his Aristotelian studies, 'Aristoteles Poenorum.' *Op. Imperf.* III 199.

18. **in puluere** etc.] The practice was more common in geometrical expositions.

mihi dicere potuerunt, quam ego solus apud me ipsum legens cognoueram; et satis aperte mihi uidebantur loquentes de substantiis, sicuti est homo, et quae in illis essent, sicuti est figura hominis, qualis sit et statura, quot pedum sit, aut cognatio, cuius frater sit, aut ubi sit constitutus aut quando natus, aut stet an sedeat aut calciatus uel armatus sit aut aliquid faciat aut patiatur aliquid, et quaecumque in his nouem generibus, quorum exempli gratia quaedam posui, uel in ipso substantiae genere innumerabilia reperiuntur.

Quid hoc mihi proderat, quando et oberat, cum etiam te, 29
deus meus, mirabiliter simplicem atque inconmutabilem, illis decem praedicamentis putans quidquid esset omnino conprehensum, sic intellegere conarer, quasi et tu subiectum esses magnitudini tuae aut pulchritudini, ut illa essent in te quasi in subiecto, sicut in corpore, cum tua magnitudo et tua pulchritudo tu ipse sis, corpus autem non eo sit magnum et pulchrum, quo corpus est, quia etsi minus magnum et minus pulchrum esset, nihilominus corpus esset? falsitas enim erat, quam de te cogitabam, non ueritas, et figmenta miseriae meae, non firmamenta beatitudinis tuae. iusseras enim et ita fiebat in me, ut terra spinas et tribolos pareret mihi et cum labore peruenirem ad panem meum.

Et quid mihi proderat, quod omnes libros artium, quas libe- 30
rales uocant, tunc nequissimus malarum cupiditatum seruus per me ipsum legi et intellexi, quoscumque legere potui? et gaudebam in eis et nesciebam, unde esset quidquid ibi uerum

4 aut] et BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 6 an] aut BCFHMOQV *mo.*
13 subiectum] subiectus BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

13. **quasi...subiectum** etc.] In *de Trin.* VII 5. 10 A. points out that the distinction of substance and attribute is inapplicable to God, and prefers to use 'essentia' rather than 'substantia' in speaking of God. 'Nefas est autem dicere ut subsistat aut subsit Deus bonitati suae atque illa bonitas non substantia sit... neque ipse Deus sit bonitas sua... unde manifestum est Deum abusiue substantiam uocari, ut nomine usitatiore intellegitur, essentia, quod uere et proprie dicitur; ita ut fortasse solum Deum dici oporteat essentiam.'

21. **spinas et tribolos**] Gen. iii 18.

et certum esset. dorsum enim habebam ad lumen, et ad ea, quae inluminantur, faciem: unde ipsa facies mea, qua inluminata cernebam, non inluminabatur. quidquid de arte loquendi et disserendi, quidquid de dimensionibus figurarum et de musicis et de numeris sine magna difficultate nullo hominum tradente intellexi, scis tu, domine deus meus, quia et celeritas intellegendi et dispiciendi acumen donum tuum est. sed non inde sacrificabam tibi. itaque mihi non ad usum, sed ad perniciem magis ualebat, quia tam bonam partem substantiae meae sategi habere in potestate et fortitudinem meam non ad te custodiebam, sed profectus sum abs te in longinquam regionem, ut eam dissiparem in meretrices cupiditates. nam quid mihi proderat bona res non utenti bene? non enim sentiebam illas artes etiam ab studiosis et ingeniosis difficillime intellegi, nisi cum eis eadem conabar exponere et erat ille excellentissimus in eis, qui me exponentem non tardius sequeretur.

31 Sed quid mihi hoc proderat putanti, quod tu, domine deus ueritas, corpus esses lucidum et inmensum, et ego frustum de illo corpore? nimia peruersitas! sed sic eram, nec erubesco,

15 eadem] easdem BG *edd.*

1. **dorsum...ad lumen**] A fine and striking image. For the thought cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* V 5. 7 *οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ ἡ τοῦ νοῦ ὄψις ὁρᾷ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ δι' ἄλλου φωτὸς τὰ πεφωτισμένα ἐκείνῃ τῇ πρώτῃ φύσει...νεύουσα μέντοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαμπομένων φύσιν ἧττον αὐτὸ ὁρᾷ.* The superior picturesqueness of A.'s literary handling of the illustration is characteristic.

7. **non inde sacrificabam**] Cf. Ps. liii 8 (liv 6) 'uoluntarie sacrificabo tibi, et confitebor nomini tuo, Domine.'

10. **fortitudinem** etc.] Ps. lviii 10 (lix 9). A.'s comment *ad loc.* illustrates the whole of this passage. 'Ego autem fortitudinem meam ad e custodiam: quia si recedo, cado; si accedo, fortior fio... Est...ut ita dicam...regio incommutabilis ueritatis: ab hac anima recedens tenebratur, accedens illuminatur. ergo fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam: non a te recedam, non de me praesumam.'

11. **profectus...in longinquam regionem**] Lk. xv 13.

13. **non enim** etc.] The force of the 'enim' is somewhat obscure; probably it justifies 'bona' '(and how good a thing it was I did not know), for I was not aware that these works were understood with difficulty even by the diligent and clever until I endeavoured to explain them to pupils of ability, and found that the best of them could only follow my explanation somewhat slowly.'

deus meus, confiteri tibi in me misericordias tuas et inuocare te, qui non erubui tunc profiteri hominibus blasphemias meas et latrare aduersum te. quid ergo tunc mihi proderat ingenium per illas doctrinas agile et nullo adminiculo humani magisterii tot nodosissimi libri enodati, cum deformiter et sacrilega turpitudine in doctrina pietatis errarem? aut quid tantum oberat paruulis tuis longe tardius ingenium, cum a te longe non recederent, ut in nido ecclesiae tuae tuti plumescerent et alas caritatis alimento sanae fidei nutrirent? o domine deus noster, in uelamento alarum tuarum speremus, et protege nos et porta nos. tu portabis, tu portabis et paruulos et usque ad canos tu portabis, quoniam firmitas nostra quando tu es, tunc est firmitas, cum autem nostra est, infirmitas est. uiuit apud te semper bonum nostrum, et quia inde auersi sumus, peruersi sumus. reuertamur iam, domine, ut non euertamur, quia uiuit apud te sine ullo defectu bonum nostrum, quod tu ipse es, et non timemus, ne non sit quo redeamus, quia nos inde ruimus; nobis autem absentibus non ruit domus nostra, aeternitas tua.

11 *alt.* tu portabis] – BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

1. **confiteri ... misericordias**] Cf. Ps. cvi (cvii) 8 'confiteantur Domino misericordiae eius.'

8. **in nido ecclesiae**] Cf. Ps. lxxxiii 4 (lxxxiv 3).

10. **in uelamento ... portabis**] Cf. Ps. xvi 8 (xvii 8) 'sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me.' This passage illustrates A.'s habit of joining together Scriptural quotations by links of connexion which are often purely verbal. 'Velamento' is from Ps. lxii 8 (lxiii 7); 'speremus' from the similar figure in Ps. xxxv 8 (xxxvi 7); 'alae' suggests a reference to Ex. xix 4, 'quomodo portaueram uos super alas aquilarum'; 'portare' in turn suggests Is. xlvi 4 'usque ad senectutem ego ipse, et usque ad canos ego portabo.' Cf. also Deut. xxxii 11, Is. xxxi 5.

17. **non timemus**] The implied antithesis seems to be that while a man who has long deserted his earthly home has reason to fear lest it may have fallen into ruin in his absence, it is not so with the home of the soul.

LIBER QUINTUS.

1 I. Accipe sacrificium confessionum mearum de manu linguae meae, quam formasti et excitasti, ut confiteatur nomini tuo, et sana omnia ossa mea, et dicant: domine, quis similis tibi? neque enim docet te, quid in se agatur, qui tibi confitetur, quia oculum tuum non excludit cor clausum nec manum tuam repellit duritia hominum, sed soluis eam, cum uoles, aut miserans aut uindicans, et non est qui se abscondat a calore tuo. sed te laudet anima mea, ut amet te, et confiteatur tibi miserationes tuas, ut laudet te. non cessat nec tacet laudes tuas uniuersa creatura tua nec spiritus omnis hominis per os conuersum ad te nec animalia nec corporalia per os considerantium ea, ut exsurgat in te a lassitudine anima

11 hominis] – BCGHMOPQVW.

I. *A. lifts up his heart to God, acknowledging His mercies, and prays that his wearied and baffled spirit, by the aid of created things, may through them rise to their Creator, in whom refreshment and true strength are to be found.*

1. **accipe sacrificium** etc.] Cf. Ps. liii 8 (liv 6) 'uoluntarie sacrificabo tibi, et confitebor nomini tuo, Domine.'

ib. **de manu linguae**] 'Linguae' is genitive of definition (not possessive), cf. XI 2 'lingua calami enuntiare.' For a similar metaphor cf. XI 13 'manus oris mei.'

3. **sana omnia ossa mea**] Cf. Ps. vi 3 (2) sana me, Domine, quoniam conturbata sunt ossa mea.'

ib. **quis similis tibi**] Cf. Ps. xxxiv (xxxv) 10 'omnia ossa mea dicent, Domine, quis similis tibi?'

7. **non est qui se abscondat**] Ps. xviii 7 (xix 6); and cf. Ps. cxxxviii 15 (cxxxix 16)—a Psalm which influences these two chapters throughout.

8. **confiteatur ... miserationes**] Cf. Ps. cvi (cvii) 8 in the version used by A. ('confiteantur Domino miserationes eius'; Vulg. 'misericordiae'). For 'miserationes' see I 5 *sup.*

12. **per os considerantium**] *i.e.* the inarticulate praises of Nature find expression through the lips of those who observe the tokens of God's goodness which Nature manifests. Cf. George Herbert *Providence*:

'Man is the world's high priest: he doth present
The sacrifice for all, while they below
Unto the service mutter an assent,
Such as springs use that fall, and winds that blow.'

nostra innitens eis, quae fecisti, et adtransiens ad te, qui fecisti haec mirabiliter: et ibi refectio et uera fortitudo.

II. Eant et fugiant a te inquieti iniqui. et tu uides eos 2 et distinguis umbras, et ecce pulchra sunt cum eis omnia et ipsi turpes sunt. et quid nocuerunt tibi? aut in quo imperium tuum dehonestauerunt a caelis usque in nouissima iustum et integrum? quo enim fugerunt, cum fugerent a facie tua? aut ubi tu non inuenis eos? sed fugerunt, ut non uiderent te uidentem se atque excaecati in te offenderent—quia non deseris aliquid eorum, quae fecisti—in te offenderent iniusti et iuste uexarentur, subtrahentes se lenitati tuae et offendentes

1 adtransiens SW, transiens BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 3 inquieti]+et BCFGHMPQV *edd.*

1. **innitens eis, quae fecisti**] Cf. *de Vera Rel.* xxiv 45 'in quem locum quisque ceciderit, ibi debet incumbere ut surgat. Ergo ipsis carnalibus formis, quibus detinemur, nitendum est ad eas cognoscendas quas caro non nuntiat.'

ib. **adtransiens**] Knöll's reading here (following the MSS. SW) introduces a compound previously unknown to Latin lexicography. It is noticed in the new *Thesaurus Ling. Lat.* as occurring in this passage.

II. *The restless and the wicked forsake God, and defame His government. But the universe is fair although they are vile. God forsakes nothing that He has made. If men will but return to Him, He who made them will also remake them.*

3. **eant et fugiant**] Cf. Ps. cxxxviii (cxxxix) 7 'quo ibo a spiritu tuo? et quo a facie tua fugiam?'

4. **distinguis umbras**] There seems to be an allusion here, in spite of the difference of language, to Gen. i 4 ('diuisit lucem a tenebris') understood allegorically. Cf. XIII 15, *infr.* 'non filii noctis neque tenebrarum...inter quos et nos...tu solus diuidis qui probas corda nostra, et uocas lucem diem, et tenebras noctem. Quis enim nos discernit nisi tu?' It is possible that the language of the present passage is coloured by the metaphor from painting implied in the words that follow (see next note), and that we might paraphrase 'Thou distinguishest them as shadows,' *i.e.* that is their place in the picture.

ib. **pulchra sunt cum eis omnia**] Cf. *de Ciu. Dei* XI 23 'sicut pictura cum colore nigro loco suo posito, ita uniuersitas rerum, si quis possit intueri, etiam cum peccatoribus pulchra est, quamuis per seipsos consideratos sua deformitas turpet.'

5. **quid nocuerunt tibi**] Cf. *de Ciu. Dei* XII 3 'dicuntur autem in Scripturis inimici Dei, qui non natura, sed uitiis aduersantur eius imperio, nihil ei ualentes nocere, sed sibi. Inimici enim sunt resistendi uoluntate, non potestate laedendi.' In both passages there is a tacit allusion to the Manichaean theory, according to which the Realm of Darkness inflicted real injury upon the Realm of Light. Cf. VII 3 *infr.*

9. **non deseris ... fecisti**] seems to be a reminiscence of Wisd. xi 25.

11. **subtrahentes se lenitati**

in rectitudinem tuam et cadentes in asperitatem tuam. uidelicet nesciunt, quod ubique sis, quem nullus circuminscribit locus, et solus es praesens etiam his, qui longe fiunt a te. conuertantur ergo et quaerant te, quia non, sicut ipsi deseruerunt creatorem suum, ita tu deseruisti creaturam tuam. ipsi conuertantur, et ecce ibi es in corde eorum, in corde confitentium tibi et proicientium se in te et plorantium in sinu tuo post uias suas difficiles: et tu facilis tergens lacrimas eorum, et magis plorant et gaudent in fletibus, quoniam tu, domine, non aliquis homo, caro et sanguis, sed tu, domine, qui fecisti, reficis et consolaris eos. et ubi ego eram, quando te quaerebam? et tu eras ante me, ego autem et a me discesseram nec me inueniebam: quanto minus te!

3 III. Proloquor in conspectu dei mei annum illum undetricensimum aetatis meae. iam uenerat Carthaginem quidam manichaeorum episcopus, Faustus nomine, magnus laqueus

1 *alt.* tuam] suam CFHM¹V *o.* 2 circuminscribit] circumscribit BCFGHMOPQ *edd.* 6 conuertantur]+et quaerant te BPQ *edd.* 8 tergens] terges BGOPV, tergis QW. 14 proloquor] proloquar BCFGHM¹OPQV *edd.*

tuae etc.] Cf. IV 14 'quo fugit, nisi a te placido ad te iratum?'

3. **praesens etiam his, qui longe fiunt**] Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* VI 9. 7 *οὐδενὸς οὖν θεός ἐστιν ἔξω, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι σύνεστιν οὐκ εἰδόσι.*

6. **conuertantur...in corde eorum**] A tacit reference to Is. xlvi 8, a favourite text with A. See IV 18, 19.

7. **proicientium se in te... post uias difficiles**] Cf. Lk. xv 20; and Wisd. v 7 'ambulauimus uias difficiles.' See IV 18.

8. **tergens lacrimas**] Cf. Rev. vii 17, xxi 4. The participle, which has the preponderance of MS. support, is doubtless due to the vivid, pictorial character of the image.

12. **ego autem et a me discesseram**] Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* VI 9. 7 *φεύγουσι γὰρ αὐτοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔξω, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτῶν ἔξω. οὐ δύνανται οὖν ἐλεῖν ὃν πεφεύγασιν, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλεκότες ἄλλον ζητεῖν, οὐδέ γε παῖς αὐτοῦ ἔξω ἐν μανίᾳ γεγενημένος εἰδήσει τὸν πατέρα.*

III. *When A. was twenty-nine years of age, Faustus, a Bishop of the Manichaeans who had a reputation for great learning, came to Carthage. From him A. hoped to receive a solution of the difficulties he had encountered in attempting to reconcile the doctrines of Manichaeus regarding the heavenly bodies with those of the philosophers.*

16. **manichaeorum episcopus**] The Manichaean hierarchy included 72 'episcopi'; above these were twelve 'magistri' and a 'princeps (magistrorum)', and under them were presbyters and deacons: A. *de Haeres.* xlvi.

ib. **Faustus**] He is described in the *c. Faust.* I 1 as 'gente Afer

diaboli, et multi inplicabantur in eo per inlecebram suauiloquentiae. quam ego iam tametsi laudabam, discernebam tamen a ueritate rerum, quarum discernendarum auidus eram, nec quali uasculo sermonis, sed quid mihi scientiae comedendum adponeret nominatus apud eos ille Faustus intuebar. fama enim de illo praelocuta mihi erat, quod esset honestarum omnium doctrinarum peritissimus et adprime disciplinis liberalibus eruditus. et quoniam multa philosophorum legeram memoriaeque mandata retinebam, ex eis quaedam conparabam illis manichaeorum longis fabulis, et mihi probabiliora ista uidebantur, quae dixerunt illi, qui tantum potuerunt ualere, ut possent aestimare saeculum, quamquam eius dominum minime inuenerint. quoniam magnus es, domine, et humilia respicis, excelsa autem a longe agnoscis nec propinquas nisi obtritis corde nec inueniris a superbis, nec si illi curiosa peritia numerent stellas et harenam et dimetiantur sidereas plagas et uestigent uias astrorum.

3 discernendarum] discendarum BCFHMOPQV *edd.* 14 agnoscis] cognoscis BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

ciuitate Mileuitanus (of Mileve, on the western border of Numidia), eloquio suauis, ingenio callidus.' The *c. Faust.*, in which A. replies to a work of Faustus, shows his acuteness as a critic of the morality of the O.T. (see above III 12 sq.) and of the discrepancies in the N.T. In one case he anticipates a modern line of argument by questioning the genuineness of a saying of Christ on the ground that it occurs in different connexions in Mt. and Lk. (Mt. viii 11, Lk. xiii 28, in which the ref. to the Patriarchs was distasteful to the Manichaeans, *c. Faust.* xxxiii 2). Towards Catholic Christianity he takes up the attitude of a 'gnostic,' who stands on a higher footing of morality and enlightenment. Ordinary Christians are 'semi-Christians'; he on the other hand is entitled by his character to claim all the beatitudes, *c. Faust.* I 3, V 1.

1. **laqueus diaboli**] 1 Tim. iii 7.

2. **discernebam**] *I was beginning to discern.*

4. **uasculo**] *vessel* ('argenti uascula puri' Juv. *Sat.* IX 141). Cp. 'fercula,' III 10.

8. **philosophorum**] As the context shows, the reference is to writers on astronomy and natural philosophy.

11. **qui tantum ... inuenerint**] Wisd. xiii 9 (Vulg. 'si enim tantum potuerunt scire ... quomodo huius Dominum non facilius inuenerunt?').

13. **quoniam magnus ... respicis**, etc.] Ps. cxxxvii (cxxxviii) 6 (Vulg. 'quoniam excelsus Dominus et humilia respicit et alta a longe cognoscit').

15. **obtritis corde**] Cf. Ps. xxxiii 19 (xxxiv 18) Old Lat. 'iuxta est Dominus his qui obtriuerunt cor' (Vulg. 'qui tribulato sunt corde').

4 Mente sua enim quaerunt ista et ingenio, quod tu dedisti eis, et multa inuenerunt et praenuntiauerunt ante multos annos, defectus luminarium solis et lunae, quo die, qua hora, quanta ex parte, futuri essent, et non eos fefellit numerus. et ita factum est, ut praenuntiauerunt, et scripserunt regulas indagatas et leguntur hodie atque ex eis praenuntiatur, quo anno et quo mense anni et quo die mensis et qua hora diei et quota parte luminis sui defectura sit luna uel sol: et ita fiet, ut praenuntiatur. et mirantur haec homines et stupent qui nesciunt ea, et exultant atque extolluntur qui sciunt, et per inpiam superbiam recedentes et deficientes a lumine tuo tanto ante solis defectum futurum praeuident et in praesentia suum non uident—non enim religiose quaerunt, unde habeant ingenium, quo ista quaerunt—et inuenientes, quia tu fecisti eos, non ipsi se dant tibi, se ut serues quod fecisti, et quales se ipsi fecerant occidunt se tibi et trucidant exaltationes suas sicut uolatilia et curiositates suas sicut pisces maris, quibus perambulant secretas semitas abyssi, et luxurias suas sicut pecora campi, ut tu, deus, ignis edax consumas mortuas curas eorum recreans eos immortaliter.

15 se dant tibi**ut (se *ras.*) CP², se dant tibi ut H, dant tibi se ut FQV *edd.*

12. **in praesentia suum** etc.] *do not perceive their own present eclipse.*

15. **se ut serues quod fecisti**] *that Thou mightest preserve them as being something that Thou hast made.* The 'se' is awkward and the reading is open to suspicion, but there was more temptation to omit the 'se' than to insert it, and in the passage as a whole there is an evident intention to emphasize the 'se' by repetition.

ib. **quales se ipsi** etc.] *sacrifice to Thee themselves, such as they have made themselves.*

17. **uolatilia** etc.] Cf. A.'s comment in loc. (*Enarr. in Ps.* viii § 13) 'uide nunc etiam uolucres caeli, superbos...Intuere etiam pisces maris, hoc est curiosos, qui perambulant semitas maris, id est inquirunt in profundo huius saeculi temporalia ... Pecora enim campi congruentissime accipiuntur homines in carnis uoluptate gaudentes, ubi nihil arduum, nihil laboriosum ascendunt.'

19. **ignis edax**] Deut. iv 24, Heb. xii 29 (Vulg. 'ignis consumens'). The choice of the epithet is perhaps due to Verg. *Aen.* ii 758.

ib. **consumas...recreans**] The figure of sacrifice seems to be combined with an allusion to the myth of the Phœnix, which was early pressed into Christian service. Cf. Clemens Romanus 1 Cor. xxv, Ter-

Sed non nouerunt uiam, uerbum tuum, per quod fecisti ea quae numerant et ipsos qui numerant et sensum, quo cernunt quae numerant, et mentem, de qua numerant; et sapientiae tuae non est numerus. ipse autem unigenitus factus est nobis sapientia et iustitia et sanctificatio et numeratus est inter nos et soluit tributum Caesari. non nouerunt hanc uiam, qua descendant ad illum a se et per eum ascendant ad eum. non nouerunt hanc uiam et putant se excelsos esse cum sideribus et lucidos, et ecce ruerunt in terram, et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum. et multa uera de creatura dicunt et ueritatem, creaturae artificem, non pie quaerunt et ideo non inueniunt, aut si inueniunt, cognoscentes deum non sicut deum honorant aut gratias agunt et euanescunt in cogitationibus suis et dicunt se esse sapientes sibi tribuendo quae tua sunt, ac per hoc student peruersissima caecitate etiam tibi tribuere quae sua sunt, mendacia scilicet in te conferentes, qui ueritas es, et inmutantes gloriam incorrupti dei in similitudinem imaginis corruptibilis hominis et uolucrum et quadrupedum et serpentium, et conuertunt ueritatem tuam in mendacium et colunt et seruiunt creaturae potius quam creatori.

tull. *de Res. Carn.* xiii. The 'mortuae curae' are the earthly interests in which they are absorbed—the 'exaltationes,' 'curiositates' and 'luxuriae' which have just been referred to.

1. **uiam, uerbum** etc.] Jn xiv 6 and i 3.

3. **de qua numerant**] For the instrumental use of 'de' cf. *Locut.* 89 *de Ex.* where A., explaining the Biblical (Hebraistic) use of 'in' with the instrument in Ex. xvii 5 Old Lat. ('uirgam in qua percussisti flumen'), says: '"In qua percussisti" dixit pro eo quod dicimus, de qua percussisti.'

4. **numerus...numeratus**] Here, as frequently (cf. IV 31 note), A. combines passages of scripture by means of a merely verbal link of connexion. God's wisdom is 'without number' (Ps. cxlvi 5 = cxlvii 5), yet Christ, who was that Wisdom (1 Cor. i 24 and 30), suffered Himself to be 'numbered' for the purpose of paying tribute (cf. Lk. ii 1 sq.; Mt. xvii 24—26; Mt. xxii 17—21), thus showing His humility, which contrasts with the pride of the philosophers.

7. **a se**] *i.e.* from their self-imagined loftiness.

9. **ecce ruerunt in terram**] An allusion to Isa. xiv 12—13 'quomodo cecidisti de caelo, Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris? Corruisti in terram...qui dicebas in corde tuo: In caelum conscendam, super astra Dei exaltabo solium meum.'

ib. **obscuratum est** etc.] See Rom. i 21—25.

19. **ueritatem**] Jn xiv 6.

6 Multa tamen ab eis ex ipsa creatura uera dicta retinebam, et occurrebat mihi ratio per numeros et ordinem temporum et uisibiles attestationes siderum et conferebam cum dictis Manichaei, quae de his rebus multa scripsit copiosissime delirans, et non mihi occurrebat ratio nec solstitiorum et aequinoctiorum nec defectuum luminarium nec quidquid tale in libris saecularis sapientiae didiceram. ibi autem credere iubebar, et ad illas rationes numeris et oculis meis exploratas non occurrebat et longe diuersum erat.

7 IV. Numquid, domine deus ueritatis, quisquis nouit ista, iam placet tibi? infelix enim homo, qui scit illa omnia, te autem nescit; beatus autem, qui te scit, etiamsi illa nesciat. qui uero et te et illa nouit, non propter illa beatior, sed propter te solum beatus est, si cognoscens te sicut te glorificet et gratias agat et non euanescat in cogitationibus suis. sicut enim melior, qui nouit possidere arborem et de usu eius tibi gratias agit, quamuis nesciat uel quot cubitis alta sit uel quanta latitudine diffusa, quam ille, qui eam metitur et omnes ramos

5 solstitiorum BGMPQ *edd.* 14 sicut deum BPQ *edd.* 16 melior] SW, + est BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

1. **ex ipsa creatura**] 'their conclusions being drawn from the creation itself.'

2. **occurrebat mihi ratio**] 'I found there' (viz. in the writings of the philosophers) 'a rational explanation.' In line 5 he says that he found no such explanation in the writings of Mânî. In 9 'occurrebat ad' = 'concurred with.'

3. **cum dictis Manichaei**] Cf. *Acta cum Felice* I 9 'docuit nos de fabrica mundi, quare facta est, et unde facta est...docuit nos quare dies et quare nox, docuit nos de cursu solis et lunae.' The character of these dicta may be inferred from the Manichaean explanation of the waxing and waning of the moon as being due to its first becoming charged with the particles of light as they were set free from the world, and then passing them on to the sun. See *ad Inquisit. Ianuarii* II 4. 6 (*Ep.* lv 4. 6).

9. **non occurrebat ... diuersum erat**] The subject must be understood from 'credere iubebar': *and what I was told did not agree with the rational explanations which I had discovered by calculation and observation, and, in fact, was widely at variance with them.*

IV. *Although the philosophers had discovered many natural truths, and were in that respect superior to the Manichaeans, they knew not God, and therefore they became vain in their imaginations.*

10. **domine deus ueritatis**] Ps. xxx 6 (xxxi 5).

14. **sicut te**] An allusion to 'sicut Deum' in Rom. i 21.

eius numerat et neque possidet eam neque creatorem eius nouit aut diligit, sic fidelis homo, cuius totus mundus diuitiarum est et quasi nihil habens omnia possidet inhaerendo tibi, cui seruiunt omnia, quamuis nec saltem septentrionum gyros nouerit, dubitare stultum est, quin utique melior sit quam mensor caeli et numerator siderum et pensor elementorum et neglegens tui, qui omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti.

V. Sed tamen quis quaerebat Manichaeum nescio quem 8 etiam ista scribere, sine quorum peritia pietas disci poterat? dixisti enim homini: ecce pietas est sapientia. quam ille ignorare posset, etiamsi ista perfecte nosset: ista uero quia non nouerat, impudentissime audens docere, prorsus illam nosse non posset. uanitas est enim mundana ista etiam nota profiteri, pietas autem tibi confiteri. unde ille deuius ad hoc ista multum locutus est, ut conuictus ab eis, qui ista uere didicissent, quis esset eius sensus in ceteris, quae abditiora sunt, manifeste cognosceretur. non enim parui se aestimari uoluit, sed spiritum sanctum, consolatorem et ditatorem fidelium

3. **nihil habens**] Cf. 2 Cor. vi 10 'tanquam nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes.'

4. **cui...omnia**] Ps. cxviii (cxix) 91.

ib. **septentrionum gyros**] *the circuits of the Great Bear.*

7. **omnia in mensura** etc.] Wisd. xi 21.

V. *Manichaeus by writing ignorantly of the heavenly bodies made it evident that he spoke falsely when he claimed to be inspired with plenary authority by the Holy Spirit to declare all truth to mankind.*

9. **quaerebat**] used in the sense of 'request,' with accusative of person and prolative infinitive, is unusual.

ib. **Manichaeum nescio quem**] The context shows that this is a comtemptuous reference to Mânî himself (cf. I 20, III 7) 'somebody called Manichaeus.'

11. **ecce pietas est sapientia**] Job xxviii 28 (LXX ἡ θεοσέβειά ἐστι σοφία) Vulg. 'ecce timor Domini ipse est sapientia.'

15. **ad hoc...locutus est**] 'it was for this reason that he talked so much about these things,' *i.e.* it was providential that he committed himself to these statements by which he was convicted of pretentious ignorance.

17. **sensus**] 'understanding,' 'insight.'

19. **spiritum sanctum** etc.] While Beausobre *Histoire critique de Manichée* i 103 was certainly wrong in denying that Mânî ever claimed to be the Paraclete (see Flügel *Mânî* pp. 85, 96, 162–3 and Kessler, Herzog-Hauck *Real-enc.* XII 217, 218) it is not clear that this claim was equivalent to that of being the Holy Spirit in the Christian sense. Flügel *op. cit.*

tuorum, auctoritate plenaria personaliter in se esse persuadere conatus est. itaque cum de caelo ac stellis et de solis ac lunae motibus falsa dixisse deprehenderetur, quamuis ad doctrinam religionis ista non pertineant, tamen ausus eius sacrilegos fuisse satis emineret, cum ea non solum ignorata, sed etiam falsa tam uesana superbiae uanitate diceret, ut ea tamquam diuinae personae tribuere sibi niteretur.

9 Cum enim audio christianum aliquem fratrem illum aut illum ista nescientem et aliud pro alio sentientem, patienter intueor opinantem hominem nec illi obesse uideo, cum de te, domine creator omnium, non credat indigna, si forte situs et habitus creaturae corporalis ignoret. obest autem, si hoc ad ipsam doctrinae pietatis formam pertinere arbitretur et pertinacius affirmare audeat quod ignorat. sed etiam talis infirmitas in fidei cunabulis a caritate matre sustinetur, donec assurgat nouus homo in uirum perfectum et circumferri non possit omni uento doctrinae. in illo autem, qui doctor, qui auctor, qui dux et princeps eorum, quibus illa suaderet, ita fieri ausus est, ut qui eum sequerentur non quemlibet hominem, sed spiritum tuum sanctum se sequi arbitrarentur, quis tantam dementiam, sicubi falsa dixisse conuinceretur, non detestandam longeque abiciendam esse iudicaret? sed tamen nondum liquido conpereram, utrum etiam secundum eius uerba uicissitudines longiorum et breuiorum dierum atque noctium et ipsius noctis et diei et deliquia luminum et si

3 deprehenderetur BCFGHMOPQV comprehenderetur S *Knöll in ed. mai.*

p. 163 holds that by the Paraclete he meant only 'a human teacher who was to be sent by Christ to purify and perfect Christianity.' For the value which was attached by the Manichaeans to Mânî's astronomical dicta as evidence in support of this claim see the statement of Felix in *Acta cum Felice* I 9 'quia hoc in Paulo non audiuimus, nec in ceterorum Apostolorum scripturis, hoc credimus quia (=quod 'that') ipse est Paracletus.'

ib. **ditatorem**] 'enricher.' This appears to be the first occurrence of the word.

11. **domine creator omnium**] Cf. 2 Macc. i 24 'Domine deus omnium creator.'

16. **in uirum perfectum** etc.] Eph. iv 13, 14.

23. **utrum etiam**] *i.e.* whether his was a possible alternative explanation.

quid eius modi in aliis libris legeram, posset exponi, ut, si forte posset, incertum mihi fieret, utrum ita se res haberet an ita, sed ad fidem meam illius auctoritatem propter creditam sanctitatem praeponerem.

VI. Et per annos ferme ipsos nouem, quibus eos animo uagabundus audiui, nimis extento desiderio uenturum expectabam istum Faustum. ceteri enim eorum, in quos forte incurrissem, qui talium rerum quaestionibus a me obiectis deficiebant, illum mihi promittebant, cuius aduentu conlatoque conloquio facillime mihi haec et si qua forte maiora quaererem enodatissime expedirentur. ergo ubi uenit, expertus sum hominem gratum et iucundum uerbis et ea ipsa, quae illi solent dicere, multo suauius garrientem. sed quid ad meam sitim pretiosorum poculorum decentissimus ministrator? iam rebus talibus satiatae erant aures meae, nec ideo mihi meliora uidebantur, quia melius dicebantur, nec ideo uera, quia diserta, nec ideo sapiens anima, quia uultus congruus et decorum eloquium. illi autem, qui eum mihi promittebant, non boni rerum existimatores erant, et ideo illis uidebatur prudens et sapiens, quia delectabat eos loquens. sensi autem aliud genus hominum etiam ueritatem habere suspectam et ei nolle adquiescere, si comto atque uberi sermone promeretur. me autem iam docueras, deus meus, miris et occultis modis, et

2 incertum]+quidem BCFGHMOPV *edd.* 14 pretiosiorum BCFMOW *mo.*

3. **ad fidem...praeponerem**] *I might still prefer his authority* (to that of the philosophers) *as a basis for* ('ad,' with a view to) *my faith.* An indication of the primacy of the religious interest in A.'s mind.

VI. *For nearly nine years A. had longed for the coming of Faustus who, he was assured, would resolve all his difficulties. He found him to be a pleasing speaker, but of no deep learning, and only very moderately versed in those studies in which A. was himself proficient.*

20. **sensi autem** etc.] The rhetorician had fallen heir to the distrust which earlier attached to the sophist as being able 'to make the worse appear the better reason.' Cf. the confidence of Strepsiades in the 'Clouds' that Socrates possesses the secret of the 'Unjust Argument.'

23. **docueras**] Knöll places a full stop at 'claruerit,' which leaves the object of 'docueras' vague. It would perhaps be more natural to take 'et propterea...claruerit' as parenthetic, the structure of the sentence being altered after the

propterea credo, quod tu me docueris, quoniam uerum est, nec quisquam praeter te alius doctor est ueri, ubicumque et undecumque claruerit. iam ergo abs te didiceram nec eo debere uideri aliquid uerum dici, quia eloquenter dicitur, nec eo falsum, quia inconposite sonant signa labiorum; rursus nec ideo uerum, quia inpolite enuntiatur, nec ideo falsum, quia splendidus sermo est, sed perinde esse sapientiam et stultitiam, sicut sunt cibi utiles et inutiles, uerbis autem ornatis et inornatis sicut uasis urbanis et rusticanis utrosque cibos posse ministrari.

11 Igitur auiditas mea, qua illum tanto tempore expectaueram hominem, delectabatur quidem motu affectuque disputantis et uerbis congruentibus atque ad uestiendas sententias facile occurrentibus. delectabar autem et cum multis uel etiam prae multis laudabam ac ferebam; sed moleste habebam, quod in coetu audientium non sinerer ingerere illi et partiri cum eo curas quaestionum mearum conferendo familiariter et accipiendo ac reddendo sermonem. quod ubi potui et aures eius cum familiaribus meis eoque tempore occupare coepi, quo non dedeceret alternis disserere, et protuli quaedam, quae me mouebant, expertus sum prius hominem expertem liberalium disciplinarum nisi grammaticae atque eius ipsius usitato modo. et quia legerat aliquas Tullianas orationes et paucissimos

15 ferebam] efferebam GM²W *edd.*

long parenthesis and the thought resumed with the words, 'abs te didiceram.' The logical object of 'docueras' would thus be 'nec eo debere' etc. l. 3.

15. **ferebam**] Probably the close association with 'laudabam' warrants us in giving 'ferebam' the sense 'extolled' which is usually expressed by 'ferre laudibus.' Or the meaning may be 'talked about' as in Tac. *Ann.* XVI 2 'nec aliud per illos dies populus credulitate, prudentes diuersa fama, tulere.'

17. **curas quaestionum**] *my anxious questionings.*

21. **prius**] The force of the comparative seems to be 'before coming to the more difficult questions.' Cf. § 12.

23. **aliquas Tullianas orationes** etc.] This might well seem a slender equipment to a scholar like A., who in the course of a single work (*de Ciu. Dei*) quotes from the writings of Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry, Homer, Vergil, Ennius, Horace, Lucan, Persius, Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Pliny, Seneca, Apuleius, Varro, Gellius, Florus, Eutropius, besides a considerable number of Ecclesiastical writers.

Senecae libros et nonnulla poetarum et suae sectae si qua uolumina latine atque conposite conscripta erant, et quia aderat cotidiana sermocinandi exercitatio, inde suppetebat eloquium, quod fiebat acceptius magisque seductorium moderamine ingenii et quodam lepore naturali. itane est, ut recolo, domine deus meus, arbiter conscientiae meae? coram te cor meum et recordatio mea, qui mecum tunc agebas abdito secreto prouidentiae tuae et inhonestos errores meos iam conuertebas ante faciem meam, ut uiderem et odissem.

VII. Nam posteaquam ille mihi inperitus earum artium, 12 quibus eum excellere putaueram, satis apparuit, desperare coepi posse mihi eum illa, quae me mouebant, aperire atque dissoluere; quorum quidem ignarus posset ueritatem tenere pietatis, sed si manichaeus non esset. libri quippe eorum pleni sunt longissimis fabulis de caelo et de sideribus et sole et luna: quae mihi eum, quod utique cupiebam, conlatis numerorum rationibus, quas alibi ego legeram, utrum potius ita essent, ut Manichaei libris continebatur, an certe uel par etiam inde ratio redderetur, subtiliter explicare posse iam non

7 mecum] me BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 15 de sideribus] – de BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

In the *c. Acad.* III xvii—xix he gives a sketch of the history of philosophy from Plato to the Neo-Platonists, and refers in *de Ciu. Dei* VIII 2 to the tenets of the Pre-Socratic philosophers.

3. **suppetebat**] Lit. 'was forthcoming,' *he had acquired a sufficient command of language.*

4. **moderamine ingenii**] *by his skilful management of his abilities.*

6. **coram te...recordatio**] Cf. Num. x 9 'et erit recordatio uestra coram Domino Deo uestro.'

9. **conuertebas...meam**] Cf. Ps. xlix (l) 21 'arguam te et statuam contra faciem tuam.'

VII. *The slender attainments of Faustus in the liberal arts convinced A. that he could derive no help from him on deeper matters. Faustus honestly confessed his inability to meet A.'s difficulties, for he was 'not altogether ignorant of his own ignorance.' Through his intercourse with Faustus A. lost faith in Manichaeism, although he did not at once leave the sect.*

14. **sed si manichaeus non esset**] *but only on condition of not being a Manichaean* (since, if he were, these things were part of his faith).

18. **an certe...redderetur**] *or that at least an equally good explanation could be drawn from them too* (sc. from the books of Manichaeus). A. desired to be shown that the explanations of Manichaeus were either superior, or equal, to those of the

arbitrabar. quae tamen ubi consideranda et discutienda protuli, modeste sane ille nec ausus est subire ipsam sarcinam. nouerat enim se ista non nosse nec eum puduit confiteri. non erat de talibus, quales multos loquaces passus eram, conantes ea me docere et dicentes nihil. iste uero cor habebat, etsi non rectum ad te, nec tamen nimis incautum ad se ipsum. non usquequaque inperitus erat inperitiae suae et noluit se temere disputando in ea coartari, unde nec exitus ei ullus nec facilis esset reditus: etiam hinc mihi amplius placuit. pulchrior est enim temperantia confitentis animi quam illa, quae nosse cupiebam. et eum in omnibus difficilioribus et subtilioribus quaestionibus talem inueniebam.

13 Refracto itaque studio, quod intenderam in Manichaei litteras, magisque desperans de ceteris eorum doctoribus, quando in multis, quae me mouebant, ita ille nominatus apparuit, coepi cum eo pro studio illius agere uitam, quo ipse flagrabat in eas litteras, quas tunc iam rhetor Carthaginis adulescentes docebam, et legere cum eo siue quae ille audita desideraret siue quae ipse tali ingenio apta existimarem. ceterum conatus omnis meus, qui proficere in illa secta statueram, illo homine cognito prorsus intercidit, non ut ab eis omnino separarer, sed quasi melius quicquam non inueniens eo, quo iam quoquo modo inrueram, contentus interim esse decreueram, nisi aliquid forte, quod magis eligendum esset,

16 illius] eius BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 20 qui SW[1] quo BCFGHMOPQVW[2] *edd.*

astronomical writers. Even the latter demonstration, he says at the end of § 9, would have sufficed to maintain his faith in Manichaeism.

5. **cor ... non rectum**] Cf. Ps. lxxvii (lxxviii) 37; Acts viii 21.

6. **nec tamen nimis incautum** etc.] *yet not without a due regard for itself.*

10. **pulchrior est enim**] A.'s generosity towards one who had so bitterly disappointed him is a pleasant feature of this narrative.

15. **ita ille nominatus apparuit**] *he, for all his reputation, had turned out thus.* For 'nominatus' cf. § 3 *sup.*

16. **coepi** etc.] *I was thenceforward much in his company in consequence of his enthusiasm — like myself he was inflamed with it—for literature, the subject which* etc.

18. **audita desideraret**] *had heard of and desired to know.*

23. **quo inrueram**] *which I had, so to speak, blundered into.*

eluceret. ita ille Faustus, qui multis laqueus mortis extitit, meum quo captus eram relaxare iam coeperat nec uolens nec sciens. manus enim tuae, deus meus, in abdito prouidentiae tuae non deserebant animam meam, et sanguine cordis matris meae per lacrimas eius diebus et noctibus pro me sacrificabatur tibi, et egisti mecum miris modis. tu illud egisti, deus meus. nam a domino gressus hominis diriguntur, et uiam eius uolet. aut quae procuratio salutis praeter manum tuam reficientem quae fecisti?

VIII. Egisti ergo mecum, ut mihi persuaderetur Romam 14 pergere et potius ibi docere quod docebam Carthagini. et hoc unde mihi persuasum est, non praeteribo confiteri tibi, quoniam et in his altissimi tui recessus et praesentissima in nos misericordia tua cogitanda et praedicanda est. non ideo Romam pergere uolui, quod maiores quaestus maiorque mihi dignitas ab amicis, qui hoc suadebant, promittebatur—quamquam et ista ducebant animum tunc meum—sed illa erat causa maxima et paene sola, quod audiebam quietius ibi studere adulescentes et ordinatiore disciplinae coercitione sedari, ne in eius scholam, quo magistro non utuntur, passim et proterue inruant, nec eos admitti omnino, nisi ille permiserit. contra apud Carthaginem foeda est et intemperans licentia scholasticorum: inrumpunt inpudenter et prope furiosa fronte perturbant ordinem, quem quisque discipulis ad proficiendum instituerit. multa iniuriosa faciunt mira hebetudine et pu-

4 sanguine SW, de s. BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 6 miris]+et occultis BFGPQV.

1. **laqueus mortis**] Ps. xvii 6 (xviii 5). Cf. § 3 *sup.*

6. **egisti mecum miris modis**] *Thou didst deal with me in a mysterious fashion.*

7. **a domino gressus** etc.] Ps. xxxvi (xxxvii) 23.

VIII. *A. left Carthage and went to Rome, having heard that the students there were more humane and orderly than those of Carthage. He deceived his mother by an unworthy stratagem, and secretly embarked while she was praying in an Oratory of St Cyprian.*

13. **altissimi tui recessus**] *the deep secrets of thy Providence.*

19. **ordinatiore ... cohercitione**] At Rome the civic authorities exercised some supervision over students. *Cod. Theod.* XIV 9. 1.

25. **hebetudine**] dulness, insensibility; hence 'unconcern,' 'recklessness.'

nienda legibus, nisi consuetudo patrona sit, hoc miseriores eos ostendens, quo iam quasi liceat faciunt, quod per tuam aeternam legem numquam licebit, et inpune se facere arbitrantur, cum ipsa faciendi caecitate puniantur et inconparabiliter patiantur peiora, quam faciunt. ergo quos mores cum studerem meos esse nolui, eos cum docerem cogebar perpeti alienos, et ideo placebat ire, ubi talia non fieri omnes qui nouerant indicabant. uerum autem tu, spes mea et portio mea in terra uiuentium, ad mutandum terrarum locum pro salute animae meae et Carthagini stimulos, quibus inde auellerer, admouebas, et Romae inlecebras, quibus adtraherer, proponebas mihi per homines, qui diligunt uitam mortuam, hinc insana facientes, inde uana pollicentes, et ad corrigendos gressus meos utebaris occulte et illorum et mea peruersitate. nam et qui perturbabant otium meum, foeda rabie caeci erant, et qui inuitabant ad aliud, terram sapiebant, ego autem, qui detestabar hic ueram miseriam, illic falsam felicitatem appetebam.

15 Sed quare hinc abirem et illuc irem, tu sciebas, deus, nec indicabas mihi nec matri, quae me profectum atrociter planxit et usque ad mare secuta est. sed fefelli eam uiolenter me tenentem, ut aut reuocaret aut mecum pergeret, et finxi me amicum nolle deserere, donec uento facto nauigaret. et mentitus sum matri, et illi matri, et euasi: quia et hoc tu dimisisti mihi misericorditer seruans me ab aquis maris plenum exsecrandis sordibus usque ad aquam gratiae tuae, qua me abluto siccarentur flumina maternorum oculorum, quibus pro me cotidie tibi rigabat terram sub uultu suo. et tamen recusanti sine me redire uix persuasi, ut in loco, qui proximus nostrae

22 et finxi...nauigaret] – SW.

6. **cum studerem...nolui**] Cf. III 6.

8. **tu, spes mea**] Ps. cxli 6 (cxlii 5).

14. **gressus meos**] See above p. 120, l. 7.

16. **terram sapiebant**] Cf. Phil. iii 19.

22. **ut aut reuocaret** etc.] *determined either to bring me home again or to go with me.*

24. **dimisisti**] *didst pardon.*

naui erat, memoria beati Cypriani, maneret ea nocte. sed ea nocte clanculo ego profectus sum, illa autem non; mansit orando et flendo. et quid a te petebat, deus meus, tantis lacrimis, nisi ut nauigare me non sineres? sed alte consulens et exaudiens cardinem desiderii eius non curasti quod tunc petebat, ut me faceres quod semper petebat. flauit uentus et impleuit uela nostra et litus subtraxit aspectibus nostris, in quo mane illa insaniebat dolore et querellis et gemitu implebat aures tuas contemnentis ista, cum et me cupiditatibus raperes ad finiendas ipsas cupiditates et illius carnale desiderium iusto dolorum flagello uapularet. amabat enim secum praesentiam meam more matrum, sed multis multo amplius, et nesciebat,

2 non; mansit] ṇọṇ m. (non *del. m.* 2) M, ** mansit CO, mansit Q, remansit BF *m*, non mansit *o Knöll in ed. mai.* 4 sed]+tu BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

1. **memoria**] A memorial chapel or oratory; so called, as A. explains (*de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda* 6), 'quia eos qui uiuentium oculis morte subtracti sunt, ne obliuione etiam cordibus subtrahantur, in memoriam reuocant.' The site of this 'Memoria' is fixed with considerable probability, from a notice in the 'Passio' of Maximilian of Theveste, at the Platea Noua to the North of Carthage. See Benson, *Cyprian* p. 511. Cyprian does not appear to have been buried here, but inland, near the Via Mappaliensis, where another basilica was erected. A third marked the scene of his martyrdom (*ibid.*).

ib. **Cypriani**] In later life A. was much influenced by the writings of the great Bishop of Carthage (martyred in 258). He speaks with admiration of his learning, of his eloquence—though he criticises one passage as too ornate—and of his character (*de Doct. Christ.* II 40. 61, IV 14. 31, *de Bapt. c. Donat.* V 17. 22), and frequently quotes him in the Donatist controversy as a champion of the unity of the Church. Preaching on the anniversary of C.'s martyrdom (*Serm.* cccxiii, *In Natali Cypriani martyris* § 5) he pays an eloquent tribute to him as a 'great sword of God'—'Magna itaque framea Dei anima beatissimi Cypriani, splendida caritate, acuta ueritate, pugnantis Dei acta et uibrata uirtute, quae bella confecit!... quot percussit infensos! quot prostrauit aduersos!' Of his 'good confession' he speaks *Serm.* xiii § 6 (*Ad Mensam b. Cypr.*) 'Confessionem prompsit, in fide permansit, mortem non timuit, sanguinem fudit, diabolum uicit.'

2. **mansit orando et flendo**] It is doubtful whether the case of the gerunds is to be considered as dative of purpose, which is rare except with 'esse' and its compounds and verbs denoting intention, or as the modal ablative, which in later style is sometimes practically equivalent in meaning to a present participle. Cf. I 25 'fingebat haec hominibus diuina tribuendo'; VI 3 'ingemiscebam orando.'

5. **cardinem**] *the main point.* Cf. IV 24.

quid tu illi gaudiorum facturus esses de absentia mea. nesciebat, ideo flebat et eiulabat atque illis cruciatibus arguebatur in ea reliquiarium Euae, cum gemitu quaerens quod cum gemitu pepererat. et tamen post accusationem fallaciarum et crudelitatis meae conuersa rursum ad deprecandum te pro me abiit ad solita, et ego Romam.

16 IX. Et ecce excipior ibi flagello aegritudinis corporalis et ibam iam ad inferos portans omnia mala, quae conmiseram et in te et in me et in alios, multa et grauia super originalis peccati uinculum, quo omnes in Adam morimur. non enim quicquam eorum mihi donaueras in Christo nec soluerat ille

3 reliquiarum BF¹MPQ.

2. **atque illis cruciatibus...reliquiarium Euae**] 'and by these sufferings was made manifest the remnant of Eve in her' (cf. Gen. iii 16). 'Reliquiarium' scarcely occurs except in the late Ecclesiastical sense of 'reliquary,' but it is found in the Old Lat. of Gen. xlv 7, which A. quotes (*Quaest. in Gen.* cxlviii) in the form 'misit enim me Deus ante uos remanere uestrum reliquias super terram, et enutrire uestrum reliquiarium' (LXX *καταλειψις*). In his comment he speaks of 'reliquias uel reliquiarium' as equivalent.

IX. *In Rome he fell sick of a fever. He attributes his recovery to the efficacy of his mother's prayers.*

9. **originalis peccati uinc.**] Original sin involves, in A.'s system, (1) The racial heritage of guilt and consequent liability to death ('culpa, reatus, hereditarium debitum, contagium mortis antiquae')—the aspect primarily in view here. (2) A state of spiritual disorder which includes (*a*) the disablement of the will so far as concerns good ('infirmitas, difficultas'), (*b*) a darkening of the knowledge of God and of good ('ignorantia, caecitas'), (*c*) the active tendency towards evil ('concupiscentia'). This and the allied doctrines were, owing to their intimate relation to his experience, the portion of his system which was earliest developed. Cf. *de Lib. Arb.* III 19. 54 (A.D. 395) 'aliter dicimus, cum proprie loquimur, naturam hominis, in qua primum inculpabilis factus est; aliter istam, in qua ex illius damnati poena, et mortales et ignari et carni subditi nascimur.' Pelagianism, which was not heard of till more than a decade later, arose as a protest against Augustinianism, and not vice versa (see X 40 *infr.*, note; and cf. *Retract.* I 9. 5 and 6, where A. says that in *de Lib. Arb.* he had answered Pelagius by anticipation). The influence of Ambrose no doubt contributed to turn A.'s thought in this direction, cf. Ambr. *de Paenit.* I 3. 13 'omnes homines sub peccato nascimur, quorum ipse ortus in uitio est, sicut habes lectum in David: Ecce in iniquitatibus conceptus sum' etc. (Quoted by A. *de Pecc. Orig.* xli 47.)

10. **omnes in Adam**] 1 Cor. xv 22.

11. **donaueras**] 'pardoned' (late). A. uses the subst. 'donator' (non-classical) in a similar sense *Serm.* ccxvi 5 'simul culpae esse uoluit donator et poenae.'

ib. **nec soluerat ille**] Eph. ii 14 f.; cf. Col. ii 13 f. A.'s meaning

in cruce sua inimicitias, quas tecum contraxeram peccatis meis. quomodo enim eas solueret in cruce phantasmatis, quod de illo credideram? quam ergo falsa mihi uidebatur mors carnis eius, tam uera erat animae meae, et quam uera erat mors carnis eius, tam falsa uita animae meae, quae id non credebat. et ingrauescentibus febribus iam ibam et peribam. quo enim irem, si hinc tunc abirem, nisi in ignem atque tormenta digna factis meis in ueritate ordinis tui? et hoc illa nesciebat et tamen pro me orabat absens. tu autem ubique praesens ubi erat exaudiebas eam et ubi eram miserebaris mei, ut recuperarem salutem corporis adhuc insanus corde sacrilego. neque enim desiderabam in illo tanto periculo baptismum tuum et melior eram puer, quo illum de materna pietate flagitaui, sicut iam recordatus atque confessus sum. sed in dedecus meum creueram et consilia medicinae tuae demens irridebam, qui non me siuisti talem bis mori. quo uulnere si feriretur cor matris, numquam sanaretur. non enim satis eloquor, quid erga me habebat animi et quanto maiore sollicitudine me parturiebat spiritu, quam carne pepererat.

Non itaque uideo, quomodo sanaretur, si mea talis illa 17
mors transuerberasset uiscera dilectionis eius. et ubi essent tantae preces, tam crebrae sine intermissione? nusquam nisi ad te. an uero tu, deus misericordiarum, sperneres cor con-

10 miserabaris S *Knöll in ed. mai.* 11 corporis]+mei C *edd.*
13 quo] quŏ M, quũ C, quod BPQ, quando *edd.* 22 intermissione? nusquam] intermissione, nusquam *edd.*

is that since he was not yet a Christian the death of Christ was of no avail for him.

2. **in cruce phantasmatis**] 'by the crucifixion of a phantasm.' The Manichaeans took a docetic view of Christ's person, see Introd. xxvi and cf. *Serm.* cxvii 4 'qui nec crucifixum credis (si Manichaeus es) quia nec natum credis,' and cf. § 20 below.

13. **quo**] The abl. of comparison after 'melior,' 'by so much the better that.'

14. **iam recordatus**] See I 17.

16. **irridebam**] Cf. IV 4.

ib. **talem bis mori**] *i.e.* 'to incur, as I must have done, being what I was, the death of the soul as well as of the body.'

23. **ad te**] 'ad' = 'apud'; the prayers would be, so to speak, laid up with God, the meaning being, apparently, that the prayers even though unanswered would not have been lost. The other reading should

tritum et humiliatum uiduae castae ac sobriae, frequentantis elemosynas, obsequentis atque seruientis sanctis tuis, nullum diem praetermittentis oblationem ad altare tuum, bis die, mane et uespere, ad ecclesiam tuam sine ulla intermissione uenientis, non ad uanas fabulas et aniles loquacitates, sed ut te audiret in tuis sermonibus et tu illam in suis orationibus? huiusne tu lacrimas, quibus non a te aurum et argentum petebat nec aliquod nutabile aut uolubile bonum, sed salutem animae filii sui, tu, cuius munere talis erat, contemneres et repelleres ab auxilio tuo? nequaquam, domine, inmo uero aderas et exaudiebas et faciebas ordine, quo praedestinaueras esse faciendum. absit, ut tu falleres eam in illis uisionibus et responsionibus tuis, quae iam conmemoraui et quae non conmemoraui, quae illa fideli pectore tenebat et semper orans tamquam chirografa

3 die] in die BFHPQW *edd.* 8 nutabile] mutabile BPQ *o.* 12 responsionibus] responsis BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

be noticed which puts the query at 'te' and a comma at 'intermissione.' In this case 'nusquam ... te' = 'addressed to none but Thee.'

ib. **cor contritum et humiliatum**] Ps. l 19 (li 17).

2. **seruientis sanctis tuis**] The description is based on 1 Tim. v 10.

3. **oblationem ad alt.**] The offering of bread and wine made by the faithful for use in the Eucharist. Cf. *Ep.* cxi 8 (referring to a time of persecution) 'nec possunt uel ferre oblationem ad altare Dei, uel inuenire ibi sacerdotem per quem offerant Deo.'

ib. **altare**] This form is always used by the eccl. writers for the Christian altar (classical only in pl., and strictly a superstructure on the 'ara,' or poetic for a high altar).

ib. **bis die ... ad ecclesiam ... uenientis**] The earliest mention of daily services in the Churches is in *Apostol. Constit.* II 59 διδάσκων δὲ, ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, κέλευε καὶ παραίνει τῷ λαῷ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐνδελεχίζειν ὄρθρου καὶ ἑσπέρας ἑκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸ σύνολον ἀλλὰ συνέρχεσθαι διηνεκῶς, a passage to which Batiffol *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain* (Paris 1893) assigns a Syrian origin in the middle of the fourth century. The usage of opening the churches to the ascetics for prayer was inaugurated at Antioch in the time of the Semi-Arian Bishop Leontius (344—357). Basil introduced the practice at Caesarea about 375 (*Ep.* ccvii 2—4); see Batiffol, *ut sup.* pp. 19, 20. A. in *Ep.* xxix 11, describing the services at Hippo, says: 'acta sunt uespertina quae quotidie solent.' The observance of three stated hours of prayer in the day can be traced much earlier (Tertull. *de Ieiun.* x; Clem. *Strom.* VII 7. 40), but these earlier authorities 'give no ground for supposing that the prayers were held in the churches.' Cheetham *Church History* p. 158.

13. **quae ... conmemoraui**] See III 19 f.

14. **tamquam chirografa**] *to press them upon Thee as Thy bond.*

tua ingerebat tibi. dignaris enim, quoniam in saeculum misericordia tua, eis quibus omnia debita dimittis, etiam promissionibus debitor fieri.

X. Recreasti ergo me ab illa aegritudine et saluum fecisti 18
filium ancillae tuae tunc interim corpore, ut esset cui salutem meliorem atque certiorem dares. et iungebar etiam tunc Romae falsis illis atque fallentibus sanctis: non enim tantum auditoribus eorum, quorum e numero erat etiam is, in cuius domo aegrotaueram et conualueram, sed eis etiam, quos electos uocant. adhuc enim mihi uidebatur non esse nos, qui peccamus, sed nescio quam aliam in nobis peccare naturam et delectabat superbiam meam extra culpam esse et, cum aliquid mali fecissem, non confiteri me fecisse, ut sanares animam meam, quoniam peccabat tibi, sed excusare me amabam et accusare nescio quid aliud, quod mecum esset et ego non essem. uerum autem totum ego eram et aduersus me inpietas mea me diuiserat, et id erat peccatum insanabilius, quo me peccatorem non esse arbitrabar, et execrabilis iniquitas, te, deus omnipotens, te in me ad perniciem meam, quam me a te

3 promissionibus]+tuis BCFMPQ *edd.*

1. **in saeculum** etc.] Ps. cxix (cxviii) 1.

X. *In Rome he still associated with the Manichaeans, though he had lost faith in their system. He began, however, to think that the Academics might perhaps be right who held that certainty cannot be reached by men, and that they must remain for ever in doubt about the highest truths. From the Church he was repelled by supposing that it attributed to God a body like that of a man. He himself, however, was as yet unable to form the idea of any existence which was not material, and still clung to the Manichaean ideas of evil. His Manichaean prepossessions also made it impossible for him to conceive of an incarnation which did not involve the defilement of the Deity.*

5. **filium ancillae tuae**] Ps. cxv 7 (cxvi 16).

7. **sanctis**] See IV 1 'qui appellarentur electi et sancti.' In Albîrûnî and the *Fihrist* their title is 'Sidduḳûn,' 'the faithful.'

8. **auditoribus ... electos**] See above, III 18.

13. **ut sanares animam meam**] Ps. xl 5 (xli 4).

16. **totum ego eram**] *it was all I, i.e.* the evil in him was not a separate principle from which he could dissociate his personality.

19. **deus omnipotens**] Gen. xvii 1 etc.

ib. **te in me...superari**] As the 'good soul' in man was, according to the Manichaeans, part of the Divine substance, A. was obliged to hold that when he sinned God Himself suffered defeat.

ad salutem malle superari. nondum ergo posueras custodiam ori meo et ostium continentiae circum labia mea, ut non declinaret cor meum in uerba mala ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis cum hominibus operantibus iniquitatem, et ideo adhuc conbinabam cum electis eorum, sed tamen desperans in ea falsa doctrina me posse proficere, eaque ipsa, quibus, si nil melius reperirem, contentus esse decreueram, iam remissius neglegentiusque retinebam.

19 Etenim suborta est etiam mihi cogitatio, prudentiores illos ceteris fuisse philosophos, quos Academicos appellant, quod de omnibus dubitandum esse censuerant nec aliquid ueri ab homine conprehendi posse decreuerant. ita enim et mihi liquido sensisse uidebantur, ut uulgo habentur, etiam illorum intentionem nondum intellegenti. nec dissimulaui eundem hospitem meum reprimere a nimia fiducia, quam sensi eum habere de rebus fabulosis, quibus manichaei libri pleni sunt. amicitia tamen eorum familiarius utebar quam ceterorum hominum, qui in illa haeresi non fuissent. nec eam defendebam

5 conbinabam] communicabam C^2F. tamen]+iam BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

1. **custodiam ori meo** etc.] Ps. cxl (cxli) 3, 4.

5. **conbinabam**] In Ps. cxl (cxli) 4, the Old Lat., as quoted by A. *ad loc.*, has 'combinabo' rendering *συνδοιάσω* of which it is the etymological equivalent (Vulg. 'communicabo').

7. **decreueram**] See above § 13.

10. **Academicos**] The 'New' or Sceptical Academy, of which Carneades was the most prominent representative. See Introd. p. xxxiii *seq.* and *c. Acad.* III xvii—xix, where A. sketches his view of the history of philosophy.

13. **illorum intentionem** etc.] In the *c. Acad.*, after giving the usual account of the scepticism of the Academics, A. suggests that they held as esoteric doctrines the Platonic theories regarding the supra-sensible world, etc., and merely made a profession of scepticism in order to baffle profane objectors. He introduces this theory tentatively, however: 'Audite iam paulo attentius non quid sciam, sed quid existimem.' *c. Acad.* III xvii *ad init.*

14. **dissimulaui**] For 'dissimulo' in the sense 'neglect,' with dependent infinitive, cf. 1 Reg. (1 Sam.) xxiii 13 'dissimulauit exire' (LXX *ἀνῆκε τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν*). In late writers it is not uncommon in this sense (usually with acc., or passive): cf. Veg. *Mul.* Praef. 5 (some medicaments are so costly) 'ut parci homines...damnosam curationem dissimulent'; Apul. *de Mag.* xlv; Sulp. Sev. *Hist.* II 1, *Dial.* II 1.

pristina animositate, sed tamen familiaritas eorum—plures enim eos Roma occultabat—pigrius me faciebat aliud quaerere praesertim desperantem in ecclesia tua, domine caeli et terrae, creator omnium uisibilium et inuisibilium, posse inueniri uerum, unde me illi auerterant, multumque mihi turpe uidebatur credere figuram te habere humanae carnis et membrorum nostrorum liniamentis corporalibus terminari. et quoniam cum de deo meo cogitare uellem, cogitare nisi moles corporum non noueram —neque enim uidebatur mihi esse quicquam, quod tale non esset—ea maxima et prope sola causa erat ineuitabilis erroris mei.

Hinc enim et mali substantiam quandam credebam esse talem et habere suam molem tetram et deformem siue crassam, quam terram dicebant, siue tenuem atque subtilem, sicuti est aeris corpus: quam malignam mentem per illam terram repentem imaginantur. et quia deum bonum nullam malam naturam creasse qualiscumque me pietas credere cogebat, constituebam ex aduerso sibi duas moles, utramque infinitam, sed malam angustius, bonam grandius, et ex hoc initio pestilentioso me cetera sacrilegia sequebantur. cum enim conaretur animus meus recurrere in catholicam fidem, repercutiebatur, quia non erat catholica fides, quam esse arbitrabar. et magis pius mihi uidebar, si te, deus meus, cui confitentur ex me miserationes

2 occultat BCFGHMOPV *edd.* *edd.* 21 repercutiebar BCFGHMOPQV

1. **familiaritas**] It is hardly generous to the Manichaean who nursed him in sickness or to those who supported his candidature for the professorship at Milan, when A. says in *de Duab. Anim.* ix 11 that one of the baits by which the Manichaeans attracted converts was: 'familiaritas nescio quomodo repens quadam imagine bonitatis, tamquam sinuosum aliquid uinculum multipliciter collo inuolutum.'

2. **occultabat**] *harboured.* See IV 1.

3. **domine caeli et terrae**] Mt. xi. 25.

4. **creator ... inuisibilium**] A reminiscence of the Creed.

6. **figuram te habere**] Cf. VII 1 *infr.*

18. **infinitam...angustius**] There is a delicate irony in this matter-of-fact combination of contradictions.

19. **angustius...grandius**] The adverbs grammatically qualify 'constituebam,' 'I conceived ... two material masses...but the evil on a smaller, the good on a larger, scale.'

23. **confitentur ... miserationes**] Ps. cvi (cvii) 8. See above § 1.

tuae, uel ex ceteris partibus infinitum crederem, quamuis ex una, qua tibi moles mali opponebatur, cogerer finitum fateri, quam si ex omnibus partibus in corporis humani forma te opinarer finiri. et melius mihi uidebar credere nullum malum te creasse—quod mihi nescienti non solum aliqua substantia sed etiam corporea uidebatur, quia et mentem cogitare non noueram nisi eam subtile corpus esse, quod tamen per loci spatia diffunderetur—quam credere abs te esse qualem putabam naturam mali. ipsum quoque saluatorem nostrum, unigenitum tuum, tamquam de massa lucidissimae molis tuae porrectum ad nostram salutem ita putabam, ut aliud de illo non crederem nisi quod possem uanitate imaginari. talem itaque naturam eius nasci non posse de Maria uirgine arbitrabar, nisi carni concerneretur. concerni autem et non coinquinari non uidebam, quod mihi tale figurabam. metuebam itaque credere incarnatum, ne credere cogerer ex carne inquinatum. nunc spiritales tui blande et amanter ridebunt me, si has confusiones meas legerint; sed tamen talis eram.

21 XI. Deinde quae illi in scripturis tuis reprehenderant defendi posse non existimabam, sed aliquando sane cupiebam cum aliquo illorum librorum doctissimo conferre singula et

15 coinquinari] inquinari BCFGHMOPQ *edd.* 18 confusiones SW, confessiones BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

1. **ex ceteris partibus**] The Kingdoms of Light and Darkness were conceived of as juxtaposed 'on one side,' a wedge of the Kingdom of Darkness penetrating the Kingdom of Light. *c. Faust.* IV 2.

6. **mentem ... subtile corpus**] Compare the vision of the soul which Tertullian *de Anim.* ix reports as seen by a devout sister: 'Ostensa est mihi anima corporaliter, et spiritus uidebatur, sed non inanis et uacua qualitatis, inmo quae etiam teneri repromitteret, tenera et lucida et aerei coloris.' Cf. Tertull. *de Carn. Christ.* xi 'omne quod est corpus est sui generis, nihil est incorporale, nisi quod non est.'

14. **nisi...concerneretur**] 'without becoming intermingled with the flesh.' The root-meaning of 'cerno' (cf. κρίνω) is to sift, hence 'concerno' to sift together, *i.e.* to mix two substances thoroughly after first reducing them to fine particles. Forcellini *Lex. tot. Latinitatis* cites only this passage for the word.

XI. *Although he continued to think that the Scriptures could not be successfully defended against Manichaean criticism, he began to have more light on the subject.*

experiri, quid inde sentiret. iam enim Elpidii cuiusdam aduersus eosdem manichaeos coram loquentis et disserentis sermones etiam apud Carthaginem mouere me coeperant, cum talia de scripturis proferret, quibus resisti non facile posset. et inbecilla mihi responsio uidebatur istorum; quam quidem non facile palam promebant, sed nobis secretius, cum dicerent scripturas noui testamenti falsatas fuisse a nescio quibus, qui Iudaeorum legem inserere christianae fidei uoluerunt, atque ipsi incorrupta exemplaria nulla proferrent. sed me maxime captum et offocatum quodam modo deprimebant corporalia cogitantem moles illae, sub quibus anhelans in auram tuae ueritatis liquidam et simplicem respirare non poteram.

XII. Sedulo ergo agere coeperam, propter quod ueneram, 22
ut docerem Romae artem rhetoricam, et prius domi congregare aliquos, quibus et per quos innotescere coeperam. et ecce cognosco alia Romae fieri, quae non patiebar in Africa. nam re uera illas euersiones a perditis adulescentibus ibi non fieri manifestatum est mihi: "sed subito" inquiunt "ne mercedem magistro reddant, conspirant multi adulescentes et transferunt se ad alium, desertores fidei et quibus prae pecuniae caritate

1 Elpidii] Helpidii BFPQ *edd.*

1. **quid inde sentiret**] *what was his view of them.*

ib. **Elpidii**] Nothing further seems to be known of this 'Elpidius' or 'Helpidius.'

7. **scripturas...falsatas**] In *c. Faust.* XVIII 7, A. says that Faustus has learned from the practice of Manichaeus to accept those portions of the Gospels which do not conflict with his heresy, while rejecting those that oppose it. This expedient A. describes as 'the last gasp of a heretic in the grip of truth'; *ib.* X 3 ('manifesta ueritate faucibus pressis, anhelitu saucio dicitis esse falsata').

ib. **qui Iudaeorum legem**] Among the corruptions which Faustus alleges are: 'Ipsum (Christum) natum e femina turpiter, circumcisum Iudaice...baptizatum humiliter, circumductum a diabolo per deserta, et ab eo temptatum quam maxime,' *c. Faust.* XXXII 7.

9. **incorrupta exemplaria** etc.] 'Proferendus est namque tibi alius codex eadem continens...ubi sola desint quae hic inmissa esse criminaris,' *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.* XXIX 61. The Manichaean answer to this challenge was ingenious: 'Non faciam, inquis, ne ipse corrupisse credar' (*ibid.*).

XII. *He teaches rhetoric in Rome. The students in Rome do not please him better than those of Carthage, though their faults are of a different character.*

20. **desertores fidei**] 'false to their good faith.'

iustitia uilis est." oderat etiam istos cor meum quamuis non perfecto odio. quod enim ab eis passurus eram, magis oderam fortasse quam eo, quod cuilibet inlicita faciebant. certe tamen turpes sunt tales et fornicantur abs te amando uolatica ludibria temporum et lucrum luteum, quod cum adprehenditur manum inquinat, et amplectendo mundum fugientem, contemnendo te manentem et reuocantem et ignoscentem redeunti ad te meretrici humanae animae. et nunc tales odi prauos et distortos, quamuis eos corrigendos diligam, ut pecuniae doctrinam ipsam, quam discunt, praeferant, ei uero te deum ueritatem et ubertatem certi boni et pacem castissimam. sed tunc magis eos pati nolebam malos propter me, quam fieri propter te bonos uolebam.

23 XIII. Itaque posteaquam missum est a Mediolanio Romam ad praefectum urbis, ut illi ciuitati rhetoricae magister prouideretur inpertita etiam euectione publica, ego ipse ambiui per eos ipsos manichaeis uanitatibus ebrios—quibus ut carerem ibam, sed utrique nesciebamus—ut dictione proposita

14 Mediolanio] Mediolano CF¹MP *edd.* 17 eos] eosdem BFPQV *mo.*

1. **non perfecto** etc.] 'Hoc est perfecto odio odisse, ut nec propter uitia homines oderis, nec uitia propter homines diligas.' *Enarr. in Ps.* cxxxviii § 28.

4. **fornicantur abs te**] Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 27.

XIII. *A. goes to Milan as a public teacher of rhetoric, on the recommendation of Symmachus the Prefect of Rome, himself a famous rhetorician. He is received with fatherly kindness by Ambrose the Bishop of Milan. He becomes attached to Ambrose and goes often to hear him preach, but mainly in order to judge of his eloquence; for Ambrose had a great reputation as an orator.*

14. **Mediolanio**] (both forms -um and -ium are found) from the time of Diocletian until its capture by Attila the usual seat of the Emperors of the West.

'Et Mediolani mira omnia, copia rerum,
innumerae cultaeque domus, facunda uirorum
ingenia et mores laeti.'
Ausonius.

15. **ad praefectum urbis**] It was not in his official capacity, but as a famous orator, that Symmachus was entrusted with this commission (v. *Q. Aurelii Symmachi quae supersunt*, ed. Otto Seeck, *de S. uita* p. 57).

16. **euectione publica**] The privilege of using the imperial service of post-horses.

17. **ambiui**] 'solicited.' Originally of 'going round' to ask for votes.

18. **dictione proposita**] *after prescribing a subject for a trial discourse.* A.'s gifts as a rhetorician

me probatum praefectus tunc Symmachus mitteret. et ueni Mediolanium ad Ambrosium episcopum, in optimis notum orbi terrae, pium cultorem tuum, cuius tunc eloquia strenue ministrabant adipem frumenti tui et laetitiam olei et sobriam uini ebrietatem populo tuo. ad eum autem ducebar abs te nesciens, ut per eum ad te sciens ducerer. suscepit me paterne ille homo dei et peregrinationem meam satis episcopaliter dilexit. et eum amare coepi primo quidem non tamquam doctorem ueri, quod in ecclesia tua prorsus desperabam, sed tamquam hominem benignum in me. studiose audiebam

must have been considerable, for he had to contend with the disadvantage of a provincial accent, cf. *de Ordine* II 17. 45 'me enim ipsum... adhuc, in multis uerborum sonis, Itali exagitant.'

1. **Symmachus**] Renowned as an orator and distinguished by his zeal for paganism, he was chosen by the Senate to protest against the removal by Gratian of the Altar of Victory, and appealed to Valentinian to restore it. The appeal was successfully opposed by Ambrose. Amb. *Ep.* xvii, Prudentius *c. Symmachum* ii. See Gibbon (Bury) iii 193.

2. **ad Ambrosium**] The son of a prefect of Gaul, Ambrose had himself attained the office of Consular Prefect of Liguria and Aemilia when, in 374, he was called to the Bishopric of Milan by acclamation, though as yet only a catechumen. The strength and the loftiness of his character are illustrated by his successful resistance to the Empress Justina's demand for a church within the walls for the Arians (see IX 15 *infr.*), and by his noble severity towards the Emperor Theodosius after the massacre of Thessalonica. A. looked up to him as his spiritual father and first competent instructor in the faith. Possessing the accomplishment, unusual among the Western clergy, of reading Greek with ease, he is of special importance theologically as one of the principal channels by which the thought of the Greek Fathers reached the Western Church.

ib. **in optimis**] *as one of the best of men.*

4. **frumenti**] 'est enim et frumentum Dei, siquidem est panis uiuus qui de caelo descendit.' *Enarr. in Ps.* iv § 9. The phrase 'adipem frumenti' comes from Ps. lxxx 17 (lxxxi 16), but the combination of 'frumentum,' 'oleum' and 'uinum' from Ps. iv 8 (7).

ib. **laetitiam olei**] 'Quid est exhilaratio faciei in oleo? Gratia Dei, nitor quidam in manifestationem': *Enarr. in Ps.* ciii § 13 (civ 15).

ib. **sobriam...ebrietatem**] A quotation from Ambrose's morning hymn :

> 'Christusque nobis sit cibus,
> potusque nobis sit fides,
> laeti bibamus sobriam
> ebrietatem spiritus.'

Cf. also Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* ciii § 13 'si uos inebriat calix Domini praeclarus ... uidebitur in alienatione mentis uestrae, sed a terrenis in caelum.' The reference in Ambrose, however, is to Eph. v 18.

7. **homo dei**] Deut. xxxiii 1 etc.

ib. **peregrinationem...dilexit**] *welcomed my removal to Milan with the hospitality of a true bishop* (cf. 1 Tim. iii 2).

disputantem in populo, non intentione, qua debui, sed quasi explorans eius facundiam, utrum conueniret famae suae an maior minorue proflueret, quam praedicabatur, et uerbis eius suspendebar intentus, rerum autem incuriosus et contemptor adstabam et delectabar sermonis suauitate, quamquam erudi- 5
tioris, minus tamen hilarescentis atque mulcentis, quam Fausti erat, quod attinet ad dicendi modum. ceterum rerum ipsarum nulla conparatio : nam ille per manichaeas fallacias aberrabat, ille autem saluberrime docebat salutem. sed longe est a peccatoribus salus, qualis ego tunc aderam. et tamen pro- 10
pinquabam sensim et nesciens.

24 XIV. Cum enim non satagerem discere quae dicebat, sed tantum quemadmodum dicebat audire—ea mihi quippe desperanti ad te uiam patere homini inanis cura remanserat—
ueniebant in animum meum simul cum uerbis, quae diligebam, 15
res etiam, quas neglegebam. neque enim ea dirimere poteram. et dum cor aperirem ad excipiendum, quam diserte diceret,

5 sermonis suauitate *coniec. Knöll*, sermone suauitatis SW, suauitate sermonis BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 9 ille] iste BFGHO³PQV *edd.* 13 quippe]+iam BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

5. **sermonis suauitate**] It may be noted that the reading of SW, 'sermone suauitatis,' which Knöll here rejects in favour of a conjecture based upon it, is by no means impossible: for a similar adjectival use of the genitive cf. II 9 'de pestilentiae more.'

9. **longe a peccatoribus salus**] Ps. cxviii (cxix) 155.

XIV. *Although at first A. listened to Ambrose as a professional rhetorician sitting in judgment on an orator of reputation, the substance of Ambrose' sermons gradually made an impression upon him. He saw that there was a case for the Catholic faith, and that it was possible to meet the Manichaean objections to it. Alienated from the Manichaeans and unwilling to commit his soul to the Academics, he resolved to take his place as a catechumen until further light should dawn upon him to direct his course.*

15. **cum uerbis, quae diligebam**] In antecedents and in character Ambrose differed widely from A.; perhaps for this reason he was the more able to influence him—the first a high official of the Empire, calm and stately; the second an eager rhetorician, a man of emotion. Their eloquence had little in common. M. Desjardins, *Essai sur les Confessions*, writes: 'St. Ambroise l'emporte par le goût et la sobriété, St. Augustin par la force et la pathétique... moins égal que St. Ambroise, le laisse-t-il souvent bien loin derrière lui. Le mauvais goût nous choque, mais après tant de siècles écoulés, sa fougue entraine encore.'

pariter intrabat et quam uera diceret, gradatim quidem. nam primo etiam ipsa defendi posse mihi iam coeperunt uideri et fidem catholicam, pro qua nihil posse dici aduersus oppugnantes manichaeos putaueram, iam non inpudenter asseri existimabam, maxime audito uno atque altero et saepius aenigmate soluto de scriptis ueteribus, ubi, cum ad litteram acciperem, occidebar. spiritaliter itaque plerisque illorum librorum locis expositis iam reprehendebam desperationem meam illam dumtaxat, qua credideram legem et prophetas detestantibus atque irridentibus resisti omnino non posse. nec tamen iam ideo mihi catholicam uiam tenendam esse sentiebam, quia et ipsa poterat habere doctos adsertores suos, qui copiose et non absurde obiecta refellerent, nec ideo iam damnandum illud, quod tenebam, quia defensionis partes aequabantur. ita enim catholica non mihi uicta uidebatur, ut nondum etiam uictrix appareret.

Tunc uero fortiter intendi animum, si quo modo possem certis aliquibus documentis manichaeos conuincere falsitatis. quod si possem spiritalem substantiam cogitare, statim machinamenta illa omnia soluerentur et abicerentur ex animo meo: sed non poteram. uerum tamen de ipso mundi huius corpore

1 uere BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 2 coeperant BHO^{3}PQV *edd.*
11 uiam] uitam SW.

5. **uno atque altero et saepius**] This appears to be a mixture of two constructions, 'uno atque altero ac tertio' and 'simul atque iterum ac saepius.' Tr. 'one and another and in fact a considerable number.' The older editions put a comma at 'altero,' making the clause parenthetic, '—and oftenest by way of allegory—.' In this case 'scripto' or 'loco' must be understood with 'altero.' (Pusey renders: 'I had heard one or two places of the O.T. resolved, and oftentimes in a figure,' etc.)

6. **cum ad litteram ... occidebar**] 2 Cor. iii 6.

7. **spiritaliter ... expositis** etc.] '(The allegorical method of interpretation) served in fact the same purpose which in more modern times has been served by the theory of evolution, enabling men to connect the present with the past without allowing that connexion to become a hindrance to progress': Caird *Evolution of Theology* ii 187.

8. **dumtaxat**] *at any rate.*

13. **illud, quod tenebam**] sc. Manichaeism, which he had not yet definitely abandoned. See § 13.

14. **quia defensionis partes aequabantur**] *because the party of the defence could maintain its ground on equal terms.*

ib. **catholica**] We are apparently to understand 'uia' from the previous sentence. Cf., however, VI 5 for 'catholica,' without substantive, = 'the Catholic Church.'

omnique natura, quam sensus carnis attingeret, multo probabiliora plerosque sensisse philosophos magis magisque considerans atque comparans iudicabam. itaque Academicorum more, sicut existimantur, dubitans de omnibus atque inter omnia fluctuans manichaeos quidem relinquendos esse decreui, non arbitrans eo ipso tempore dubitationis meae in illa secta mihi permanendum esse, cui iam nonnullos philosophos praeponebam : quibus tamen philosophis, quod sine salutari nomine Christi essent, curationem languoris animae meae committere omnino recusabam. statui ergo tamdiu esse catechumenus in catholica ecclesia mihi a parentibus commendata, donec aliquid certi eluceret, quo cursum dirigerem.

1 multa HMPQV *mo.*

3. **Academicorum more, sicut existimantur**] See above, § 19.

5. **manichaeos ... relinquendos**] A.'s scattered notices of the reasons which determined him to leave Manichaeism may be briefly summarised here. (The refs. without previous title are to the *Confessions*.)

(1) He found no spiritual sustenance in the system. To his heart-hunger for God it offered fables about the sun and moon III 10; and though it inculcated asceticism it conferred no power to attain self-mastery : *de Util. Cred.* i 3.

(2) The morality of some of the 'elect' with whom he came in contact did not correspond to their profession : *de Mor. Manich* 68—72.

(3) Though strong in attack they were weak in defence. He found them 'plus in refellendis aliis disertos...quam in suis probandis firmos' : *de Util. Cred.* i 2 ; cf. VII 3.

(4) Their claim that all the passages of scripture which opposed their tenets were interpolations was absurd ('uox inualidissima') : *de Util. Cred.* iii 7 ; V. 21.

(5) The falsity of the 'astronomy' to which Manichaeus had committed himself : V 6—9, 12.

(6) A sense of the general mental inferiority of a sect in which the poorly equipped Faustus was a renowned teacher : V 13 ('ita ille nominatus apparuit').

10. **tamdiu esse catechumenus**] The natural implication of the phrase is that A. considered himself to be still a catechumen ; it is susceptible, however, of the interpretation that he resolved to reassume that position.

LIBER SEXTUS.

I. Spes mea a iuuentute mea, ubi mihi eras et quo 1
recesseras? an uero non tu feceras me et discreueras me a
quadrupedibus et uolatilibus caeli sapientiorem me feceras?
et ambulabam per tenebras et lubricum et quaerebam te foris
5 a me et non inueniebam deum cordis mei; et ueneram in pro-
fundum maris et diffidebam et desperabam de inuentione ueri.
iam uenerat ad me mater pietate fortis, terra marique me
sequens et in periculis omnibus de te secura. nam et per
marina discrimina ipsos nautas consolabatur, a quibus rudes
10 abyssi uiatores, cum perturbantur, consolari solent, pollicens
eis peruentionem cum salute, quia hoc ei tu per uisum
pollicitus eras. et inuenit me periclitantem quidem grauiter
desperatione indagandae ueritatis, sed tamen ei cum indicassem
non me quidem iam esse manichaeum, sed neque catholicum

I. *Monnica rejoins A. in Milan. She is rejoiced to hear that he has renounced the doctrines of the Manichaeans, and expresses a confident hope that she will see him a Catholic Christian before she departs from this life.*

1. **spes mea** etc.] Ps. lxx (lxxi) 5.

2. **recesseras**] Cf. Ps. x 1 'utquid, Domine, recessisti longe?'

ib. **feceras...discreueras**] Job xxxv 11, Old Lat.

4. **per tenebras et lubricum**] Cf. Ps. xxxiv (xxxv) 6. A. interprets, *Enarr. in Ps.* xxxiv § 9, 'tenebrae, ignorantia; lubricum, luxuria.'

ib. **foris a me**] See 1 28, note, and cf. *de Vera Rel.* xxxix 72 'noli foras ire, in teipsum redi; in interiore homine habitat ueritas.'

5. **deum cordis mei**] Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 26.

ib. **in profundum maris**] Cf. Ps. lxvii 23 (lxviii 22) where A. interprets: 'ibi conuertit eos qui in profundo huius saeculi iacent demersi pondere peccatorum.'

10. **consolari**] Notice the passive, following the deponent in the previous line. The active and passive are of very rare occurrence.

ib. **pollicens eis peruentionem cum salute**] A characteristic example of the use of the abstract verbal substantive. See 11 3, note and ref.

11. **quia hoc** etc.] Cf. Act. xxvii 23.

christianum, non, quasi inopinatum aliquid audierit, exiluit laetitia, cum iam secura fieret ex ea parte miseriae meae, in qua me tamquam mortuum resuscitandum tibi flebat et feretro cogitationis offerebat, ut diceres filio uiduae: iuuenis, tibi dico, surge, et reuiuesceret et inciperet loqui et traderes illum matri suae. nulla ergo turbulenta exultatione trepidauit cor eius, cum audisset ex tanta parte iam factum, quod tibi cotidie plangebat ut fieret, ueritatem me nondum adeptum, sed falsitati iam ereptum: inmo uero quia certa erat, quod restabat te daturum, qui totum promiseras, placidissime et pectore pleno fiduciae respondit mihi credere se in Christo, quod, priusquam de hac uita emigraret, me uisura esset fidelem catholicum. et hoc quidem mihi. tibi autem, fons misericordiarum, preces et lacrimas densiores, ut accelerares adiutorium et inluminares tenebras meas, et studiosius ad ecclesiam currere et in Ambrosi ora suspendi, ad fontem salientis aquae in uitam aeternam. diligebat autem illum uirum sicut angelum dei, quod per illum cognouerat me interim ad illam ancipitem fluctuationem iam

3 resuscitandum SW, sed r. FGHMOV *edd.*, sed r. me BCPQ. 4 efferebat BCMPQ. 9 quod S, et q. BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 14 adiutorium]+tuum BCGHOPQV *edd.*, +meum M. 15 Ambrosi] ambrosii BCFGHMOPQW³, Ambrosium *mo*.

2. **cum iam secura** etc.] *on being thus reassured so far as that part of my miserable condition was concerned.*

3. **tamquam mortuum**] Cf. Lk. vii 12 sq. (the raising of the son of the widow of Nain).

4. **offerebat**] The reading 'efferebat' was no doubt suggested by Lk. vii 12 ('ecce defunctus efferebatur filius'), but A. may well have intended to imply that Monnica, in contrast with the widow of Nain, was consciously seeking Christ's aid for her son. His language is more likely to have been adapted to the Scriptural reference than changed if it originally agreed with it.

13. **preces et lacrimas densiores**] *she redoubled her prayers and tears.*

14. **adiutorium**] Ps. lxix 2 (lxx 1); cf. xxx 3 (xxxi 2).

15. **tenebras meas**] Ps. xvii 29 (xviii 28) 'Deus meus, illumina tenebras meas.'

ib. **currere...suspendi**] Historic infinitives.

16. **ad fontem**] Cf. Jn iv 14. In view of the context it is natural to understand this as a reference to Ambrose's exhortations, in which the word of life was 'poured forth.' Pusey takes it as a reference to Baptism, and, assuming an ellipsis, renders 'praying for that fountain.'

17. **sicut angelum dei**] Gal. iv 14.

esse perductum, per quam transiturum me ab aegritudine ad sanitatem intercurrente artiore periculo quasi per accessionem, quam criticam medici uocant, certa praesumebat.

II. Itaque cum ad memorias sanctorum, sicut in Africa 2
5 solebat, pultes et panem et merum adtulisset atque ab ostiario prohiberetur, ubi hoc episcopum uetuisse cognouit, tam pie atque oboedienter amplexa est, ut ipse mirarer, quam facile accusatrix potius consuetudinis suae quam disceptatrix illius prohibitionis effecta sit. non enim obsidebat spiritum eius
10 uinulentia eamque stimulabat in odium ueri amor uini, sicut plerosque mares et feminas, qui ad canticum sobrietatis sicut ad potionem aquatam madidi nausiant: sed illa cum attulisset canistrum cum sollemnibus epulis praegustandis atque lar-

3 criticam] creticam BHO²PQSVW.

2. **intercurrente...uocant**] *after passing through a still more dangerous condition—a crisis, as the physicians call it.*

II. *Monnica shows her grateful devotion to Ambrose, who had delivered her son from error, by abandoning certain African Church customs in obedience to his wishes.*

4. **memorias sanctorum**] See V 15, note.

5. **ostiario**] The 'door-keepers,' and even grave-diggers, were by this time reckoned, along with subdeacons, exorcists, readers and acolytes, as minor orders of the clergy. *Conc. Laod.* xxiv; *Cod. Theod.* xiii 1.

6. **episcopum uetuisse**] Later, as a presbyter in Africa, A. exerted his influence to put a stop to the practice there. Cf. *Ep.* xxix to Alypius, Bishop of Thagaste, §§ 9, 10 and *Ep.* xxii to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, 3—6. In addition to the pagan associations of the custom, mentioned below, a further reason for forbidding it was that the feasts were often an occasion for coarse revelry ('sollemnitas...quam laetitiam nominantes uinolentiae nomen frustra conantur abscondere... ebriosa conuiuia.' *Ep.* xxix 2, 3).

7. **amplexa est**] *she accepted the prohibition.*

ib. **ut ipse mirarer**] A. marvelled to see his mother yield so easily, for she was a woman of strong will (cp. her severity towards A. when he became a Manichaean, III 19), and scrupulous in regard to religious observances, V 17, IX 27; *Ep.* xxxvi 32.

10. **in odium ueri**] *to hatred of truth.*

11. **canticum sobrietatis**] The genitive of the abstract substantive is equivalent to an adjective. The allusion is to a service of praise which was substituted for the disorderly feast at the Memoriae. Cf. *Ep.* xxix 10 'hortatus sum ut meridiano tempore diuinis lectionibus et psalmis interessent; ita illum diem multo mundius atque sincerius placere celebrandum.'

13. **canistrum**] The use of this word, which is regularly applied to the baskets used in conveying offerings, is perhaps significant of the pagan associations of the rite (*e.g. Aen.* VIII 180, 181 'onerantque canistris dona laboratae Cereris').

giendis, plus etiam quam unum pocillum pro suo palato satis sobrio temperatum, unde dignationem sumeret, non ponebat, et si multae essent quae illo modo uidebantur honorandae memoriae defunctorum, idem ipsum unum, quod ubique poneret, circumferebat, quo iam non solum aquatissimo, sed etiam tepidissimo, cum suis praesentibus per sorbitiones exiguas partiretur, quia pietatem ibi quaerebat, non uoluptatem. itaque ubi conperit a praeclaro praedicatore atque antistite pietatis praeceptum esse ista non fieri nec ab eis qui sobrie facerent, ne ulla occasio se ingurgitandi daretur ebriosis, et quia illa quasi parentalia superstitioni gentilium essent simillima, abs-

5 quo] quod CV. aquatissimum F. 6 tepidissimum F.

2. **dignationem sumeret**] 'Dignatio,' meaning 'esteem,' here seems to be used (abstract for concrete) for the sip of wine which she took 'for courtesy' before handing the cup to others.

ib. **ponebat...poneret**] 'Pono' appears to be used in the sense of 'appono,' as in Martial VIII 22 'Inuitas ad aprum; ponis mihi, Gallice, porcum.' There seems to have been a 'pro forma' setting-out of a feast at each 'memoria.'

5. **quo ... partiretur**] The object of 'partiretur' must be understood from the ablative absolute 'quo aquatissimo.'

8. **praedicatore atque antistite pietatis**] 'advocate and patron of piety.' 'Antistes' is often in eccl. writers used absolutely for Bishop (*e.g.* IX 16). Here the dependent genitive, which goes with 'praedicatore' also, suggests rather the tropical use, as in Cic. *de Or.* II 46. 202 'artis (dicendi) antistes.'

9. **nec**] οὐδέ, 'not even.'

11. **parentalia**] A Pagan festival held in the latter part of Feb. (18—21) at which offerings—which included bread and wine—were made to the shades of ancestors. Cf. Ovid *Fasti* II 533 sq.

'Est honor et tumulis, animas placare paternas,
paruaque in exstructas munera ferre pyras...
tegula porrectis satis est uelata coronis
et sparsae fruges parcaque mica salis,
inque mero mollita Ceres, uiolaeque solutae;
haec habeat media testa relicta uia.
nec maiora ueto, sed et his placabilis umbra est.
adde preces positis et sua uerba focis.'

ib. **superstitioni gentilium simillima**] Harnack remarks (*H. D.* iii 125, E.T.) 'We see how paganism thrust itself into worship in Augustine's Confessions VI 2.' A. himself explains the practice as originating in a concession to the habits of pagan converts, *Ep.* xxix 9. The motives which led to the sanctioning of such practices are described by Gregory of Nyssa in his life of Gregory Thaumaturgus (Migne *P. G.* 46. 954), 'Perceiving that the childish and undisciplined affections of the multitude were bound to idolatry by bodily indulgences, in order that the principal thing—allegiance

tinuit se libentissime et pro canistro pleno terrenis fructibus plenum purgatioribus uotis pectus ad memorias martyrum afferre didicerat, ut et quod posset daret egentibus et sic communicatio dominici corporis illic celebraretur, cuius passionis imitatione immolati et coronati sunt martyres. sed tamen uidetur mihi, domine deus meus—et ita est in conspectu tuo de hac re cor meum—non facile fortasse de hac amputanda consuetudine matrem meam fuisse cessuram, si ab alio prohiberetur, quem non sicut Ambrosium diligebat. quem propter salutem meam maxime diligebat, eam uero ille propter eius religiosissimam conuersationem, qua in bonis operibus tam feruens spiritu frequentabat ecclesiam, ita ut saepe erumperet, cum me uideret, in eius praedicationem gratulans mihi, quod talem matrem haberem, nesciens, qualem illa filium, qui dubitabam de illis omnibus et inueniri posse uiam uitae minime putabam.

III. Nec iam ingemescebam orando, ut subuenires mihi, 3 sed ad quaerendum intentus et ad disserendum inquietus erat animus meus ipsumque Ambrosium felicem quendam hominem secundum saeculum opinabar, quem sic tantae potestates honorarent: caelibatus tantum eius mihi laboriosus uidebatur. quid autem ille spei gereret, aduersus ipsius excellentiae tem-

3 ut et] et ut BCGHMOPQV. 14 filium SW, me f. BCFGHMOPQ *edd.* 22 aduersus] et a. CFGHMOV *edd.*

to God instead of to vain idols—might first be firmly established in them, he permitted them to enjoy themselves in the Memorials of the holy martyrs, to make merry and rejoice, in the hope that in time their life would become insensibly, under the influence of faith, more devout and more scrupulous, a result which came to pass in many cases.'

8. **si ab alio**] A charming little human touch.

12. **feruens spiritu**] Rom. xii 11.

13. **in eius praedicationem**] *in praise of her.* 'Praedicatio' in this sense is classical.

15. **uiam uitae**] Prov. vi 23, x 17, xv 10.

III. *A. was unable to have such free intercourse with Ambrose as he desired, for the Bishop of Milan had many calls on his time. He was persuaded, however, by Ambrose's public teaching that he had misunderstood the Catholic doctrine regarding God.*

18. **ad disserendum**] *restlessly eager for argument.*

22. **excellentiae temtamenta**] *temptations incident to his high position.*

tamenta quid luctaminis haberet quidue solaminis in aduersis, et occultum os eius, quod erat in corde eius, quam sapida gaudia de pane tuo ruminaret, nec conicere noueram nec expertus eram. nec ille sciebat aestus meos nec foueam periculi mei. non enim quaerere ab eo poteram quod uolebam, sicut uolebam, secludentibus me ab eius aure atque ore cateruis negotiosorum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus seruiebat: cum quibus quando non erat, quod perexiguum temporis erat, aut corpus reficiebat necessariis sustentaculis aut lectione animum. sed cum legebat, oculi ducebantur per paginas et cor intellectum rimabatur, uox autem et lingua quiescebant. saepe, cum adessemus—non enim uetabatur quisquam ingredi aut ei uenientem nuntiari mos erat—sic eum legentem uidimus tacite et aliter numquam sedentesque in diuturno silentio—quis enim tam intento esse oneri auderet?—discedebamus et conjectabamus eum paruo ipso tempore, quod reparandae menti suae nanciscebatur, feriatum ab strepitu causarum alienarum nolle in aliud auocari et cauere fortasse, ne auditore suspenso et intento, si qua obscurius posuisset ille quem legeret, etiam exponere esset necesse aut de aliquibus difficilioribus dissertare quaestionibus atque huic operi temporibus inpensis minus quam uellet uoluminum euolueret, quamquam et causa seruandae uocis, quae illi facillime obtundebatur, poterat esse iustior tacite legendi. quolibet tamen animo id ageret, bono utique ille uir agebat.

3. **ruminaret**] In *c. Faust.* VI 7 A. allegorizes the uncleanness of the non-ruminating animals—they typify men who willingly listen to the words of wisdom but fail to reflect on them.

6. **cateruis negotiosorum hominum**] *shoals of people who came on business.* For the multiplicity of a bishop's engagements in those days, see Chrysostom *de Sacerdotio* and Possidius *Vit. Aug.* xix, xx.

10. **intellectum**] *the sense.*

11. **uox et lingua quiescebant**] 'Throughout the Greek period and far into the days of the Roman Empire—to the third and fourth century of our era—the custom survived of reading both in prose and verse not silently but aloud and in company. There is a curious passage in Augustine's Confessions (VI 3), one of the few in ancient literature where silent reading is mentioned.' S. H. Butcher, *Harvard Lectures*, pp. 229—230.

19. **si qua...posuisset**] *if the author he was reading used any obscure expressions.*

22. **euolueret**] Used of reading a roll.

23. **obtundebatur**] 'was dulled,' *i.e.* rendered hoarse.

Sed certe mihi nulla dabatur copia sciscitandi quae cupie- 4
bam de tam sancto oraculo tuo, pectore illius, nisi cum aliquid
breuiter esset audiendum. aestus autem illi mei otiosum eum
ualde, cui refunderentur, requirebant nec umquam inueniebant.
et eum quidem in populo uerbum ueritatis recte tractantem
omni die dominico audiebam, et magis magisque mihi con-
firmabatur omnes uersutarum calumniarum nodos, quos illi
deceptores nostri aduersus diuinos libros innectebant, posse
dissolui. ubi uero etiam conperi ad imaginem tuam hominem
a te factum ab spiritalibus filiis tuis, quos de matre catholica
per gratiam regenerasti, non sic intellegi, ut humani corporis
forma te terminatum crederent atque cogitarent, quamquam
quomodo se haberet spiritalis substantia, ne quidem tenuiter
atque aenigmate suspicabar, tamen gaudens erubui non me
tot annos aduersus catholicam fidem, sed contra carnalium
cogitationum figmenta latrasse. eo quippe temerarius et inpius
fueram, quod ea quae debebam quaerendo discere, accusando
dixeram. tu autem, altissime et proxime, secretissime et
praesentissime, cui membra non sunt alia maiora et alia
minora, sed ubique totus es et nusquam locorum es, non
es utique forma ista corporea, tamen fecisti hominem ad
imaginem tuam, et ecce ipse a capite usque ad pedes in loco
est.

IV. Cum ergo nescirem, quomodo haec subsisteret imago 5

12 te terminatum (*e coniect.*) *mo*, determinatum MSS. *Knöll.* 14 aenigmate SW, in aenigmate BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 17 dicere CFGHMOPQV*o*. 18 autem SW, enim BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

5. **uerbum ueritatis** etc.] 2 Tim. ii. 15.

6. **die dominico**] 'Lord's Day' (Rev. i 10; Tertull. *de Cor.* iii).

12. **te terminatum**] We have here adopted the conjectural reading of the Benedictine editors and Pusey, in place of the 'determinatum' of the MSS., which Knöll accepts. Cf. v 19 and §§ 5, 18 *infr.*

13. **ne quidem tenuiter**] *I had not even a faint and shadowy notion.* The unusual position of 'quidem' is doubtless intended to show that it qualifies both 'tenuiter' and 'aenigmate.'

20. **ubique totus**] Cf. I 2 seq.

21. **fecisti...tuam**] Cf. Gen. i 26; and Ecclus. xvii 1 'secundum imaginem suam fecit illum.'

IV. *He became convinced that the Church did not teach that the*

tua, pulsans proponerem, quomodo credendum esset, non insultans opponerem, quasi ita creditum esset. tanto igitur acrior cura rodebat intima mea, quid certi retinerem, quanto me magis pudebat tam diu inlusum et deceptum promissione certorum puerili errore et animositate tam multa incerta quasi certa garrisse. quod enim falsa essent, postea mihi claruit. certum tamen erat, quod incerta essent et a me aliquando pro certis habita fuissent, cum catholicam tuam caecis contentionibus accusarem, etsi nondum conpertam uera docentem, non tamen ea docentem, quae grauiter accusabam. itaque confundebar et conuertebar et gaudebam, deus meus, quod ecclesia unica, corpus unici tui, in qua mihi nomen Christi infanti est inditum, non saperet infantiles nugas neque hoc haberet in doctrina sua sana, quod te creatorem omnium in spatium loci quamuis summum et amplum, tamen undique terminatum membrorum humanorum figura contruderet.

6 Gaudebam etiam, quod uetera scripta legis et prophetarum iam non illo oculo mihi legenda proponerentur, quo antea uidebantur absurda, cum arguebam tamquam ita sentientes sanctos tuos; uerum autem non ita sentiebant. et tamquam regulam diligentissime conmendaret, saepe in popularibus sermonibus suis dicentem Ambrosium laetus audiebam: littera occidit, spiritus autem uiuificat, cum ea, quae ad litteram peruersitatem docere uidebantur, remoto mystico uelamento spiritaliter aperiret, non dicens quod me offenderet, quamuis ea diceret,

Creator of all has a body such as men have.

1. **pulsans proponerem...esset**] 'Pulsans' suggests that there is an allusion to Mt. vii 7. 'Proponerem' is doubtless used in the sense 'proponerem quaestionem.' The reference is apparently to the attitude which A. would have taken up if he had had the opportunity of discussing his difficulties with Ambrose. For the use of the imperfect where we should have expected a pluperfect cf. § 20 *infr.* 'dares...si pulsarem,' and VIII 13 'posset, si uellet.'

5. **animositate**] *rashness.*

8. **catholicam**] sc. 'ecclesiam.'

12. **nomen Christi** etc.] Cf. I 17.

16. **contruderet**] 'confined,' 'imprisoned.'

20. **et tamquam...audiebam**] *and I was glad when I often heard Ambrose saying in his discourses to the people, as though he were earnestly commending it as a rule:*

22. **littera occidit** etc.] 2 Cor. iii. 6.

quae utrum uera essent adhuc ignorarem. tenebam cor meum ab omni adsensione timens praecipitium et suspendio magis necabar. uolebam enim eorum quae non uiderem ita me certum fieri, ut certus essem, quod septem et tria decem sint. neque enim tam insanus eram, ut ne hoc quidem putarem posse conprehendi, sed sicut hoc, ita cetera cupiebam siue corporalia, quae coram sensibus meis non adessent, siue spiritalia, de quibus cogitare nisi corporaliter nesciebam. et sanari credendo poteram, ut purgatior acies mentis meae dirigeretur aliquo modo in ueritatem tuam semper manentem et ex nullo deficientem; sed, sicut euenire assolet, ut malum medicum expertus etiam bono timeat se conmittere, ita erat ualetudo animae meae, quae utique nisi credendo sanari non poterat et, ne falsa crederet, curari recusabat, resistens manibus tuis, qui medicamenta fidei confecisti et sparsisti super morbos orbis terrarum et tantam illis auctoritatem tribuisti.

V. Ex hoc tamen quoque iam praeponens doctrinam catho- 7
licam modestius ibi minimeque fallaciter sentiebam iuberi, ut crederetur quod non demonstrabatur—siue esset quid, sed cui

1 tenebam S, tenebat W, tenebam enim BCFGHMOPQ²V *edd.*

1. **tenebam cor** etc.] A complex word-play. There is, first, an allusion to the suspense of judgment which the Academics advocated ('refrenationem et quasi suspensionem assensionis' *c. Acad.* II 5. 12), further, 'timens praecipitium' seems to hint that 'adsensio' plays on 'adscensio' as 'suspendium' does on 'suspensio.' The word-play may be roughly reproduced thus: 'I hung back from every assent, dreading precipitation, and died by hanging instead.'

3. **eorum ... certum**] 'Certus' with the genitive is unusual except in the expression 'certiorem facere.'

9. **purgatior acies mentis**] Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* I 6. 9 ἐὰν δὲ ἴῃ (ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς) ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ληµῶν κακίαις καὶ οὐ κεκαθαρµένος...οὐδὲν βλέπει.

10. **semper manentem**] Cf. Ps. cxvi (cxvii) 2 'et ueritas Domini manet in aeternum.'

ib. **ex nullo deficientem**] *lacking in nothing.*

14. **resistens manibus tuis**] Cf. Ps. xvi 8 (xvii 7) 'a resistentibus dexterae tuae custode me.'

V. *He conceives a new reverence for the Scriptures because of the great authority which they had obtained among men of all nations.*

17. **ex hoc**] sc. on the ground of the credentials which God has given to the Church's faith by permitting its wide expansion. See the end of the last paragraph, and § 8 below.

19. **siue esset quid** etc.] A rather bold ellipsis: *whether it was a thing capable of demonstration, but not to everyone, or whether it was not demonstrable at all.*

forte non esset, siue nec quid esset—quam illic temeraria pollicitatione scientiae credulitatem inrideri et postea tam multa fabulosissima et absurdissima, quia demonstrari non poterant, credenda imperari. deinde paulatim tu, domine, manu mitissima et misericordissima pertractans et componens cor meum, consideranti, quam innumerabilia crederem, quae non uiderem neque cum gererentur affuissem, sicut tam multa in historia gentium, tam multa de locis atque urbibus, quae non uideram, tam multa amicis, tam multa medicis, tam multa hominibus aliis atque aliis, quae nisi crederentur, omnino in hac uita nihil ageremus, postremo quam inconcusse fixum fide retinerem, de quibus parentibus ortus essem, quod scire non possem, nisi audiendo credidissem, persuasisti mihi non qui crederent libris tuis, quos tanta in omnibus fere gentibus auctoritate fundasti, sed qui non crederent, esse culpandos nec audiendos esse, si qui forte mihi dicerent: "unde scis illos libros unius ueri et ueracissimi dei spiritu esse humano generi ministratos?" id ipsum enim maxime credendum erat, quoniam nulla pugnacitas calumniosarum quaestionum per tam multa quae legeram inter se confligentium philosophorum extorquere mihi potuit, ut aliquando non crederem te esse, quidquid esses, quod ego nescirem, aut administrationem rerum humanarum ad te pertinere.

8 Sed id credebam aliquando robustius, aliquando exilius, semper tamen credidi et esse te et curam nostri gerere, etiamsi ignorabam uel quid sentiendum esset de substantia tua uel quae

15 crederent] credent SW¹.

6. **quam innumerabilia** etc.] A.'s tractate *de Fide Rerum quae non uidentur* carries out more fully the 'reductio ad absurdum' of the principle that (only) 'seeing is believing.'

18. **nulla pugnacitas quaestionum**] Although questioned in some quarters, the existence of God and the Divine guidance of the world were firmly-held tenets of the two most widely influential schools of the day, the Stoics and Neo-Platonists, and this fact may have tended to confirm the instinctive belief of which A. speaks here.

21. **te esse, quidquid esses** etc.] Knöll refers to Cic. *de Nat. D.* II 1. 3 'Primum docent (nostri) esse deos, deinde quales sint, tum mundum ab eis administrari, postremo consulere eos rebus humanis.'

uia duceret aut reduceret ad te. ideoque cum essemus infirmi ad inueniendam liquida ratione ueritatem et ob hoc nobis opus esset auctoritate sanctarum litterarum, iam credere coeperam nullo modo te fuisse tributurum tam excellentem illi scripturae per omnes iam terras auctoritatem, nisi et per ipsam tibi credi et per ipsam te quaeri uoluisses. iam enim absurditatem, quae me in illis litteris solebat offendere, cum multa ex eis probabiliter exposita audissem, ad sacramentorum altitudinem referebam eoque mihi illa uenerabilior et sacrosancta fide dignior apparebat auctoritas, quo et omnibus ad legendum esset in promtu et secreti sui dignitatem in intellectu profundiore seruaret, uerbis apertissimis et humillimo genere loquendi se cunctis praebens et exercens intentionem eorum, qui non sunt leues corde, ut exciperet omnes populari sinu

1. **cum essemus infirmi**] Rom. v 6.

3. **credere coeperam** etc.] A. here founds his belief in the Scriptures on his instinctive and ineradicable belief in the Providence of God, Who would not, he argues, have allowed them to attain such authority unless they had truly led to Him. With this may be compared the rather different thought of Goethe: 'The great reverence which has been accorded to the Bible by so many nations and tribes of the earth is due to its intrinsic value. It is not, so to speak, a national Book, but the Book of the nations, because it sets forth the fate of one nation as the symbol of all the rest, connects the history of that nation with the origin of the world, and through a graduated series of natural and spiritual developments, of necessary and contingent events, leads out into the remotest regions of Eternity.' *Geschichte der Farbenlehre* (*Werke*, ed. E. von der Hellen XL 152).

8. **sacramentorum** etc.] *I referred...to the high category of religious mysteries.* See IV 3, note on 'sacramentum,' and, for the present use, cf. Leo *Tom.* v, where the doctrine of the Two Natures is called a 'sacramentum.'

11. **in promtu**] *easy* ('nec quadrupedes...in promtu regere est.' Ovid *Metam.* II 84).

ib. **in intellectu profundiore**] *in its deeper sense.*

14. **qui non sunt leues corde**] Cf. Ecclus. xix 4 'qui credit cito, leuis corde est.'

ib. **exciperet omnes** etc.] The general meaning is clear, but the metaphor is difficult, if not impossible, to realise pictorially. 'Sinus' and 'gremium' are doubtless the same, and 'gremio' must be grammatically instrumental ablative (not dative); but 'foramina' seems to oblige us to combine with the idea of a net that of a sieve or strainer, and 'tanto apice...emineret' introduces another figure altogether. We may render: *that it may welcome all men to its generous breast, and by narrow apertures pass on to thee only a few, indeed, but still many more than if so lofty an authority had not been assigned to it, or if it had not attracted the multitudes by the holy humility of its bosom.*

et per angusta foramina paucos ad te traiceret, multo tamen plures, quam si nec tanto apice auctoritatis emineret nec turbas gremio sanctae humilitatis hauriret. cogitabam haec et aderas mihi, suspirabam et audiebas me, fluctuabam et gubernabas me, ibam per uiam saeculi latam nec deserebas.

9 VI. Inhiabam honoribus, lucris, coniugio, et tu inridebas. patiebar in eis cupiditatibus amarissimas difficultates te propitio tanto magis, quanto minus sinebas mihi dulcescere quod non eras tu. uide cor meum, domine, qui uoluisti, ut hoc recordarer et confiterer tibi. nunc tibi inhaereat anima mea, quam de uisco tam tenaci mortis exuisti. quam misera erat! et sensum uulneris tu pungebas, ut relictis omnibus conuerteretur ad te, qui es super omnia et sine quo nulla essent omnia,—conuerteretur et sanaretur. quam ergo miser eram et quomodo egisti, ut sentirem miseriam meam die illo, quo, cum pararem recitare imperatori laudes, quibus plura mentirer et mentienti faueretur ab scientibus, easque curas anhelaret cor meum et cogitationum tabificarum febribus aestuaret,

1. **per angusta ... paucos**] Cf. Mt vii 14.

5. **uiam saeculi latam**] Cf. Mt vii 13.

VI. *His spiritual progress is hindered by his worldly ambitions, and by the character of his profession.*

12. **sensum uulneris** etc.] *didst touch the wound on the quick.*

16. **imperatori**] Seeck, in his edition of the works of Symmachus, p. cxl, in a note on Bauto, refers this passage of the *Conf.* to the same occasion as that mentioned in *c. Litt. Petil.* III 25. 30, in which A. speaks of delivering a panegyric upon Bauto on his assumption of the consulship; but the natural meaning, at this period, of 'imperator' is certainly the Emperor, and A. uses the dative of the person who is the subject of the panegyric (cf. *c. Litt. Petil. ut sup.* 'cum...eique consuli...laudem ... recitauerim'). Valentinian II, at this time a youth of 15 or 16, resided at Milan, and there is no difficulty in supposing that A., as the official 'rhetor,' delivered a panegyric upon the Emperor on one occasion and upon Bauto on another. The reason of his mentioning the oration upon Bauto in the *c. Litt. Petil.* rather than this still more exalted occasion, is that the connexion of the former with Bauto's accession to the consulship fixes a date. Petilianus had suggested that A. left Africa in consequence of being condemned as a Manichaean by the proconsul Messianus; A. replied that the proceedings against the Manichaeans under Messianus did not take place until after the consulship of Bauto, whereas his presence in Milan before that is proved by his having delivered the aforesaid oration, a fact to which he could produce many witnesses.

transiens per quendam uicum Mediolanensem animaduerti pauperem mendicum iam, credo, saturum iocantem atque laetantem. et ingemui et locutus sum cum amicis, qui mecum erant, multos dolores insaniarum nostrarum, quia omnibus talibus conatibus nostris, qualibus tunc laborabam, sub stimulis cupiditatum trahens infelicitatis meae sarcinam et trahendo exaggerans, nihil uellemus aliud nisi ad securam laetitiam peruenire, quo nos mendicus ille iam praecessisset numquam illuc fortasse uenturos. quod enim iam ille pauculis et emendicatis nummulis adeptus erat, ad hoc ego tam aerumnosis anfractibus et circuitibus ambiebam, ad laetitiam scilicet temporalis felicitatis. non enim uerum gaudium habebat: sed et ego illis ambitionibus multo falsius quaerebam. et certe ille laetabatur, ego anxius eram, securus ille, ego trepidus. et si quisquam percontaretur me, utrum mallem exultare an metuere, responderem: "exultare"; rursus si rogaret, utrum me talem mallem, qualis ille, an qualis ego tunc essem, me ipsum curis timoribusque confectum eligerem, sed peruersitate: numquid ueritate? neque enim eo me praeponere illi debebam, quo doctior eram, quoniam non inde gaudebam, sed placere inde quaerebam hominibus, non ut eos docerem, sed tantum ut placerem. propterea et baculo disciplinae tuae confringebas ossa mea.

Recedant ergo ab anima mea qui dicunt ei: "interest, unde quis gaudeat. gaudebat mendicus ille uinulentia, tu

16 rogaret] interrogaret BCGHMPQVW *edd.*, interrogarer FO. 25 tu SW, +gaudere cupiebas BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

7. **laetitiam ... quo ... mendicus praecessisset**] Cf. Eurip. *Iph. in Aul.* 17—20

ζηλῶ σέ, γέρον,
ζηλῶ δ' ἀνδρῶν ὃς ἀκίνδυνον
βίον ἐξεπέρασ' ἀγνὼς ἀκλεής,
τοὺς δ' ἐν τιμαῖς ἧσσον ζηλῶ.

9. **pauculis ... nummulis**] See 1 11 ('tantillus...paruulus'), note.

22. **baculo disciplinae**] Cf. Ps. xxii (xxiii) 4 where A. comments: 'disciplina tua tamquam uirga ad gregem ouium, et tamquam baculus iam ad grandiores filios...ipsa me non afflixerunt, magis consolata sunt.'

ib. **confringebas ossa mea**] Cf. Ps. l 10 (li 8); Is. xxxviii 13.

24. **recedant qui dicunt**] A. intends to deny, not the principle, but its applicability to the present instance.

gloria." qua gloria, domine? quae non est in te. nam sicut uerum gaudium non erat, ita nec illa uera gloria et amplius uertebat mentem meam. et ille ipsa nocte digesturus erat ebrietatem suam, ego cum mea dormieram et surrexeram et dormiturus et surrecturus eram; uide quot dies! interest uero, unde quis gaudeat, scio, et gaudium spei fidelis inconparabiliter distat ab illa uanitate. sed et tunc distabat inter nos: nimirum quippe ille felicior erat, non tantum quod hilaritate perfundebatur, cum ego curis euiscerarer, uerum etiam quod ille bene optando adquisiuerat uinum, ego mentiendo quaerebam tyfum. dixi tunc multa in hac sententia caris meis et saepe aduertebam in his, quomodo mihi esset, et inueniebam male mihi esse et dolebam et conduplicabam ipsum male, et si quid adrisisset prosperum, taedebat adprehendere, quia paene priusquam teneretur auolabat.

11 VII. Congemescebamus in his qui simul amice uiuebamus, et maxime cum Alypio et Nebridio ista conloquebar. quorum Alypius ex eodem quo ego eram ortus municipio, parentibus primatibus municipalibus, me minor natu. nam et studuerat apud me, cum in nostro oppido docere coepi, et postea Carthagini, et diligebat multum, quod ei bonus et doctus uiderer, et ego illum propter magnam uirtutis indolem, quae

1 sicut] +illud *edd.* 5 dies] diebus BCFGHMPQV *edd.* 17 maxime SW, +ac familiarissime *cett. et edd.*

7. **distabat inter** etc.] The impersonal use, following the personal 'distat' in the previous sentence, is curious. The impersonal use of 'distat' is almost confined to cases where it introduces an 'utrum...an' clause.

10. **bene optando**] *by wishing good luck* (to the passers-by).

12. **saepe aduertebam in his**] 'In his' apparently='in talibus,' *i.e.* by such occasions as this, cf. l. 16 'congemescebamus in his.'

14. **taedebat**] *I felt it was not worth while.*

VII. *The story of A.'s friend Alypius—how he was weaned from his love of the games of the Circus.*

17. **Alypio et Nebridio**] For Nebridius see IV 6, note, and for Alypius the ensuing sections. He was converted at the same time as A., shared his retirement at Cassiciacum, and became Bishop of Thagaste while A. was still a presbyter.

21. **quod ei bonus...uiderer**] A. valued the good opinion of others but disliked excessive or mistaken praise, see X 61. In *Ep.* XXVII 4 *Paulino*, he writes of Romanianus that he had often observed that,

in non magna aetate satis eminebat. gurges tamen morum Carthaginensium, quibus nugatoria feruent spectacula, absorbuerat eum in insaniam circensium. sed cum in eo miserabiliter uolueretur, ego autem rhetoricam ibi professus publica schola uterer, nondum me audiebat ut magistrum propter quandam simultatem, quae inter me et patrem eius erat exorta. et conpereram, quod circum exitiabiliter amaret, et grauiter angebar, quod tantam spem perditurus uel etiam perdidisse mihi uidebatur. sed monendi eum et aliqua coercitione reuocandi nulla erat copia uel amicitiae beniuolentia uel iure magisterii. putabam enim eum de me cum patre sentire, ille uero non sic erat. itaque postposita in hac re patris uoluntate salutare me coeperat ueniens in auditorium meum et audire aliquid atque abire.

Sed enim de memoria mihi lapsum erat agere cum illo, ne 12
uanorum ludorum caeco et praecipiti studio tam bonum interimeretur ingenium. uerum autem, domine, tu, qui praesides gubernaculis omnium, quae creasti, non eum oblitus eras futurum inter filios tuos antistitem sacramenti tui et, ut aperte tibi tribueretur eius correctio, per me quidem illam sed nescientem operatus es. nam quodam die cum sederem loco solito et coram me adessent discipuli, uenit, salutauit, sedit atque in ea quae agebantur intendit animum. et forte lectio in manibus erat. quam dum exponerem et opportune mihi adhibenda uideretur similitudo circensium, quo illud quod insinuabam et iucundius et planius fieret et cum inrisione mor-

16 interimeretur] interimeret BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 26 et cum SW, – et BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

without intending to say what was untrue, he was, by the bias of friendship, mistaken in his opinion concerning his friends, and that he thought him (A.) already possessed of many things for the gift of which he as yet only earnestly waited upon God.

7. **exitiabiliter**] *with a fatal passion.* This form of the adverb, which occurs also in *de Ciu. Dei* I 17 ('Dei misericordiam desperando exitiabiliter paenitens'), is only cited from A.

17. **qui praesides gubernaculis**] Cf. Plato *Pol.* 273 D (God, seeing the world tempest-tossed, came to the rescue) *πάλιν ἔφεδρος αὐτοῦ τῶν πηδαλίων γιγνόμενος.*

19. **sacramenti tui**] *i.e.* of the Christian faith.

daci eorum, quos illa captiuasset insania, scis tu, deus noster, quod tunc de Alypio ab illa peste sanando non cogitauerim. at ille in se rapuit meque illud non nisi propter se dixisse credidit, et quod alius acciperet ad suscensendum mihi, accepit honestus adulescens ad suscensendum sibi et ad me ardentius diligendum. dixeras enim tu iam olim et innexueras litteris tuis: corripe sapientem, et amabit te. at illum ego non corripueram, sed utens tu omnibus et scientibus et nescientibus ordine quo nosti—et ille ordo iustus est—de corde et lingua mea carbones ardentes operatus es, quibus mentem spei bonae adureres tabescentem ac sanares. taceat laudes tuas qui miserationes tuas non considerat, quae tibi de medullis meis confitentur. etenim uero ille post illa uerba proripuit se ex fouea tam alta, qua libenter demergebatur et cum mira uoluptate caecabatur, et excussit animum forti temperantia, et resiluerunt omnes circensium sordes ab eo ampliusque illuc non accessit. deinde patrem reluctantem euicit, ut me magistro uteretur: cessit ille atque concessit. et audire me rursus incipiens illa mecum superstitione inuolutus est, amans in manichaeis ostentationem continentiae, quam ueram et germanam putabat. erat autem illa uecors et seductoria, pretiosas animas captans nondum uirtutis altitudinem scientes tangere et superficie decipi faciles, sed tamen adumbratae simulataeque uirtutis.

13 VIII. Non sane relinquens incantatam sibi a parentibus

13 uero] uere O, – BPQ *edd.* 14 mira] mirabili BPQ, miserabili *mo.*

3. **ille in se rapuit**] For another, later, instance of A.'s chance words being taken to heart, see Possidius *Vit. Aug.* xv.

7. **corripe sapientem**] Prov. ix 8 (Vulg. 'argue sapientem').

11. **adureres...ac sanares**] Cf. the maxim ascribed to Hippocrates: 'What cannot be cured by medicine is cured by the knife; what cannot be cured by the knife is cured by fire; what cannot be cured by fire is incurable.'

12. **quae tibi...confitentur**] Ps. cvi (cvii) 8.

18. **cessit...atque concessit**] *gave way and gave leave.*

20. **ostentationem**] *e.g.* Faustus boasts that he has deserved all the beatitudes, *c. Faust.* v 1.

VIII. *The story of Alypius continued.*

25. **incantatam**] The usual sense of 'incanto' is to chant, or mutter,

terrenam uiam Romam praecesserat, ut ius disceret, et ibi gladiatorii spectaculi hiatu incredibili et incredibiliter abreptus est. cum enim auersaretur et detestaretur talia, quidam eius amici et condiscipuli, cum forte de prandio redeuntibus peruium esset, recusantem uehementer et resistentem familiari uiolentia duxerunt in amphitheatrum crudelium et funestorum ludorum diebus haec dicentem: "si corpus meum in locum illum trahitis, numquid et animum et oculos meos in illa spectacula potestis intendere? adero itaque absens ac sic et uos et illa superabo." quibus auditis illi nihilo setius eum adduxerunt secum, id ipsum forte explorare cupientes utrum posset efficere. quo ubi uentum est et sedibus quibus potuerunt locati sunt, feruebant omnia inmanissimis uoluptatibus. ille clausis foribus oculorum interdixit animo, ne in tanta mala procederet. atque utinam et aures opturasset! nam quodam pugnae casu, cum clamor ingens totius populi uehementer eum pulsasset, curiositate uictus, et quasi paratus, quidquid illud esset, etiam uisum contemnere et uincere, aperuit et percussus est grauiore uulnere in anima quam ille in corpore, quem cernere concupiuit, ceciditque miserabilius quam ille, quo cadente factus est clamor: qui per eius aures intrauit et reserauit eius lumina, ut esset, qua feriretur et deiceretur audax adhuc potius quam fortis animus et eo infirmior, quo de se praesumserat, qui

4 peruium] per uiam M^2W, per uim M^1, peruius *mo.* 7 trahitis] SW, +et ibi constituitis BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 18 aperuit SW, +oculos BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

a charm over, and we might perhaps render 'the path in life which his parents had inaugurated for him.' It seems possible, however, that the prominent idea here is the constant reiteration with which they had enforced it upon him ('dinned it into him'); cf. 'cantans' § 21.

2. **spectaculi...abreptus**] The account which follows is a vivid piece of writing combining graphic description with keen psychological analysis.

4. **peruium**] 'Peruium,' which is necessarily adverbial, seems to be unexampled. The sense here would be naturally expressed by 'obuius.' The 'per uiam' of M^2W suggests 'peruiam,' an adverbial form which occurs elsewhere. Charisius *Inst. Gram.* II mentions that Augustus found fault with Tiberius for using 'peruiam' in the sense of 'obiter' (Putsch *Gram. Lat. Auct. Ant.* 187).

23. **quo de se praesumserat** etc.] Cf. Judith vi 15 'ostende quoniam non derelinquis praesumentes de

debuit de te. ut enim uidit illum sanguinem, inmanitatem simul ebibit et non se auertit, sed fixit aspectum et hauriebat furias et nesciebat et delectabatur scelere certaminis et cruenta uoluptate inebriabatur. et non erat iam ille, qui uenerat, sed unus de turba, ad quam uenerat, et uerus eorum socius, a quibus adductus erat. quid plura? spectauit, clamauit, exarsit, abstulit inde secum insaniam, qua stimularetur redire non tantum cum illis, a quibus abstractus est, sed etiam prae illis et alios trahens. et inde tamen manu ualidissima et misericordissima eruisti eum tu et docuisti eum non sui habere, sed tui fiduciam, sed longe postea.

14 IX. Verum tamen iam hoc ad medicinam futuram in eius memoria reponebatur. nam et illud, quod, cum adhuc studeret iam me audiens apud Carthaginem et medio die cogitaret in foro quod recitaturus erat, sicut exerceri scholastici solent, siuisti eum conprehendi ab aeditimis fori tamquam furem, non arbitror aliam ob causam te permisisse, deus noster, nisi ut ille uir tantus futurus iam inciperet discere, quam non facile in noscendis causis homo ab homine damnandus esset temeraria credulitate. quippe ante tribunal deambulabat solus cum tabulis ac stilo, cum ecce adulescens quidam ex numero scholasticorum, fur uerus, securim clanculo apportans illo non sentiente ingressus est ad cancellos plumbeos, qui uico argen-

8 quibus SW, +prius BCFGHMOPQ *edd.* 19 noscendis] gnoscendis S, ignoscendis (−in) VW, in cognoscendis BCFGHMOPQ, in dignoscendis *mo*.

te; et praesumentes de se...humilias.'

4. **non ille, qui uenerat, sed unus de turba**] An accurate psychological touch. Crowds have a kind of personality which every member of the crowd shares.

11. **tui fiduciam**] Cf. Is. lvii 13 'qui autem fiduciam habet mei, hereditabit terram.'

IX. *Alypius charged with theft.*

12. **iam hoc**] viz. the foregoing experience.

13. **nam et illud**] *so too was the following incident.*

14. **in foro**] The 'basilica fori' or market hall.

16. **aeditimis**] 'officers.' Properly, 'temple-keepers.' Varro, *R. R.* I ii 1, notes that in his time this form of the word was superseded by 'aedituus' among those who affected elegance of speech.

18. **quam non facile**] *how far from readily.*

24. **cancellos** etc.] *The leaden gratings which protect the top of the silversmiths' booths.* Their 'uicus'

tario desuper praeminent, et praecidere plumbum coepit. sono autem securis audito submurmurauerunt argentarii, qui subter erant, et miserunt qui adprehenderent quem forte inuenissent. quorum uocibus auditis relicto instrumento ille discessit timens, ne cum eo teneretur. Alypius autem, qui non uiderat intrantem, exeuntem sensit et celeriter uidit abeuntem et causam scire cupiens ingressus est locum et inuentam securim stans atque admirans considerabat, cum ecce illi, qui missi erant, reperiunt eum solum ferentem ferrum, cuius sonitu exciti uenerant: tenent, adtrahunt, congregatis inquilinis fori tamquam furem manifestum se conprehendisse gloriantur, et inde offerendus iudiciis ducebatur.

Sed hactenus docendus fuit. statim enim, domine, adfuisti innocentiae, cuius testis eras tu solus. cum enim duceretur uel ad custodiam uel ad supplicium, fit eis obuiam quidam architectus, cuius maxima erat cura publicarum fabricarum. gaudent illi eum potissimum occurrisse, cui solebant in suspicionem uenire ablatarum rerum, quae perissent de foro, ut quasi tandem iam ille cognosceret, a quibus haec fierent. uerum autem uiderat homo saepe Alypium in domo cuiusdam senatoris, ad quem salutandum uentitabat, statimque cognitum manu adprehensa semouit a turbis et tanti mali causam quaerens, quid gestum esset, audiuit omnesque tumultuantes, qui aderant, et minaciter frementes iussit uenire secum. et uenerunt ad domum illius adulescentis, qui rem conmiserat.

13 adfuisti SW, subuenisti BCGHMOPQV *edd.*

here means their portion of the market.

2. **submurmurauerunt**] *began to make a stir.* This is the first occurrence of the word.

17. **cui...ablatarum rerum**] *by whom they were often suspected of making away with things which were lost from the market-place.*

21. **senatoris**] 'The senatorial class in the provinces had, since the reign of Constantine, grown to enormous dimensions.... The order had long ceased to have any connexion with the exercise of senatorial functions. Hosts of its members had never even set foot in Rome. The title of senator became merely a social badge, implying generally the possession of considerable landed property, or the tenure of some office or dignity which was often purely honorary and ornamental.' S. Dill *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, p. 207.

puer uero erat ante ostium et tam paruus erat, ut nihil exinde domino suo metuens facile posset totum indicare; cum eo quippe in foro fuit pedisecus. quem posteaquam recoluit Alypius, architecto intimauit. at ille securim demonstrauit puero quaerens ab eo, cuius esset. qui confestim "nostra" inquit; deinde interrogatus aperuit cetera. sic in illam domum translata causa confusisque turbis, quae de illo triumphare iam coeperant, futurus dispensator uerbi tui et multarum in ecclesia tua causarum examinator experientior instructiorque discessit.

16 X. Hunc ergo Romae inueneram, et adhaesit mihi fortissimo uinculo mecumque Mediolanium profectus est, ut nec me desereret et de iure, quod didicerat, aliquid ageret secundum uotum magis parentum quam suum. et ter iam adsederat mirabili continentia ceteris, cum ille magis miraretur eos, qui aurum innocentiae praeponerent. temtata est quoque eius indoles non solum de inlecebra cupiditatis sed etiam stimulo

3 pedisecus] pedissequus CH¹OQ *edd.* 16 de] – BCGHMOPQV *edd.*

9. **causarum examinator**] sc. as Bishop. The arbitration by 'some wise man among you' enjoined in 1 Cor. vi 5, as a method of avoiding litigation before unbelievers, became a regular function of the Bishop. Directions for the exercise of the office are given in the *Apostolic Constitutions* II 45—53. Possidius (*Vit. Aug.* xix) gives an account of A.'s own activity in this work ('to which he sometimes gave the whole day fasting'), and emphasizes the pastoral rather than merely judicial spirit in which he conducted it. A. complains frequently of the burdensome character of the work and the distraction from higher activities which it involved (cf. xi 2 fin. and *De Op. Monach.* xxix 37 'tumultuosissimas perplexitates causarum alienarum pati de negotiis saecularibus uel iudicando dirimendis, uel interueniendo praecidendis.'

X. *Alypius followed A. to Milan, and Nebridius, a Carthage friend, joined them. They were all ardent searchers after truth but forsook not the things of the world, for they could find no certainty save in the world.*

13. **adsederat**] 'had acted as assessor.' Assessors were 'iuris studiosi quos adhibere in consilium iudicaturi solent' (Gell. XII 13; cf. Cic. *Verr.* II 29, *de Orat.* I 37 etc.). Roman magistrates, who exercised judicial functions among a variety of others, were not necessarily trained lawyers, and used the expert advice of their assessors much as the judges in our Admiralty Court use the technical knowledge of their 'nautical assessors.' The author of *de Mort. Persec.* (attributed to Lactantius), xxii *fin.* gives it as an example of Galba's contempt for justice that he sent to the provinces ignorant officials 'sine assessoribus.'

timoris. Romae adsidebat comiti largitionum Italicianarum. erat eo tempore quidam potentissimus senator, cuius et beneficiis obstricti multi et terrori subditi erant. uoluit sibi licere nescio quid ex more potentiae suae, quod esset per leges inlicitum; restitit Alypius. promissum est praemium; inrisit animo. praetentae minae; calcauit, mirantibus omnibus inusitatam animam, quae hominem tantum et innumerabilibus praestandi nocendique modis ingenti fama celebratum uel amicum non optaret uel non formidaret inimicum. ipse autem iudex, cui consiliarius erat, quamuis et ipse fieri nollet, non tamen aperte recusabat, sed in istum causam transferens ab eo se non permitti adserebat, quia et re uera, si ipse faceret, iste discederet. hoc solo autem paene iam inlectus erat studio litterario, ut pretiis praetorianis codices sibi conficiendos curaret, sed consulta iustitia deliberationem in melius uertit utiliorem iudicans

1. **comiti largitionum Italicianarum**] The 'comes largitionum Italicianarum' was one of the provincial treasurers subordinate to the 'comes sacrarum largitionum' who presided over the finances of the Western Empire. *Not. Dign. Occ.* XI.

4. **ex more potentiae suae**] *as his influence usually enabled him to do.*

12. **discederet**] Either (1) 'would leave the court'; or (2) standing for the idiom 'discedere in alia omnia' 'vote against' (*e.g.* Cic. *Fam.* X 12. 3, in contrast with 'adsentiri sententiae').

14. **pretiis praetorianis**] The best explanation of this difficult phrase is probably that of Pusey, who interprets it as referring to the privilege of purchasing at a special tariff enjoyed by officials connected with the court. The phrase 'pretia regia,' to the analogy of which he appeals, does not, indeed, occur until a much later period (v. Du Cange), but the system of privileges and exemptions was by no means unknown under the Empire (cf. 'euectio publica' V 23) and the inherent probabilities of the case justify us in giving the words their most natural meaning ('at palace prices'). Forcellini *Tot. Lat. Lex.* explains 'pretiis praetorianis' as meaning his fees as an assessor ('pecunia collecta ex iurisdictione praetoria, et audiendis causis'), but apart from the difficulty of giving this meaning to 'praetorianis,' these fees were a legitimate emolument, and it is reading too much between the lines to suppose that the actual temptation was to retain his employment by complaisance, 'ut...curaret' merely explaining his motive for wishing to cling to it. The form of the sentence 'hoc paene inlexus est...ut... curaret' distinctly implies that the actual dishonesty to which he was tempted consisted in acquiring the 'codices' in this way. A.'s language ('paruum est hoc' etc.) is quite in accordance with its being a more or less recognised perquisite of his position, which was nevertheless repugnant to a man of scrupulous integrity.

aequitatem, qua prohibebatur, quam potestatem, qua sinebatur. paruum est hoc; sed qui in paruo fidelis est, et in magno fidelis est, nec ullo modo erit inane, quod tuae ueritatis ore processit: si in iniusto mamona fideles non fuistis, uerum quis dabit uobis? et si in alieno fideles non fuistis, uestrum quis dabit uobis? talis tunc ille inhaerebat mihi mecumque nutabat in consilio, quisnam esset tenendus uitae modus.

17 Nebridius etiam, qui relicta patria uicina Carthagini atque ipsa Carthagine, ubi frequentissimus erat, relicto paterno rure optimo, relicta domo et non secutura matre nullam ob aliam causam Mediolanium uenerat, nisi ut mecum uiueret in flagrantissimo studio ueritatis atque sapientiae, pariter suspirabat pariterque fluctuabat beatae uitae inquisitor ardens et quaestionum difficillimarum scrutator acerrimus. et erant ora trium egentium et inopiam suam sibimet inuicem anhelantium et ad te expectantium, ut dares eis escam in tempore opportuno. et in omni amaritudine, quae nostros saeculares actus de misericordia tua sequebatur, intuentibus nobis finem, cur ea pateremur, occurrebant tenebrae, et auersabamur gementes et dicebamus: "quamdiu haec?" et hoc crebro dicebamus et dicentes non relinquebamus ea, quia non elucebat certum aliquid, quod illis relictis adprehenderemus.

18 XI. Et ego maxime mirabar satagens et recolens, quam

3 quod] +de *mo.* 4 uerum] quod uerum est Q *edd.* (*Vulg.*) 5 dabit] credet BPQ *edd.* (*Vulg.*) uestrum] quod uestrum est BPQ *edd.* (*Vulg.*) 15 ad te] a te CFGMQVW *edd.*

2. **qui in paruo** etc.] Cf. Lk. xvi 10 (Vulg. 'qui fidelis est in minimis, et in maiori fidelis est'). In *Enarr. in Ps.* cxxxvi § 2, A. quotes the verse in the form 'qui in modico...et in magno.'

4. **si in iniusto** etc.] Lk. xvi 11, 12 (Vulg. 'si in iniquo...quod uerum est quis credet uobis?').

9. **ubi frequentissimus erat**] *where he had spent most of his time.*

14. **ora trium**] Alluding to Ps. cxliv (cxlv) 15 'oculi omnium in te sperant' etc.

18. **intuentibus nobis finem**] *when we sought to know the reason.*

XI. *His perplexities tempted A. to take refuge in the scepticism of the Academy, but his longing to find truth prevailed. The doctrines of the Church, he now saw, were not so absurd as the Manichaeans represented them to be, and the power and dignity of the Catholic Church impressed him as they had never done before.*

23. **satagens et recolens**] Hendiadys: *anxiously reflecting.*

longum tempus esset ab undeuicensimo anno aetatis meae, quo feruere coeperam studio sapientiae, disponens ea inuenta relinquere omnes uanarum cupiditatum spes inanes et insanias mendaces. et ecce iam tricenariam aetatem gerebam in eodem luto haesitans auiditate fruendi praesentibus fugientibus et dissipantibus me, dum dico: "cras inueniam; ecce manifestum apparebit, et tenebo; ecce Faustus ueniet et exponet omnia. o magni uiri Academici! nihil ad agendam uitam certi conprehendi potest? inmo quaeramus diligentius et non desperemus. ecce iam non sunt absurda in libris ecclesiasticis, quae absurda uidebantur, et possunt aliter atque honeste intellegi. figam pedes in eo gradu, in quo puer a parentibus positus eram, donec inueniatur perspicua ueritas. sed ubi quaeretur? quando quaeretur? non uacat Ambrosio, non uacat legere. ubi ipsos codices quaerimus? unde aut quando conparamus? a quibus sumimus? deputentur tempora, distribuantur horae pro salute animae. magna spes oborta est: non docet catholica fides, quod putabamus et uani accusabamus. nefas habent docti eius credere deum figura humani corporis terminatum. et dubitamus pulsare, quo aperiantur cetera? antemeridianis horis discipuli occupant; ceteris quid facimus? cur non id agimus? sed quando salutamus amicos maiores, quorum suffragiis opus habemus? quando praeparamus quod emant scholastici? quando reparamus nos ipsos relaxando animo ab intentione curarum? pereant omnia et dimittamus haec uana et inania: 19 conferamus nos ad solam inquisitionem ueritatis. uita misera est, mors incerta est; subito obrepat: quomodo hinc exibimus? et ubi nobis discenda sunt quae hinc negleximus? ac non potius huius neglegentiae supplicia luenda? quid, si mors ipsa

26 uita] +haec BFHOPQV *m*. 27 incerta] – est BGPQ *edd*. | subito si s. BCPQ *edd*. 28 hic CFGHMOPQV *mo*, – B, hinc SW *Knöll*. ac] an BCV *m*.

2. **disponens**] Cf. III 8.
5. **haesitans**] *sticking fast.*
7. **Faustus**] See V 3.
ib. **ueniet et...omnia**] Perhaps an ironical reminiscence of Jn iv 25.
16. **sumimus**] *borrow.*
ib. **deputentur tempora**] *let times be allotted.*
20. **pulsare**] Cf. Mt. vii 7.

omnem curam cum sensu amputabit et finiet? ergo et hoc quaerendum. sed absit, ut ita sit. non uacat, non est inane, quod tam eminens culmen auctoritatis christianae fidei toto orbe diffunditur. numquam tanta et talia pro nobis diuinitus agerentur, si morte corporis etiam uita animae consumeretur. quid cunctamur igitur relicta spe saeculi conferre nos totos ad quaerendum deum et uitam beatam? sed expecta: iucunda sunt etiam ista, habent non paruam dulcedinem suam; non facile ab eis praecidenda est intentio, quia turpe est ad ea rursum redire. ecce iam quantum est, ut inpetretur aliquis honor. et quid amplius in his desiderandum? suppetit amicorum maiorum copia: ut nihil aliud multum festinemus, uel praesidatus dari potest. et ducenda uxor cum aliqua pecunia, ne sumptum nostrum grauet, et ille erit modus cupiditatis. multi magni uiri et imitatione dignissimi sapientiae studio cum coniugibus dediti fuerunt."

Cum haec dicebam et alternabant hi uenti et inpellebant huc atque illuc cor meum, transibant tempora, et tardabam conuerti ad dominum et differebam de die in diem uiuere in te et non differebam cotidie in memet ipso mori: amans beatam uitam timebam illam in sede sua et ab ea fugiens quaerebam eam. putabam enim me miserum fore nimis, si feminae priuarer amplexibus, et medicinam misericordiae tuae ad eandem infirmitatem sanandam non cogitabam, quia expertus non eram, et propriarum uirium credebam esse continentiam, quarum mihi non eram conscius, cum tam stultus essem, ut

12 multum] et m. BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

1. **omnem curam cum sensu**] *what if death cut off, and completely put an end, along with thought itself, to all mental pain?* For 'sensus'= 'mind, understanding,' cf. Vulg. Lk. xxiv 45 'Tunc aperuit illis sensum ut intellegerent scripturas.'

2. **non uacat** etc.] *it is not meaningless, it is not without reason, that* etc.

3. **culmen**...**diffunditur**] Cf. IV 26 ('uentosae ceruici') note.

11. **honor**] *preferment.*

12. **ut nihil**...**praesidatus**] *not rashly to attempt too much, surely a governorship* etc. Ausonius *Comm. Burdig. Prof.* XV 18 speaks of Nepotianus, grammarian and rhetorician, as 'honore gesti praesidatus inclitus.'

18. **tardabam conuerti** etc.] Cf. Ecclus. V 8 'non tardes conuerti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem.'

21. **in sede sua**] sc. in God.

nescirem, sicut scriptum est, neminem posse esse continentem, nisi tu dederis. utique dares, si gemitu interno pulsarem aures tuas et fide solida in te iactarem curam meam.

XII. Prohibebat me sane Alypius ab uxore ducenda cantans nullo modo nos posse securo otio simul in amore sapientiae uiuere, sicut iam diu desideraremus, si id fecissem. erat enim ipse in ea re etiam tunc castissimus, ita ut mirum esset, quia uel experientiam concubitus ceperat in ingressu adulescentiae suae, sed non haeserat magisque doluerat et spreuerat et deinde iam continentissime uiuebat. ego autem resistebam illi exemplis eorum, qui coniugati coluissent sapientiam et promeruissent deum et habuissent fideliter ac dilexissent amicos. a quorum ego granditate quidem animi longe aberam et deligatus morbo carnis mortifera suauitate trahebam catenam meam solui timens et quasi concusso uulnere repellens uerba bene suadentis tamquam manum soluentis. insuper etiam per me ipsi quoque Alypio loquebatur serpens et innectebat atque spargebat per linguam meam dulces laqueos in uia eius, quibus illi honesti et expediti pedes inplicarentur.

Cum enim me ille miraretur, quem non parui penderet, ita 21
haerere uisco illius uoluptatis, ut me adfirmarem, quotienscumque inde inter nos quaereremus, caelibem uitam nullo modo posse degere atque ita me defenderem, cum illum mirantem uiderem, ut dicerem multum interesse inter illud, quod ipse raptim et furtim expertus esset, quod paene iam ne meminisset quidem atque ideo nulla molestia facile contemneret, et delectationes consuetudinis meae, ad quas si accessisset honestum nomen matrimonii, non eum mirari oportere, cur ego illam uitam nequirem spernere, coeperat et ipse desiderare coniugium nequaquam uictus libidine talis uoluptatis, sed

5 cantans] causans *m*.

1. **sicut scriptum est**] Wisd. viii 21 'sciui quoniam aliter non possem esse continens nisi Deus det.'

XII. *Alypius dissuades him from marriage, from the fear of losing his society.*

17. **serpens**] Gen. iii 1.

27. **si accessisset honestum nomen** etc.] See IV 2, note.

curiositatis. dicebat enim scire se cupere, quidnam esset illud, sine quo uita mea, quae illi sic placebat, non mihi uita, sed poena uideretur. stupebat enim liber ab illo uinculo animus seruitutem meam et stupendo ibat in experiendi cupidinem uenturus in ipsam experientiam atque inde fortasse lapsurus in eam quam stupebat seruitutem, quoniam sponsionem uolebat facere cum morte, et qui amat periculum, incidet in illud. neutrum enim nostrum, si quod est coniugale decus in officio regendi matrimonii et suscipiendorum liberorum, ducebat nisi tenuiter. magna autem ex parte atque uehementer consuetudo satiandae insatiabilis concupiscentiae me captum excruciabat, illum autem admiratio capiendum trahebat. sic eramus, donec tu, altissime, non deserens humum nostram miseratus miseros subuenires miris et occultis modis.

23 XIII. Et instabatur inpigre, ut ducerem uxorem. iam petebam, iam promittebatur, maxime matre dante operam, quo me iam coniugatum baptismus salutaris ablueret, quo me in dies gaudebat aptari et uota sua ac promissa tua in mea fide conpleri animaduertebat. cum sane et rogatu meo et desiderio suo forti clamore cordis abs te deprecaretur cotidie, ut ei per uisum ostenderes aliquid de futuro matrimonio meo, numquam uoluisti. et uidebat quaedam uana et phantastica, quo cogebat inpetus de hac re satagentis humani spiritus, et narrabat mihi non cum fiducia, qua solebat, cum tu demonstrabas ei, sed

13 nostram BCF²GHMOPQV, nostrum F¹SW *Knöll in ed. mai.*
24 demonstrabas] demonstrares BPQ *m.*

6. **sponsionem ... cum morte**] Cf. Wisd. i 16 'impii ... sponsiones posuerunt ad illam' (sc. mortem).

7. **qui amat periculum**] Ecclus. iii 27 'qui amat periculum, in illo peribit.'

17. **quo**] 'Quo' seems to be the ablative of measure, as though a comparative were suggested by 'in dies.' The alternative is to take it as the adverb, with 'aptari,' in the sense 'towards which goal.'

XIII. *A marriage was arranged for A. but deferred for some time as the maiden was not yet of suitable age. The dreams of Monnica.*

20. **per uisum**] Cf. III 19. Visions and dreams seem to occur with special frequency in the stories of the African Christians. See *Passio Perpetuae* iv, vii, x, xi; *Passio Mariani et Iacobi* vi, viii, xi, xii; *Passio Montani et Lucii* v, vii, viii, xi, xxi (von Gebhardt *Act. Mart. Select.* 61 ff., 134 ff., 146 ff.); Pontius *Vit. Cypr.* xii (Migne *P. L.* 3. 1491).

contemnens ea. dicebat enim discernere se nescio quo sapore, quem uerbis explicare non poterat, quid interesset inter reuelantem te et animam suam somniantem. instabatur tamen, et puella petebatur, cuius aetas ferme biennio minus quam nubilis erat, et quia ea placebat, exspectabatur.

XIV. Et multi amici agitaueramus animo et conloquentes 24 ac detestantes turbulentas humanae uitae molestias paene iam firmaueramus remoti a turbis otiose uiuere, id otium sic moliti, ut, si quid habere possemus, conferremus in medium unamque rem familiarem conflaremus ex omnibus, ut per amicitiae sinceritatem non esset aliud huius et aliud illius, sed quod ex cunctis fieret unum, et uniuersum singulorum esset et omnia omnium, cum uideremur nobis esse posse decem ferme homines in eadem societate essentque inter nos praediuites, Romanianus maxime communiceps noster, quem tunc graues aestus negotiorum suorum ad comitatum adtraxerant, ab ineunte aetate mihi familiarissimus. qui maxime instabat huic rei et magnam in suadendo habebat auctoritatem, quod ampla res eius multum ceteris anteibat. et placuerat nobis, ut bini annui tamquam magistratus omnia necessaria curarent ceteris quietis. sed posteaquam coepit cogitari, utrum hoc mulierculae sinerent, quas et alii nostrum iam habebant et nos habere uolebamus, totum illud placitum, quod bene formabamus, dissiluit in manibus atque confractum et abiectum est. inde ad suspiria

5. **nubilis**] The legal 'aetas nubilis' was twelve years. Just. *Inst.* I x 22.

XIV. *A. and some of his friends, among them Romanianus of Thagaste, planned to lead a recluse life, apart from the business and pleasures of the world. The scheme fell to the ground, as some of them had wives, who could not be included in the select company of seekers after truth.*

8. **remoti a turbis uiuere**] The scheme which proved abortive at this time was carried out, with some modifications, in the retirement to Cassiciacum (IX 6 sq.).

15. **Romanianus**] See III 7 note ('maternis mercedibus'). A. had drawn him into Manichaeism (*c. Acad.* I 1. 3), but his conversion seems to be implied in *Ep.* xxvii 5. His son Licentius was one of the company which gathered at Cassiciacum.

16. **ad comitatum**] *to the court.* For the late use of 'comitatus' in this sense, without qualifying word, cf. Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* II 5 'eo fere tempore...fuit ei necessitas adire comitatum.'

et gemitus et gressus ad sequendas latas et tritas uias saeculi, quoniam multae cogitationes erant in corde nostro, consilium autem tuum manet in aeternum. ex quo consilio deridebas nostra et tua praeparabas nobis daturus escam in opportunitate et aperturus manum atque impleturus animas nostras benedictione.

XV. Interea mea peccata multiplicabantur, et auulsa a latere meo tamquam inpedimento coniugii cum qua cubare solitus eram, cor, ubi adhaerebat, concisum et uulneratum mihi erat et trahebat sanguinem. et illa in Africam redierat uouens tibi alium se uirum nesciturum relicto apud me naturali ex illa filio meo. at ego infelix nec feminae imitator, dilationis inpatiens, tamquam post biennium accepturus eam quam petebam, quia non amator coniugii sed libidinis seruus eram, procuraui aliam, non utique coniugem, quo tamquam sustentaretur et perduceretur uel integer uel auctior morbus animae meae satellitio perdurantis consuetudinis in regnum uxorium. nec sanabatur uulnus illud meum, quod prioris praecisione factum erat, sed post feruorem doloremque acerrimum putrescebat et quasi frigidius, sed desperatius dolebat.

5 manum] +tuam BCPQ *m.* 19 erat] fuerat BGPQV *edd.*

1. **latas...uias**] Cf. Mt vii 13 'quia lata porta et spatiosa uia est quae ducit ad perditionem.'

2. **multae cogitationes** etc.] Cf. Prov. xix 21 'multae cogitationes in corde uiri; uoluntas autem Domini permanebit.' Ps. xxxii (xxxiii) 11 'consilium autem Domini in aeternum manet.'

4. **escam...benedictione**] Ps. cxliv (cxlv) 15, 16.

XV. *A.'s mistress returns to Africa; but he remains the slave of sinful lusts.*

10. **illa in Africam redierat**] This incident, with the sequel, is the most painful in the life of A., and for it he expresses no adequate regret. Others appear to have influenced him, probably his mother and his friends (cf. 'auulsa a latere meo'), but it is impossible to acquit him of blame. He was probably deterred by his social ambition from making her his wife. His conduct contrasts unfavourably in this instance with that of Goethe, who married, against the wishes of his friends, the woman with whom he had lived for many years in what he termed 'Gewissens Ehe.' Cf. IV 2.

17. **satellitio** etc.] *under the convoy of inveterate custom.* The words 'in regnum' and 'perduceretur' seem to suggest that the military metaphor in 'satellitium' is consciously in view here. For a more general sense cf. *de Doct. Christ.* III 18. 26 'scripturarum... satellitium quaerente.'

20. **frigidius sed desperatius**]

XVI. Tibi laus, tibi gloria, fons misericordiarum. ego 26
fiebam miserior et tu propinquior. aderat iam iamque dextera
tua raptura me de caeno et ablutura, et ignorabam. nec me
reuocabat a profundiore uoluptatum carnalium gurgite nisi
metus mortis et futuri iudicii tui, qui per uarias quidem
opiniones, numquam tamen recessit de pectore meo. et
disputabam cum amicis meis Alypio et Nebridio de finibus
bonorum et malorum Epicurum accepturum fuisse palmam in
animo meo, nisi ego credidissem post mortem restare animae
uitam et tractus meritorum, quod Epicurus credere noluit. et
quaerebam, si essemus inmortales et in perpetua corporis
uoluptate sine ullo amissionis terrore uiueremus, cur non
essemus beati aut quid aliud quaereremus, nesciens id ipsum
ad magnam miseriam pertinere, quod ita demersus et caecus
cogitare non possem lumen honestatis et gratis amplectendae
pulchritudinis, quam non uidet oculus carnis, et uidetur ex
intimo. nec considerabam miser, ex qua uena mihi manaret,
quod ista ipsa foeda tamen cum amicis dulciter conferebam
nec esse sine amicis poteram beatus etiam secundum sensum,
quem tunc habebam, quantalibet affluentia carnalium uolup-

3 raptura] ereptura BCFM²PQ *o.* 20 quantalibet] in q. BCFHMOPQ *edd.*

Cf. *de Nat. Boni* xx 'item in corpore melius est uulnus cum dolore, quam putredo sine dolore, quae specialiter corruptio dicitur.'

XVI. *He is tormented by a fear of death and of a judgment to come. He gives thanks that his wretchedness brought God nearer.*

3. **raptura me de caeno**] Cf. Ps. xxxix 3 (xl 2) 'eduxit me de lacu miseriae, et de luto faecis.'

10. **tractus meritorum**] *rewards and punishments* (lit. the sequels of our deserts).

11. **in perpetua corporis uoluptate**] In *Enarr. in Ps.* lxxiii § 25 A. describes Epicurus as an 'insane philosopher, or rather lover of vanity, not of wisdom; whom even the philosophers themselves called a pig from his wallowing in the mire of the flesh.' Cf. the playful allusion of Horace *Ep.* I iv 16

'Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute uises,
cum ridere uoles, Epicuri de grege porcum.'

The present passage is reminiscent of a passage in Cic. *de Fin.* I 12. 40 (setting forth the view of Epicurus) 'extremum esse bonum uoluptatem ex hoc facillime perspici potest. constituamus aliquem magnis, multis, perpetuis fruentem et animo et corpore uoluptatibus, nullo dolore nec impediente nec impendente, quem tandem hoc statu praestabiliorem aut magis expetendum possumus dicere?'

tatum. quos utique amicos gratis diligebam uicissimque ab eis me diligi gratis sentiebam. o tortuosas uias! uae animae meae audaci, quae sperauit, si a te recessisset, se aliquid melius habituram! uersa et reuersa in tergum et in latera et in uentrem, et dura sunt omnia, et tu solus requies. et ecce ades et liberas a miserabilibus erroribus et constitues nos in uia tua et consolaris et dicis: "currite, ego feram et ego perducam et ibi ego feram."

3 meae] SW, – BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

2. **uae animae meae**] Cf. Isa. iii 9 'uae animae eorum.'

6. **constitues nos in uia**] Cf. Ps. xxxi (xxxii) 8 which A. quotes in the form 'statuam te in uia hac qua gradieris' (Vulg. 'instruam te').

7. **ego feram**] Is. xlvi 4.

ib. **et ibi**] 'even there,' *i.e.* in the place to which He finally leads His people ('perducam').

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

I. Iam mortua erat adulescentia mea mala et nefanda, 1
et ibam in iuuentutem, quanto aetate maior, tanto uanitate turpior, qui cogitare aliquid substantiae nisi tale non poteram, quale per hos oculos uideri solet. non te cogitabam, deus, in figura corporis humani, ex quo audire aliquid de sapientia coepi; semper hoc fugi et gaudebam me hoc reperire in fide spiritalis matris nostrae, catholicae tuae; sed quid te aliud cogitarem non occurrebat. et conabar cogitare te homo, et talis homo, summum et solum et uerum deum, et te incorruptibilem et inuiolabilem et inconmutabilem totis medullis credebam, quia nesciens, unde et quomodo, plane tamen uidebam et certus eram id, quod corrumpi potest, deterius esse quam id quod non potest, et quod uiolari non potest, incunctanter praeponebam uiolabili, et quod nullam patitur muta-

6 reperire] repperisse BCHMOPQW *edd.*

I. *A. is unable to free himself from materialistic conceptions of God.*

1. **mortua**] See I 9, note ('infantia mortua'), and cf. *c. Max.* II 12. 2 'in omni enim mutabili natura nonnulla mors est ipsa mutatio, quia facit aliquid in ea non esse, quod erat.'

ib. **adulescentia**] extended from 15 to 30. A. was now 31. 'Iuuentus,' when used alone, covered the ages from 20 to 40, but is often limited to the period which succeeded to 'adulescentia'; cf. Marcell. *Dig.* XXXII 69. 1 'iuuenis is, qui adulescentis excessit aetatem.'

5. **aliquid de sapientia**] By this A. probably means 'any philosophical teaching.' Cp. his frequent references to the derivational meaning of 'philosophia' = 'amor sapientiae,' *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.* xxi 38 etc. 'De' is partitive.

6. **hoc fugi...hoc reperire**] The first 'hoc' represents 'te cogitare in figura corporis humani'; the second 'non te cogitare' etc. The use of the pronoun in these two opposite senses in the same sentence is very awkward.

9. **solum et uerum deum**] Cf. Jn xvii 3 'ut cognoscant te solum Deum uerum.'

tionem, melius esse quam id quod mutari potest. clamabat uiolenter cor meum aduersus omnia phantasmata mea et hoc uno ictu conabar abigere circumuolantem turbam inmunditiae ab acie mentis meae: et uix dimota in ictu oculi ecce conglobata rursus aderat et inruebat in aspectum meum et obnubilabat eum, ut quamuis non forma humani corporis, corporeum tamen aliquid cogitare cogerer per spatia locorum siue infusum mundo siue etiam extra mundum per infinita diffusum, etiam ipsum incorruptibile et inuiolabile et inconmutabile, quod corruptibili et uiolabili et conmutabili praeponebam, quoniam quidquid priuabam spatiis talibus, nihil mihi esse uidebatur, sed prorsus nihil, ne inane quidem, tamquam si corpus auferatur loco et maneat locus omni corpore uacuatus et terreno et humido et aerio et caelesti, sed tamen sit locus inanis tamquam spatiosum nihil.

2 Ego itaque incrassatus corde nec mihimet ipsi uel ipse conspicuus, quidquid non per aliquanta spatia tenderetur uel diffunderetur uel conglobaretur uel tumeret uel tale aliquid caperet aut capere posset, nihil prorsus esse arbitrabar. per quales enim formas ire solent oculi mei, per tales imagines ibat cor meum, nec uidebam hanc eandem intentionem, qua illas ipsas imagines formabam, non esse tale aliquid: quae tamen ipsas non formaret, nisi esset magnum aliquid. ita etiam te, uita uitae meae, grandem per infinita spatia undique cogitabam penetrare totam mundi molem et extra eam quaquauersum per inmensa sine termino, ut haberet te terra,

1. **clamabat uiolenter cor meum**] 'Jamais âme n'a supporté avec plus d'impatience les anxiétés du doute et n'a fait plus d'efforts pour dissiper les fantômes de l'erreur.' Nourrisson, *Philosophie de St. Augustin* i 53.

2. **phantasmata**] For the special sense in which A. uses 'phantasma' see III 10, note.

3. **circumuolantem turbam**] Cf. *Aen.* III 233 sq. (the Harpies) 'turba sonans praedam pedibus circumuolat uncis ...'

12. **ne inane quidem**] *not even a void.*

15. **tamquam spatiosum nihil**] *a nothingness which yet possessed the quality of space.*

16. **nec mihimet ipsi**...] *i.e.* he had in his own mind, had he but recognised it, an example of non-material existence, which might have helped him to apprehend God's immateriality. The argument is developed in *de Trin.* V 1. 2.

21. **intentionem**] *effort of mind.*

haberet caelum, haberent omnia et illa finirentur in te, tu autem nusquam. sicut autem luci solis non obsisteret aeris corpus, aeris huius, qui supra terram est, quominus per eum traiceretur penetrans eum non dirumpendo aut concidendo, sed implendo eum totum, sic tibi putabam non solum caeli et aeris et maris, sed etiam terrae corpus peruium et ex omnibus maximis minimisque partibus penetrabile ad capiendam praesentiam tuam, occulta inspiratione intrinsecus et extrinsecus administrante omnia, quae creasti. ita suspicabar, quia cogitare aliud non poteram ; nam falsum erat. illo enim modo maior pars terrae maiorem tui partem haberet et minorem minor, atque ita te plena essent omnia, ut amplius tui caperet elephanti corpus quam passeris, quo esset isto grandius grandioremque occuparet locum, atque ita frustatim partibus mundi magnis magnas, breuibus breues partes tuas praesentes faceres. non est autem ita. sed nondum inluminaueras tenebras meas.

II. Sat erat mihi, domine, aduersus illos deceptos decep- 3
tores et loquaces mutos, quoniam non ex eis sonabat uerbum tuum, sat erat ergo illud quod iam diu ab usque Carthagine a Nebridio proponi solebat et omnes, qui audiebamus, concussi sumus : quid erat tibi factura nescio qua gens tenebrarum, quam ex aduersa mole solent proponere, si tu cum ea pugnare

2 aeris corpus] – aeris CGH *edd.* 16 est] es BCGHMPQVW *edd.* 21 audiebamus] audieramus BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 22 qua] quae $BCGH^2MQV^2W$ *edd.* 23 proponere] opponere BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

8. **occulta inspiratione intrinsecus...**] Cf. *Aen.* VI 724 sq.

'Principio caelum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
lucentemque globum lunae, Titaniaque astra
spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.'

17. **tenebras meas**] Ps. xvii 29 (xviii 28).

II. *He rejects with indignation the view of those who hold that God is corruptible.*

18. **deceptos deceptores**] Cf. 2 Tim. iii 13. Wendland, in *Rhein. Mus.* 1894 p. 309, notes that the phrase occurs rather frequently in Greek literature, and conjectures some famous original, perhaps a saying of Heraclitus.

19. **loquaces mutos**] Oxymoron. Cf. I 4 *fin.*

21. **Nebridio**] See IV 6.

23. **si tu...pugnare noluisses**] A battle between the kingdoms of Light and Darkness was an in-

noluisses? si enim responderetur aliquid fuisse nocituram, uiolabilis tu et corruptibilis fores. si autem nihil ea nocere potuisse diceretur, nulla afferretur causa pugnandi et ita pugnandi, ut quaedam portio tua et membrum tuum uel proles de ipsa substantia tua misceretur aduersis potestatibus et non a te creatis naturis atque in tantum ab eis corrumperetur et conmutaretur in deterius, ut a beatitudine in miseriam uerteretur et egeret auxilio, quo erui purgarique posset, et hanc esse animam, cui tuus sermo seruienti liber et contaminatae purus et corruptae integer subueniret, sed et ipse corruptibilis, quia ex una eademque substantia. itaque si te, quidquid es, id est substantiam tuam, qua es, incorruptibilem dicerent, falsa esse illa omnia et exsecrabilia; si autem corruptibilem, id ipsum iam falsum et prima uoce abominandum. sat erat ergo istuc aduersus eos omni modo euomendos a pressura pectoris, quia non habebant, qua exirent sine horribili sacrilegio cordis et linguae sentiendo de te ista et loquendo.

8 egeret S, indigeret BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

dispensable initial postulate of the Manichaeans. To go behind this was to place them in a difficulty, since they were not prepared to deny that the good Power was inviolable, had it remained passive. A. employed this argument with effect in a public disputation with a Manichaean 'Electus' named Felix. The latter, convinced by it that the Manichaean theory involved as an inevitable consequence the admission that the Divine nature was corruptible (capable of being injured)—a proposition which he abhorred—consented to anathematise Manichaeus and publicly signed a recantation (*Acta cum Felice* II 22 *fin.*).

4. **portio tua**] That portion of the Light which, as a result of the great conflict, was bound down amid the race of Darkness. In the *Disp. cont. Fortunat.* I 7 it is described as a 'uirtus,' an emanation from the Ruler of the Light-Realm. It was conceived to permeate all nature, and to have its highest manifestation in the 'good soul' in man.

9. **tuus sermo**] The Manichaeans took pains to adopt Christian language (though only 'tenus sono' III 10) and Fortunatus (*ut sup.* I 3), in his 'professio,' speaks of the 'Word, born from the foundation of the world,' who comes among men to sanctify and restore them to the Kingdom of God.

10. **sed et ipse corruptibilis**] No real saviour was provided for by the system. 'Iesus patibilis' (*c. Faust.* XX 11) who 'hung on every tree (omni suspensus ex ligno)' was merely a personification of the Light elements embodied in vegetable life. Cf. Kessler in Herzog-Hauck *Realenc.* ed. 3 p. 208, who finds the explanation of the 'Iesus patibilis' idea in a philosophising of the Christian doctrine of redemption on the basis of Rom. viii 19.

17. **sentiendo...loquendo**] Cf. V 15, note ('mansit orando et flendo').

III. Sed et ego adhuc, quamuis incontaminabilem et in- 4
conuertibilem et nulla ex parte mutabilem dicerem firmeque
sentirem dominum nostrum, deum uerum, qui fecisti non solum
animas nostras sed etiam corpora, nec tantum nostras animas
et corpora, sed omnes et omnia, non tenebam explicitam et
enodatam causam mali. quaecumque tamen esset, sic eam
quaerendam uidebam, ut non per illam constringerer deum
inconmutabilem mutabilem credere, ne ipse fierem quod
quaerebam. itaque securus eam quaerebam et certus non
esse uerum quod illi dicerent, quos toto animo fugiebam,
quia uidebam quaerendo, unde malum, repletos malitia, qua
opinarentur tuam potius substantiam male pati quam suam
male facere.

Et intendebam, ut cernerem quod audiebam, liberum 5
uoluntatis arbitrium causam esse, ut male faceremus et rectum
iudicium tuum ut pateremur, et eam liquidam cernere non
ualebam. itaque aciem mentis de profundo educere conatus
mergebar iterum et saepe conatus mergebar iterum atque ite-
rum. subleuabat enim me in lucem tuam, quod tam sciebam
me habere uoluntatem quam me uiuere. itaque cum aliquid
uellem aut nollem, non alium quam me uelle ac nolle certis-
simus eram et ibi esse causam peccati mei iam iamque aduer-

7 constringerer] constringerem S *Knöll in ed. mai.* 22 animaduer-tebam BCFGHMOPQW *edd.*

III. *The problem of the cause of evil still perplexes him: for how can man will evil if created by the good God?*

8. **ne ipse fierem quod quaerebam**] sc. 'causa mali.' A. means that to adopt an explanation of the problem of evil which made God mutable would be itself a sin, and the man who did so would therefore be (with a play upon the words) 'causa mali.'

11. **quaerendo**] The context makes it probable that 'quaerendo' refers to the object, not as it ought grammatically to do, to the subject of 'uidebam.' If so, it is a further extension of the usage noted above, p. 169, l. 17. Once the ablative of the gerund was felt to be equivalent to the present participle in the nominative, we can see how it might be carelessly used for the accusative.

ib. **repletos malitia**] Cf. Rom. i 29.

15. **male faceremus ... pateremur**] Cf. *c. Adimant.* xxvi: 'dupliciter appellatur malum; unum quod homo facit, alterum quod patitur: quod facit peccatum est; quod patitur, poena.'

22. **iam iamque aduertebam**] 'I was on the point of perceiving.'

tebam. quod autem inuitus facerem, pati me potius quam facere uidebam et id non culpam, sed poenam esse iudicabam, qua me non iniuste plecti, te iustum cogitans, cito fatebar. sed rursus dicebam: "quis fecit me? nonne deus meus, non tantum bonus, sed ipsum bonum? unde igitur mihi male uelle et bene nolle? ut esset, cur iuste poenas luerem? quis in me hoc posuit et inseuit mihi plantarium amaritudinis, cum totus fierem a dulcissimo deo meo? si diabolus auctor, unde ipse diabolus? quod si et ipse peruersa uoluntate ex bono angelo diabolus factus est, unde et in ipso uoluntas mala, qua diabolus fieret, quando totus angelus a conditore optimo factus esset?" his cogitationibus deprimebar iterum et suffocabar, sed non usque ad illum infernum subducebar erroris, ubi nemo tibi confitetur, dum tu potius mala pati quam homo facere putatur.

6 IV. Sic enim nitebar inuenire cetera, ut iam inueneram melius esse incorruptibile quam corruptibile, et ideo te, quidquid esses, esse incorruptibilem confitebar. neque enim ulla anima umquam potuit poteritue cogitare aliquid, quod sit te melius, qui summum et optimum bonum es. cum autem uerissime atque certissime incorruptibile corruptibili praeponatur, sicut ego iam praeponebam, poteram iam cogitatione aliquid adtingere, quod esset melius deo meo, nisi tu esses incorruptibilis. ubi igitur uidebam incorruptibile corruptibili esse praeferendum, ibi te quaerere debebam atque inde aduertere, ubi sit malum, id est unde sit ipsa corruptio, qua uiolari substantia tua nullo modo potest. nullo enim prorsus uiolat

27 nullo...prorsus] + modo BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

7. **plantarium amaritudinis**] Cf. Heb. xii 15 'ne qua radix amaritudinis sursum germinans impediat.' Cf. also Mt. xiii 24 sq.

13. **infernum...ubi nemo tibi confitetur**] Cf. Ps. vi 6 (5).

IV. *Were God's substance corruptible, He would be no longer God.*

22. **poteram...cogitatione** etc.] *i.e.* if God were not incorruptible something higher than God could be thought of which was incorruptible. The argument is closely parallel in form to Anselm's famous 'proof,' in the *Proslogium*, of God's existence.

24. **ubi...ibi**] *i.e.* this conviction of the incorruptibility of God might fittingly have become the fixed starting-point and regulative principle of his enquiry.

corruptio deum nostrum, nulla uoluntate, nulla necessitate, nullo inprouiso casu, quoniam ipse est deus et quod sibi uult bonum est et ipse est idem bonum; corrumpi autem non est bonum. nec cogeris inuitus ad aliquid, quia uoluntas tua non est maior quam potentia tua. esset autem maior, si te ipso tu ipse maior esses: uoluntas enim et potentia dei deus ipse est. quid inprouisum tibi, qui nosti omnia? et nulla natura est, nisi quia nosti eam. et ut quid multa dicimus, cur non sit corruptibilis substantia, quae deus est, quando, si hoc esset, non esset deus?

V. Et quaerebam, unde malum, et male quaerebam et in 7
ipsa inquisitione mea non uidebam malum. et constituebam in conspectu spiritus mei uniuersam creaturam, quidquid in ea cernere possumus, sicuti est terra et mare et aer et sidera et arbores et animalia mortalia, et quidquid in ea non uidemus, sicut firmamentum caeli insuper et omnes angelos et cuncta spiritalia eius, sed etiam ipsa, quasi corpora essent, locis et locis ordinata, ut imaginatio mea; et feci unam massam grandem distinctam generibus corporum creaturam tuam, siue re uera quae corpora erant, siue quae ipse pro spiritibus finxeram, et eam feci grandem, non quantum erat, quod scire non poteram, sed quantum libuit, undiqueuersum sane finitam, te autem, domine, ex omni parte ambientem et penetrantem eam, sed usquequaque infinitum, tamquam si mare esset ubique et undique per inmensa infinitum solum mare et haberet intra se spongiam quamlibet magnam, sed finitam tamen,

7 quid S, et quid BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 18 ordinata ut OS, ordinata F, ordinavit (– ut) *cet. et edd.* 25 inmensa] inmensum BPQ, + spatia CGM *m*.

8. **ut quid**] 'why.' See III 3 note.

V. *His attempts to conceive the relation between God and the world. He was still distressed by the problem of evil. The Church's faith regarding Christ was now firmly fixed in his heart, but his mind did not fully receive it, although it tended towards it.*

19. **distinctam**] 'adorned with' ('caelum astris distinctum' Cic. *N. D.* II 37).

26. **spongiam**] There is an interesting parallel in Plotinus *Enn.* IV 3. 9. 'The world lies in the Soul which sustains it, completely penetrated by it in every part, as though a net in the water, thoroughly soaked with it, drew thence a

plena esset utique spongia illa ex omni sua parte ex inmenso mari: sic creaturam tuam finitam te infinito plenam putabam et dicebam: "ecce deus et ecce quae creauit deus, et bonus deus atque his ualidissime longissimeque praestantior; sed tamen bonus bona creauit; et ecce quomodo ambit atque implet ea: ubi ergo malum et unde et qua huc inrepsit? quae radix eius et quod semen eius? an omnino non est? cur ergo timemus et cauemus quod non est? aut si inaniter timemus, timor ipse malum est, quo incassum stimulatur et excruciatur cor, et tanto grauius malum, quanto non est, quod timeamus, et timemus. idcirco aut est malum, quod timemus, aut hoc malum est, quia timemus. unde est igitur, quia deus fecit haec omnia bonus bona? maius quidem et summum bonum minora fecit bona, sed tamen et creans et creata bona sunt omnia. unde est malum? an, unde fecit ea, materies aliqua mala erat, et formauit atque ordinauit eam, sed reliquit aliquid in illa, quod in bonum non conuerteret? cur et hoc? an inpotens erat totam uertere et conmutare, ut nihil mali remaneret, cum sit omnipotens? postremo cur inde aliquid facere uoluit ac non potius eadem omnipotentia fecit, ut nulla esset omnino? aut uero exsistere poterat contra eius uoluntatem? aut si aeterna erat, cur tam diu per infinita retro spatia temporum sic eam siuit esse ac tanto post placuit aliquid ex ea facere? aut iam, si aliquid subito uoluit agere, hoc potius ageret omnipotens, ut illa non esset atque ipse solus esset totum uerum et summum et infinitum bonum? aut si non

9 timor S, certe uel t. BCFGHMOPQW *edd.* 12 *alt.* quia] quoniam BCFGHMOPQW *edd.*

certain life, but yet could not coalesce with the substance of that wherein it lay.' A.'s free handling of the idea suggests an unconscious reminiscence (or perhaps a common source) rather than direct imitation.

15. **an, unde fecit** etc.] On this point A. is at variance with the Neo-Platonists, cf. Plotin. *Enn.* I 8. 14 ὕλη τοίνυν καὶ ἀσθενείας ψυχῆ αἰτία, καὶ κακίας αἰτία. πρότερον ἄρα κακὴ αὐτὴ καὶ πρῶτον κακόν.

22. **cur tam diu**] See XI 12—16 for a discussion of the time-problem in relation to God.

25. **ageret**] Jussive subjunctive, see Madvig 351 b obs. 4, and note on Cicero *de Fin.* II 12. 36: 'being omnipotent, He ought surely rather to have caused it not to be' etc. 'Institueret' in the next sentence is similarly used.

erat bene, ut non aliquid boni etiam fabricaretur et conderet qui bonus erat, illa sublata et ad nihilum redacta materie, quae mala erat, bonam ipse institueret, unde omnia crearet? non enim esset omnipotens, si condere non posset aliquid boni, nisi ea quam non ipse condiderat adiuuaretur materia." talia uoluebam pectore misero, ingrauidato curis mordacissimis de timore mortis et non inuenta ueritate; stabiliter tamen haerebat in corde meo in catholica ecclesia fides Christi tui, domini et saluatoris nostri, in multis quidem adhuc informis et praeter doctrinae normam fluitans, sed tamen non eam relinquebat animus, inmo in dies magis magisque inbibebat.

VI. Iam etiam mathematicorum fallaces diuinationes et 8
inpia deliramenta reieceram. confiteantur etiam hinc tibi de intimis uisceribus animae meae miserationes tuae, deus meus! tu enim, tu omnino—nam quis alius a morte omnis erroris reuocat nos nisi uita, quae mori nescit, et sapientia mentes indigentes inluminans, nullo indigens lumine, qua mundus administratur usque ad arborum uolatica folia?—tu procurasti peruicaciae meae, qua obluctatus sum Vindiciano acuto seni et Nebridio adulescenti mirabilis animae, illi uehementer adfirmanti, huic cum dubitatione quidem aliqua, sed tamen crebro dicenti non esse illam artem futura praeuidendi, coniecturas autem hominum habere saepe uim sortis et multa dicendo dici pleraque uentura nescientibus eis, qui dicerent, sed in ea non tacendo incurrentibus, procurasti tu ergo hominem amicum, non quidem segnem consultorem mathematicorum

26 consultorem] consulatorem S, consolatorem W, consultatorem *coniec. Knöll in ed. mai.*

3. **non enim esset omnipotens**] Cf. *de Gen. c. Manich.* I 6. 10 'non enim debemus esse similes istis qui omnipotentem Deum non credunt aliquid de nihilo facere potuisse, cum considerant fabros et quoslibet opifices non posse aliquid fabricare nisi habuerint unde fabricarent.'

8. **Christi...domini et saluatoris nostri**] 2 Pet. ii 20.

9. **informis et...fluitans**] See I 18, note.

VI. *He rejects the foolish fancies of the astrologers.*

12. **mathematicorum**] See IV 4, note.

14. **miserationes**] See I 5, note.

19. **Vindiciano**] See IV 5.

nec eas litteras bene callentem, sed, ut dixi, consultorem curiosum et tamen scientem aliquid, quod a patre suo se audisse dicebat: quod quantum ualeret ad illius artis opinionem euertendam, ignorabat. is ergo uir nomine Firminus, liberaliter institutus et excultus eloquio, cum me tamquam carissimum de quibusdam suis rebus, in quas saecularis spes eius intumuerat, consuleret, quid mihi secundum suas quas constellationes appellant uideretur, ego autem, qui iam de hac re in Nebridii sententiam flecti coeperam, non quidem abnuerem conicere ac dicere quod nutanti occurrebat, sed tamen subicerem prope iam esse mihi persuasum ridicula illa esse et inania, tum ille mihi narrauit patrem suum fuisse librorum talium curiosissimum et habuisse amicum aeque illa simulque sectantem. qui pari studio et conlatione flagrabant in eas nugas igne cordis sui, ita ut mutorum quoque animalium, si quae domi parerent, obseruarent momenta nascentium atque ad ea caeli positionem notarent, unde illius quasi artis experimenta colligerent. itaque dicebat audisse se a patre suo, quod cum eundem Firminum praegnans mater esset, etiam illius paterni amici famula quaedam pariter utero grandescebat. quod latere non potuit dominum, qui etiam canum suarum partus examinatissima diligentia nosse curabat; atque ita factum esse, ut cum iste coniugis, ille autem ancillae dies et horas minutioresque horarum articulos cautissima obseruatione numerarent, enixae essent ambae simul, ita ut easdem constellationes usque ad

1. **nec eas litteras bene callentem**] *and yet not deeply versed in their lore.*

9. **conicere**] used technically of interpreting omens etc. ('somnium,' Plaut. *Curc.* II ii 3; 'ex oraculo Apollinis,' Cic. *Brut.* xiv 53).

10. **quod nutanti occurrebat**] 'what came into my mind, undecided though it was.'

19. **eundem...praegnans**] The construction with accusative appears to be peculiar to A. The passive is used as if from a transitive verb in *Serm.* lxxii 1 of the sermons attributed to A. printed in vol. I of Cardinal Mai's *Patrum Noua Bibliotheca.*

25. **easdem constellationes... facere**] *to give them each precisely the same horoscope.* The reference is to the record of the position of the constellations at the moment of the birth, on which the predictions were supposed to be based. In *de Diu. Quaest. lxxxiii* q. 45 § 2 A. gives some details: 'in constellationibus autem notari partes, quales trecentas sexaginta dicunt habere

easdem minutias utrique nascenti facere cogerentur, iste filio, ille seruulo. nam cum mulieres parturire coepissent, indicauerunt sibi ambo, quid sua cuiusque domo ageretur, et parauerunt quos ad se inuicem mitterent, simul ut natum quod parturiebatur esset cuique nuntiatum: quod tamen ut continuo nuntiaretur, tamquam in regno suo facile effecerant. atque ita qui ab alterutro missi sunt, tam ex paribus domorum interuallis sibi obuiam factos esse dicebat, ut aliam positionem siderum aliasque particulas momentorum neuter eorum notare sineretur: et tamen Firminus amplo apud suos loco natus dealbatiores uias saeculi cursitabat, augebatur diuitiis, sublimabatur honoribus, seruus autem ille conditionis iugo nullatenus relaxato dominis seruiebat ipso indicante, qui nouerat eum.

His itaque auditis et creditis—talis quippe narrauerat— 9
omnis illa reluctatio mea soluta concidit, et primo Firminum ipsum conatus sum ab illa curiositate reuocare, cum dicerem, constellationibus eius inspectis ut uera pronuntiarem, debuisse me utique uidere ibi parentes inter suos esse primarios, nobilem familiam propriae ciuitatis, natales ingenuos, honestam educationem liberalesque doctrinas; at si me ille seruus ex eisdem constellationibus—quia et illius ipsae essent—consuluisset, ut eidem quoque uera proferrem, debuisse me rursus ibi uidere abiectissimam familiam, conditionem seruilem et

3 sua] in sua O *m*. 16 soluta] resoluta BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

signiferum circulum: motum autem caeli per unam horam fieri in quindecim partibus, ut tanta mora quindecim partes oriantur, quantam tenet una hora; quae partes singulae sexaginta minutas habere dicuntur.' He goes on to explain that these divisions are not sufficiently minute to show any difference for the birth of twins.

3. **domo**] For 'domo' without preposition in this sense, cf. Cic. *Clu.* ix 27 'domo sibi quaerendum remedium existimauit.'

6. **in regno suo**] *each in his own domain.*

11. **dealbatiores**] *comparatively brilliant.* This general sense is more probable than the conjecture of Le Clerc, quoted by Migne, that since a newly made, or mended, Roman road was white from the lime used for binding, 'dealbatiores' = 'well-kept.' The comparative form is peculiar to A.

15. **talis quippe narrauerat**] *in view of the character of the narrator.*

cetera longe a prioribus aliena longeque distantia. unde autem fieret, ut eadem inspiciens diuersa dicerem, si uera dicerem—si autem eadem dicerem, falsa dicerem—inde certissime colligi ea, quae uera consideratis constellationibus dicerentur, non arte dici, sed sorte, quae autem falsa, non artis inperitia, sed sortis mendacio.

Hinc autem accepto aditu ipse mecum talia ruminando, ne quis eorundem delirorum, qui talem quaestum sequerentur, quos iam iamque inuadere atque inrisos refellere cupiebam, mihi ita resisteret, quasi aut Firminus mihi aut illi pater falsa narrauerit, intendi considerationem in eos qui gemini nascuntur, quorum plerique ita post inuicem funduntur ex utero, ut paruum ipsum temporis interuallum, quantamlibet uim in rerum natura habere contendant, colligi tamen humana obseruatione non possit litterisque signari omnino non ualeat, quas mathematicus inspecturus est, ut uera pronuntiet. et non erunt uera, quia easdem litteras inspiciens eadem debuit dicere de Esau et Iacob; sed non eadem utrique acciderunt. falsa ergo diceret aut, si uera diceret, non eadem diceret: at eadem inspiceret. non ergo arte, sed sorte uera diceret. tu enim, domine, iustissime moderator uniuersitatis, consulentibus consultisque nescientibus occulto instinctu agis, ut, dum quisque consulit, hoc audiat, quod eum oportet audire occultis meritis animarum ex abysso iusti iudicii tui. cui non dicat homo: "quid est hoc?" "ut quid hoc?" non dicat, non dicat; homo est enim.

7. **hinc ... aditu**] *approaching the subject from this side.*

13. **quantamlibet...contendant**] *However much influence they claim for it as an actual fact.* The point is that, even supposing it to have such influence, their method of registering the constellations was not delicate enough to take account of this interval.

15. **litteris**] Probably the tables in which, 'for the purpose of expediting calculations, the risings, settings, movements and relative positions were carefully registered'; *Dict. Class. Antiq.*, 'Astrology.' Perhaps, however, the reference is to the chart made by the nativity-caster.

21. **consulentibus ... nescientibus**] See IV 5, and note there. Cf. Ezek. xiv 4.

24. **ex abysso iusti iudicii tui**] Ps. xxxv 7 (xxxvi 6) 'iudicia tua abyssus multa.'

25. **quid est hoc?** etc.] Cf. Ecclus. xxxix 26.

VII. Iam itaque me, adiutor meus, illis uinculis solueras, 11
et quaerebam, unde malum, et non erat exitus. sed me non sinebas ullis fluctibus cogitationis auferri ab ea fide, qua credebam et esse te et esse inconmutabilem substantiam tuam et esse de hominibus curam et iudicium tuum et in Christo, filio tuo, domino nostro, atque scripturis sanctis, quas ecclesiae tuae catholicae conmendaret auctoritas, uiam te posuisse salutis humanae ad eam uitam, quae post hanc mortem futura est. his itaque saluis atque inconcusse roboratis in animo meo quaerebam aestuans, unde sit malum. quae illa tormenta parturientis cordis mei, qui gemitus, deus meus! et ibi erant aures tuae nesciente me. et cum in silentio fortiter quaererem, magnae uoces erant ad misericordiam tuam, tacitae contritiones animi mei. tu sciebas, quid patiebar, et nullus hominum. quantum enim erat, quod inde digerebatur per linguam meam in aures familiarissimorum meorum! numquid tumultus animae meae, cui nec tempora nec os meum sufficiebat, sonabat eis? totum tamen ibat in auditum tuum, quod rugiebam a gemitu cordis mei, et ante te erat desiderium meum et lumen oculorum meorum non erat mecum. intus enim erat, ego autem foris, nec in loco illud. at ego intendebam in ea, quae locis continentur, et non ibi inueniebam

17 tumultus] totus t. BFHMOPQVW *edd.*

VII. *Although unable to discover the cause of evil, by the mercy of God he did not cease to believe that God is, that He cares for men and will judge them; and that salvation has been revealed through Christ and the Scriptures. But as yet he found no rest.*

1. **adiutor meus**] Ps. xvii 3 (xviii 2).

6. **ecclesiae ... auctoritas**] Cf. VI 19 ('eminens culmen auctoritatis' etc.).

14. **contritiones**] 'sufferings.' The plural in concrete sense is Biblical (Ps. lix 4 (lx 2) = συντρίμματα שִׁבָּרִים). See I 5, note (miserationes).

19. **rugiebam** etc.] Ps. xxxvii 9, 10 (xxxviii 8, 9).

20. **lumen...mecum**] Ps. xxxvii 11 (xxxviii 10) A. explains, *ad loc.*, that man lost this light when Adam, after his disobedience, fled from God, 'nam lumen oculorum ipsius ipse Deus erat.'

ib. **intus...foris**] The language is Neo-Platonic. See I 28, note.

22. **ea quae locis** etc.] 'the things that are contained in space,' external material things.

locum ad requiescendum, nec recipiebant me ista, ut dicerem: "sat est et bene est," nec dimittebant redire, ubi mihi satis esset bene. superior enim eram istis, te uero inferior, et tu gaudium uerum mihi subdito tibi et tu mihi subieceras quae infra me creasti. et hoc erat rectum temperamentum et media regio salutis meae, ut manerem ad imaginem tuam et tibi seruiens dominarer corpori. sed cum superbe contra te surgerem et currerem aduersus dominum in ceruice crassa scuti mei, etiam ista infima supra me facta sunt et premebant, et nusquam erat laxamentum et respiramentum. ipsa occurrebant undique aceruatim et conglobatim cernenti, cogitanti autem imagines corporum ipsae opponebantur redeunti, quasi diceretur: "quo is, indigne et sordide?" et haec de uulnere meo creuerant, quia humiliasti tamquam uulneratum superbum, et tumore meo separabar abs te et nimis inflata facies claudebat oculos meos.

12 VIII. Tu uero, domine, in aeternum manes et non in aeternum irasceris nobis, quoniam miseratus es terram et cinerem, et placuit in conspectu tuo reformare deformia mea. et stimulis internis agitabas me, ut inpatiens essem, donec mihi per interiorem aspectum certus esses. et residebat tumor meus ex occulta manu medicinae tuae aciesque conturbata et con-

5. **rectum temperamentum**] 'the happy mean.' Cf. *de Trin.* x 5. 7 'utquid ergo ei praeceptum est ut se ipsam cognoscat? credo, ut se ipsam cogitet, et secundum naturam suam uiuat, id est ut secundum naturam suam ordinari appetat ...sub illo a quo regi debet, super ea quae regere debet.'

8. **in ceruice crassa**] Job xv 26. An Old Lat. reading, following LXX *ἐν πάχει νώτου ἀσπίδος αὐτοῦ* (Vulg. 'et pingui ceruice armatus est'). A. interprets (*Adnot. in Iob*) 'praesumens de protectione sua.'

10. **respiramentum**] *relief*. Only A. is cited for the word.

14. **humiliasti**...**superbum**] Ps. lxxxviii 11 (lxxxix 10).

VIII. *God in His mercy makes him ill at ease, that his discontent with himself may conduct him to betterment.*

17. **non in aeternum irasceris**] Ps. lxxxiv 6; cii 9 (lxxxv 5; ciii 9).

18. **terram et cinerem**] Cf. Ecclus. xvii 31 'et omnes homines terra et cinis.'

20. **stimulis** ... **agitabas**] For the phrase cf. *Aen.* xi 336–7 'quem gloria Turni...stimulisque agitabat amaris'; and, for the thought, Acts ix 5.

22. **ex**] causal, and in pregnant sense, 'from (the application) of the hand' etc. We may render 'at the unseen touch.'

ib. **medicinae**] 'Medicina' is

tenebrata mentis meae acri collyrio salubrium dolorum de die in diem sanabatur.

IX. Et primo uolens ostendere mihi, quam resistas superbis, humilibus autem des gratiam et quanta misericordia tua demonstrata sit hominibus uia humilitatis, quod uerbum caro factum est et habitauit inter homines, procurasti mihi per quendam hominem inmanissimo tyfo turgidum quosdam Platonicorum libros ex graeca lingua in latinum uersos, et ibi legi non quidem his uerbis, sed hoc idem omnino multis et multiplicibus suaderi rationibus, quod in principio erat uerbum 13

5 uerbum]+tuum BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 8 latinum] latinam BF²GHMOPQW *edd.*

frequently used by A. as a title of Christ, cf. IX 35 'medicinam...quae pependit in ligno'; IX 18 'nisi tua medicina...uigilaret.'

1. **collyrio**] Cf. Rev. iii 18.

IX. *Books of the Platonists come into his hands. He compares and contrasts their teaching with what he afterwards learnt from the Scriptures.*

3. **resistas...gratiam**] Ja. iv 6; 1 Pet. v 5.

5. **uerbum** etc.] Jn i 14.

8. **Platonicorum**] The philosophers now known as Neo-Platonists. Cf. *de Ciu. Dei* VIII 12 (Platonici) 'ex quibus sunt ualde nobilitati Graeci, Plotinus, Iamblichus, Porphyrius; in utraque autem lingua, id est et Graeca et Latina, Apuleius Afer.' A. was chiefly influenced by Plotinus, but shows an accurate acquaintance with some of the works of Porphyry also; Iamblichus he does not quote. See Introd. xxxix—li.

ib. **in latinum uersos**] The translator was Victorinus Afer, a famous rhetorician, of whom A. gives an account in VIII 3, where see note.

9. **non quidem his uerbis**] This disposes of the theory (Watts *ap.* Pusey) that A. refers specially to the work of Amelius, a pupil of Plotinus, who quotes the opening verses of St John. A.'s meaning is that he found in the Neo-Platonists a Logos doctrine but no Incarnation. The passage of Amelius, however, illustrates the affinities A. has in mind, and is of intrinsic interest. 'And this was the Word, on whom, as being eternal, depended the existence of the things that were made, as Heraclitus also would maintain, and the same forsooth of whom, as set in the rank and dignity of *the beginning*, the Barbarian (St John) maintains that he *was with God and was God*: through whom absolutely *all things were made*, in whom the living creature, and life, and being, had their birth: and that he came down into bodies, and clothed himself in flesh, and appeared as man, yet showing even there the majesty of his nature; aye indeed even after dissolution he was restored to deity, and is a God such as he was before he came down to dwell in the body, and to flesh and man.' *Ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* XI 19. 540 b (Gifford II ii 583).

10. **in principio erat uerbum** etc.] Jn i 1—12. Plotinus has a kind of Trinity consisting of τὸ ἕν, The One, the mysterious First Principle; ὁ νοῦς, Pure Intelligence; ἡ ψυχή, the Cosmic Soul. Of Pure

et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum: hoc erat in principio apud deum; omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil; quod factum est, in eo uita est, et uita erat lux hominum; et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non conprehenderunt; et quia hominis anima, quamuis testimonium perhibeat de lumine, non est tamen ipsa lumen, sed uerbum, deus ipse, est lumen uerum, quod inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum; et quia in hoc mundo erat, et mundus per eum factus est, et mundus eum non cognouit. quia uero in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt, quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri credentibus in nomine eius, non ibi legi.

14 Item legi ibi, quia uerbum, deus, non ex carne, non ex sanguine neque ex uoluntate uiri neque ex uoluntate carnis, sed ex deo natus est; sed quia uerbum caro factus est et

15 factus] factum BFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

Intelligence he says *πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀθάνατα περιέχει, νοῦν πάντα, θεὸν πάντα, ψυχὴν πᾶσαν, ἑστῶτα ἀεί. Enn.* V 1. 4. Cf. also the striking expression that when the Begetter is the Best, the Begotten is so closely united with it as only to be separated by its 'otherness' (*ἑτερότητι*) *Enn.* V 1. 6. The term Logos is not appropriated to the 'second' in this Trinity, the *ψυχή* being the Logos of the *νοῦς* as the *νοῦς* is of *τὸ ἕν, ib.*

3. **quod factum est, in eo uita est**] Notice the reading (punctuation) = *ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν.* So WH. with ACD, Old Lat., Old Syr., Clem. Alex., Orig., Cyr. Alex. A., *ad loc.*, explains his interpretation by the following illustration: 'faber facit arcam. primo in arte habet arcam...arca in opere non est uita; in arte uita est, quia uiuit anima artificis' (*Tract. in Ioan.* i 17).

5. **hominis anima...lumen**] In like manner Plotinus says that *νοῦς* (which is the true light) is not part of the soul. It is at once ours and not ours; ours when we use it, not ours when we fail to use it. *Enn.* V 3. 3.

ib. **testimonium...de lumine**] *ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἑαυτὸν εἰδήσει καὶ ὁπόθεν (ἥκει) Enn.* VI 9. 7.

8. **quia in hoc mundo erat** etc.] *οὐδενὸς (οὖν θεός) ἐστιν ἔξω, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι σύνεστιν οὐκ εἰδόσι. Enn.* VI 9. 7.

15. **natus est**] Jn i 13. This reading (for 'nati sunt') occurs in b; Tertull. *de Carn. Christ.* xix, who argues for it on *a priori* grounds; Iren. (int.) *c. Haer.* III 19. 2 et al.; Amb. *in Ps.* xxxvii Praef. Westcott, *St John* p. 32, accounts for it as a Latin corruption due to the distance of the ambiguous 'qui' from its antecedent. Other Old Lat. readings in this passage are: Jn i 9 'lumen uerum' (Vulg. 'lux uera'); Jn i 11 'in sua propria' (Vulg. 'in propria'); i 12 'credentibus' (Vulg. 'his qui credunt'); 'ex sanguine' (Vulg. 'sanguinibus'). See Sabatier *Vetus Italica* III 397.

habitauit in nobis, non ibi legi. indagaui quippe in illis litteris uarie dictum et in multis modis, quod sit filius in forma patris non rapinam arbitratus esse aequalis deo, quia naturaliter id ipsum est, sed quia semet ipsum exinaniuit formam serui accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus et habitu inuentus ut homo, humiliauit se factus oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis: propter quod deus eum exaltauit a mortuis et donauit ei nomen, quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum et omnis lingua confiteatur, quia dominus Iesus in gloria est dei patris non habent illi libri. quod autem ante omnia tempora et supra omnia tempora inconmutabiliter manet unigenitus filius tuus coaeternus tibi et quia de plenitudine eius accipiunt animae, ut beatae sint, et quia participatione manentis in se sapientiae renouantur, ut sapientes sint, est ibi; quod autem secundum tempus pro inpiis mortuus est et filio

2 in multis] – in BFGHOPQVW *edd.*

2. **quod sit filius in forma patris** etc.] Phil. ii 6—11. Cf. Plotinus: *εἰκόνα δὲ ἐκείνου εἶναι λέγομεν τὸν νοῦν, Enn.* v 1. 7. *τί γὰρ ζητεῖ μεταβάλλειν εὖ ἔχων; ποῖ δὲ μετελθεῖν πάντα παρ' αὐτῷ ἔχων; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὔξην ζητεῖ τελειότατος ὤν, Enn.* v 1. 4.

3. **quia naturaliter id ipsum**] 'because identical in nature.' This is true of the Neo-Platonic system in the sense that the *νοῦς* is an emanation from *τὸ ἕν*. Plotinus uses the metaphors of a ray from the sun, warmth radiating from fire and cold from snow, v 1. 6. But the impression conveyed by A.'s language that the 'persons' of the Neo-Platonic 'trinity' are equal is not justified: 'That which is eternally perfect eternally generates an eternal offspring, but it generates what is inferior to itself' (*ἔλαττον δὲ ἑαυτοῦ γεννᾷ*) *Enn.* v 1. 6.

11. **quod autem ante omnia tempora** etc.] 'We must banish from the mind the idea of a generation taking place in Time, seeing that we have here to do with things eternal. It is only to convey the ideas of causality and order that we apply the term generation, for The One generates without losing its immutability.' *Enn.* v 1. 6.

13. **de plenitudine eius**] Jn i 16. Man being in the Neo-Platonic system a microcosm, the higher mind in man is a manifestation of the Cosmic Nous (the second person in the Neo-Platonic trinity). When we live in accordance with the Nous we are *οἷον πληρωθέντες αὐτοῦ. Enn.* v 3. 3, 4.

15. **manentis in se sapientiae**] Cf. Wisd. vii 27 'et in se permanens omnia innouat.'

16. **secundum tempus ... mortuus est**] Rom. v 6.

ib. **filio unico ... tradidisti**] Rom. viii 32 (Vulg. 'filio proprio ...donauit').

unico tuo non pepercisti, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidisti eum, non est ibi. abscondisti enim haec a sapientibus et reuelasti ea paruulis, ut uenirent ad eum laborantes et onerati et reficeret eos, quoniam mitis est et humilis corde, et dirigit mites in iudicio et docet mansuetos uias suas uidens humilitatem nostram et laborem nostrum et dimittens omnia peccata nostra. qui autem cothurno tamquam doctrinae sublimioris elati non audiunt dicentem: discite a me, quoniam mitis sum et humilis corde, et inuenietis requiem animabus uestris, etsi cognoscunt deum, non sicut deum glorificant aut gratias agunt, sed euanescunt in cogitationibus suis et obscuratur insipiens cor eorum; dicentes se esse sapientes stulti fiunt.

Et ideo legebam ibi etiam inmutatam gloriam incorruptionis tuae in idola et uaria simulacra, in similitudinem imaginis corruptibilis hominis et uolucrum et quadrupedum et serpentium, uidelicet Aegyptium cibum, quo Esau perdidit primogenita

1 unico] unigenito M. 8 quoniam] quia GM *edd.*

2. **abscondisti...humilis corde** etc.] Cf. Mt. xi 25—28.

4. **dirigit...uias suas**] Ps. xxiv (xxv) 9.

5. **uidens humilitatem**] Cf. Ps. xxiv (xxv) 18 'uide humilitatem meam et laborem meum et dimitte omnia delicta mea.'

7. **cothurno**] From its association with the tragic stage 'cothurnus' is frequently used in the sense of elevation of style. For the further extension to the general sense of dignity cf. Ammian. XXI 16. 1 'imperatoriae auctoritatis cothurnum ubique custodiens.' With the hint of mockery which it carries here, it might be rendered, 'raised on the stilts of their loftier doctrine.'

8. **discite a me** etc.] Mt. xi 29.

9. **etsi cognoscunt deum** etc.] Rom. i 21.

13. **inmutatam gloriam ... in idola**] Cf. Rom. i 23. This does not apply to Plotinus; but Porphyry and his successors, partly, perhaps, with the object of opposing the growing influence of Christianity, endeavoured to provide a philosophic basis for the pagan cults. Wörter, *Geistesentwickelung des A.*, points out that the allusion in the immediate context to 'Aegyptium cibum' makes it probable that A. has especially in view here the work of Porphyry Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων IV 9 in which he speaks approvingly of the Egyptian animal worship: *ἔγνωσαν ὡς οὐ δι' ἀνθρώπου μόνου τὸ θεῖον διῆλθεν οὔτε ψυχὴ ἐν μόνῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ γῆς κατεσκήνωσεν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἡ αὐτὴ διὰ πάντων διῆλθε τῶν ζῴων. διὸ καὶ εἰς τὴν θεοποιαν παρέλαβον πᾶν ζῷον καὶ ὁμοίως που ἀνέμιξαν θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πάλιν ὀρνέων σώματα καὶ ἀνθρώπων.*

16. **Aegyptium cibum**] A. draws this curious parallel more explicitly in *Enarr. in Ps.* xlvi § 6 '(Esau) desiderando cibum Aegyptium perdidit primatum. sic et populus Iudaeorum, de quo dictum est, "conuersi sunt corde in Aegyptum,"

sua, quoniam caput quadrupedis pro te honorauit populus primogenitus, conuersus corde in Aegyptum et curuans imaginem tuam, animam suam, ante imaginem uituli manducantis faenum. inueni haec ibi et non manducaui. placuit enim tibi, domine, auferre opprobrium diminutionis ab Iacob, ut maior seruiret minori, et uocasti gentes in hereditatem tuam. et ego ad te ueneram ex gentibus et intendi in aurum, quod ab Aegypto uoluisti ut auferret populus tuus, quoniam tuum erat, ubicumque erat. et dixisti Atheniensibus per apostolum tuum, quod in te uiuimus et mouemur et sumus, sicut et quidam secundum eos dixerunt, et utique inde erant illi libri. et non adtendi in idola Aegyptiorum, quibus de auro tuo ministrabant, qui transmutauerunt ueritatem dei in mendacium et coluerunt et seruierunt creaturae potius quam creatori.

X. Et inde admonitus redire ad memet ipsum intraui in 16

lenticulam quodammodo desiderauerunt et primatum perdiderunt.'

2. **conuersus corde in Aegyptum**] Act. vii 39; cf. Ex. xxxii 1—6.

3. **uituli manducantis faenum**] Ps. cv (cvi) 20 (Vulg. 'comedentis').

5. **diminutionis**] Cf. Rom. xi 12 'diminutio eorum diuitiae gentium.' The 'diminutio' of Israel, which in A.'s allegorical interpretation of Gen. xxv 29 sq. answers to Esau, implies the removal of the 'opprobrium diminutionis' from 'Jacob,' who allegorically represents the Gentile Christians; *Enarr. in Ps.* xlvi § 6.

6. **maior seruiret** etc.] Gen. xxv 23. Christians, originally heathen, represent 'the younger'; the Jews, with their pride of privilege, 'the elder.' *Enarr. in Ps. ut sup.*

7. **aurum...ab Aegypto**] Cf. Ex. iii 22. In *de Doct. Christ.* II 40. 61 A. specifies among those who have 'come forth from Egypt laden with its gold and silver and raiment,' Cyprian, Lactantius, Victorinus, Optatus, Hilarius. Origen uses the same metaphor in urging his pupil Gregory (Thaumaturgus) to employ his learning in the service of Christianity ('for the vessels of the Holy of Holies were made from the spoils which Israel took of the Egyptians') *Ep. Greg.* § 2. For the thought, cp. Justin Martyr's fine saying: ὅσα παρὰ πᾶσι καλῶς εἴρηται ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐστίν. *Apol.* II 13.

10. **quod in te uiuimus** etc.] Act. xvii 28. It is curious that Athanasius also (*de Incarn.* xlii 4) makes this phrase the quotation, instead of the following τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. Dr Rendel Harris has shown in an article in the *Expositor* for Oct. 1906 that there is reason to think the former saying may be a quotation from the Cretan poet Epimenides.

11. **inde**] From the metaphorical Egypt, *i.e.* from among the Gentiles.

13. **qui transmutauerunt** etc.] Rom. i 25.

X. *He describes his experience when he returned to himself, and sought God within, being admonished to do so by the Platonical books.*

15. **admonitus redire ad memet ipsum**] For the Neo-Platonists, as

intima mea duce te et potui, quoniam factus es adiutor meus. intraui et uidi qualicumque oculo animae meae supra eundem oculum animae meae, supra mentem meam lucem inconmutabilem, non hanc uulgarem et conspicuam omni carni nec quasi ex eodem genere grandior erat, tamquam si ista multo multoque clarius claresceret totumque occuparet magnitudine. non hoc illa erat, sed aliud, aliud ualde ab istis omnibus. nec ita erat supra mentem meam, sicut oleum super aquam nec sicut caelum super terram, sed superior, quia ipsa fecit me, et ego inferior, quia factus ab ea. qui nouit ueritatem, nouit eam, et qui nouit eam, nouit aeternitatem. caritas nouit eam. o aeterna ueritas et uera caritas et cara aeternitas! tu es deus meus, tibi suspiro die ac nocte. et cum te primum cognoui, tu assumsisti me, ut uiderem esse, quod uiderem, et nondum me esse, qui uiderem. et reuerberasti infirmitatem aspectus mei radians in me uehementer, et contremui amore et horrore: et inueni longe me esse a te in regione dissimili-

10 factus] + sum BFHMPQV *edd.*

for their master Plato, the beginning of wisdom was to obey the Divine command *αὐτοὺς γιγνώσκειν παρακελευομένῳ*, *Enn.* IV 3. 1. Plotinus begins his directions for the self-purification by means of which the soul attains the vision of the Divine with the words *ἄναγε ἐπὶ σαυτόν*, *Enn.* I 6. 9.

1. **factus est adiutor meus**] Ps. xxix 11 (xxx 10).

3. **supra mentem meam lucem** etc.] Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* I 6. 9. The soul, first retiring into itself, seeks by purification to prepare itself for union with the Divine, *τὸ φῶς ἀληθινὸν μόνον*, which transcends all determination (*μεῖζον παντὸς μέτρου, καὶ παντὸς κρεῖσσον ποσοῦ*). In our own minds there is a revelation of the beautiful, but here, *ἐπέκεινα νοῦ*, is its primal source.

10. **qui nouit ueritatem** etc.] Cf. *de Trin.* VIII 2. 3 '(deus lux est), non quomodo oculi isti uident, sed quomodo uidet cor cum audis "ueritas est".'

14. **tu assumsisti me**] Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 10 'Dominus autem assumsit me.'

ib. **esse, quod uiderem** etc.] *that there was something to see, but that I was not yet capable of seeing it.* Cf. *Enn.* I 6. 9. He whose vision is not sufficiently purified sees nought, *κἂν ἄλλος δεικνύῃ παρὸν τὸ ὁραθῆναι δυνάμενον*.

15. **reuerberasti** etc.] According to ancient psychology the eye projected a pencil of rays of light towards its object. These rays A. here conceives as meeting, and being beaten back by, the rays of the 'light unapproachable' in which God dwells. Cf. 1 Tim. vi. 6.

17. **in regione dissimilitudinis**] Cf. *Enn.* VI 9. 8. Spiritual existences are not separated from each other by distance but by dissimilarity (*ἑτερότητι δὲ καὶ διαφορᾷ*). So A.

tudinis, tamquam audirem uocem tuam de excelso: "cibus sum grandium: cresce et manducabis me. nec tu me in te mutabis sicut cibum carnis tuae, sed tu mutaberis in me." et cognoui, quoniam pro iniquitate erudisti hominem et tabescere fecisti sicut araneam animam meam, et dixi: "numquid nihil est ueritas, quoniam neque per finita neque per infinita locorum spatia diffusa est?" et clamasti de longinquo: ego sum qui sum. et audiui, sicut auditur in corde, et non erat prorsus, unde dubitarem, faciliusque dubitarem uiuere me quam non esse ueritatem, quae per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspicitur.

XI. Et inspexi cetera infra te et uidi nec omnino esse nec 17
omnino non esse: esse quidem, quoniam abs te sunt, non esse autem, quoniam id quod es non sunt. id enim uere est, quod inconmutabiliter manet. mihi autem inhaerere deo bonum est, quia, si non manebo in illo, nec in me potero. ille autem in se manens innouat omnia; et dominus meus es, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.

XII. Et manifestatum est mihi, quoniam bona sunt, quae 18

8 ego S, inmo uero ego BFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

Enarr. in Ps. xcix § 5 'dissimilis factus longe recessisti (a Deo); similis factus proxime accedis.'

4. **pro iniquitate erudisti** etc.] Ps. xxxviii 12 (xxxix 11).

8. **sum qui sum**] Ex. iii 14. Cf. *de Nat. Boni* xix, where, in reference to the same passage, A. says 'uere enim ipse est, quia incommutabilis; omnis enim mutatio facit non esse quod erat.'

10. **per ea, quae facta sunt** etc.] Rom. i 20.

XI. *The same subject continued.*

15. **mihi bonum est**] Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 28.

16. **si non...in illo nec in me**] Because in the true self God is—those who flee from Him flee rather *αὐτῶν ἔξω. Enn.* VI 9. 7.

ib. **in se manens** etc.] Wisd. vii 27.

17. **dominus meus es**] Ps. xv (xvi) 2.

XII. *The negative character of evil. The substances which suffer corruption are in themselves good.*

19. **manifestatum est** etc.] 'that the things which undergo corruption are (in themselves) good.' Cf. *infr.* p. 187, ll. 12 sq. A. has at length found standing ground in regard to the problem of evil. Evil is negative, therefore he need no longer think of God as its creator. It requires as its presupposition a good thing which suffers loss or corruption; cf. *Enn.* III 2. 5 *ὅλως δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἔλλειψιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θετέον.* But by making 'priuatio' equivalent to 'corruptio' A. gives a special turn to the theory. Müller, *Christian Doctrine of Sin* i 292 (E.T.), remarks that A. uses 'priuatio' in

corrumpuntur, quae neque si summa bona essent, corrumpi possent, neque nisi bona essent, corrumpi possent, quia, si summa bona essent, incorruptibilia essent, si autem nulla bona essent, quid in eis conrumperetur non esset. nocet enim corruptio et, nisi bonum minueret, non noceret. aut igitur nihil nocet corruptio, quod fieri non potest, aut, quod certissimum est, omnia, quae corrumpuntur, priuantur bono. si autem omni bono priuabuntur, omnino non erunt. si enim erunt et corrumpi iam non poterunt, meliora erunt, quia incorruptibiliter permanebunt. et quid monstrosius quam ea dicere omni bono amisso facta meliora? ergo si omni bono priuabuntur, omnino nulla erunt: ergo quamdiu sunt, bona sunt. ergo quaecumque sunt, bona sunt, malumque illud, quod quaerebam unde esset, non est substantia, quia, si substantia esset, bonum esset. aut enim esset incorruptibilis substantia, magnum utique bonum, aut substantia corruptibilis esset, quae nisi bona esset, corruptibilis non esset. itaque uidi et manifestatum est mihi, quia omnia bona tu fecisti et prorsus nullae substantiae sunt, quas tu non fecisti. et quoniam non aequalia omnia fecisti, ideo sunt omnia, quia singula bona sunt, et simul

10 monstruosius BFGHM²PQVW *o.* 17 corruptibilis n. esset S, corrumpi n. posset BFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

an active sense, not meaning mere defect, but a privative activity. 'It is a negation in the same sense in which fire, for instance, is a negation, because it tends to destroy the material on which it feeds.' Müller refers to the avowal of Mephistopheles (*Faust*, Studierzimmer):

'Ich bin der Geist, der stets verneint,
und das mit Recht; denn Alles, was
entsteht,
ist werth, dass es zu Grunde geht.'

Cp. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* p. 35: 'Evil exhibits itself everywhere (in Shakespeare's dramas) as something negative, barren, weakening, destructive, a principle of death. It isolates, disunites and tends to annihilate not only its opposite but itself... when the evil in a man masters the good and has its way, it destroys other people through him, but it also destroys him.'

8. **si enim erunt** etc.] *For if they continue to exist, but are no longer capable of corruption, they will be better than they were before, because for the future they will be incorruptible.*

19. **et quoniam...ualde bona**] The meaning of this rather obscure sentence may be brought out by paraphrasing thus: 'And it is just because Thou hast not made all things equal that all things, being individually good, are collectively (not only good, but) very good; (and that they are so we know) because (we are told in Gen. i 31 that God saw all things that He had

omnia ualde bona; quoniam fecit deus noster omnia bona ualde.

XIII. Et tibi omnino non est malum, non solum tibi sed 19
nec uniuersae creaturae tuae, quia extra non est aliquid, quod
inrumpat et corrumpat ordinem, quem inposuisti ei. in partibus autem eius quaedam quibusdam quia non conueniunt, mala putantur; et eadem ipsa conueniunt aliis et bona sunt et in semet ipsis bona sunt. et omnia haec, quae sibimet inuicem non conueniunt, conueniunt inferiori parti rerum, quam terram dicimus, habentem caelum suum nubilosum atque uentosum congruum sibi. et absit, ut dicerem iam: "non essent ista," quia etsi sola ista cernerem, desiderarem quidem meliora, sed iam etiam de solis istis laudare te deberem, quoniam laudandum te ostendunt de terra dracones et omnes abyssi, ignis, grando, nix, glacies, spiritus tempestatis, quae faciunt uerbum tuum, montes et omnes colles, ligna fructifera et omnes cedri, bestiae et omnia pecora, reptilia et uolatilia pennata; reges terrae et omnes populi, principes et omnes iudices terrae, iuuenes et uirgines, seniores cum iunioribus laudent nomen tuum. cum uero etiam de caelis te laudent, laudent te, deus noster, in excelsis omnes angeli tui, omnes uirtutes tuae, sol et luna, omnes stellae et lumen, caeli caelorum et aquae, quae super caelos sunt, laudent nomen tuum: non iam

7 conueniunt] non conueniunt S *Knöll in ed. mai.*, non conueniant W. 20 laudent] laudant GHMOP *mo.* 23 non iam BFGHMOPQV, nondum SW.

made and) they were "very good."' Harmony, A. means, is better than uniformity, but harmony implies variety and variety involves gradation. Here, too, A. seems to be following a hint of Plotinus, who says that the different degrees of goodness are designed to produce ποικιλίαν νοεράν, *Enn.* III 2. 11.

1. **omnia ualde bona**] Gen. i 31; Ecclus. xxxix 21.

XIII. *To God nothing is evil. All things have their place in His world-scheme.*

9. **conueniunt inferiori parti rerum** etc.] Cf. *Enn.* III 2. 7 where Plotinus argues that only a relative perfection is to be looked for in things material.

11. **non essent ista**] 'these things ought not to be.' Cf. § 7, note ('ageret').

14. **de terra dracones** etc.] Ps. cxlviii 7—12.

20. **de caelis** etc.] *ibid.* 1—5.

22. **uirtutes**] represents δυνάμεις of LXX. Heb. = 'hosts.'

23. **non iam...pendebam**] *I no*

desiderabam meliora, quia omnia cogitabam, et meliora quidem superiora quam inferiora, sed meliora omnia quam sola superiora iudicio saniore pendebam.

XIV. Non est sanitas eis, quibus displicet aliquid creaturae tuae, sicut mihi non erat, cum displicerent multa, quae fecisti. et quia non audebat anima mea, ut ei displiceret deus meus, nolebat esse tuum quidquid ei displicebat. et inde ierat in opinionem duarum substantiarum et non requiescebat et aliena loquebatur. et inde rediens fecerat sibi deum per infinita spatia locorum omnium et eum putauerat esse te et eum collocauerat in corde suo et facta erat rursus templum idoli sui abominandum tibi. sed posteaquam fouisti caput nescientis et clausisti oculos meos, ne uiderent uanitatem, cessaui de me paululum, et consopita est insania mea; et euigilaui in te et uidi te infinitum aliter, et uisus iste non a carne trahebatur.

XV. Et respexi alia et uidi tibi debere quia sunt et in te cuncta finita, sed aliter, non quasi in loco, sed quia tu es omnitenens manu ueritate, et omnia uera sunt, in quantum sunt, nec quicquam est falsitas, nisi cum putatur esse quod non est. et uidi, quia non solum locis sua quaeque suis conueniunt sed etiam temporibus et quia tu, qui solus aeternus

longer wished particular things to be better, because I thought of the whole, and, with a sounder judgment, I held that the higher things were indeed better than the lower, but that the whole was better than the higher things alone would have been.

XIV. *He has a vision of God not derived from the flesh.*

4. **non est sanitas**] Ps. xxxvii (xxxviii) 4.

ib. **quibus displicet aliquid**] Plotinus compares those who criticise Providence because particular things displease them, to those who find fault with a picture because the colours are not all bright, or a drama because the characters are not all heroes. *Enn.* III 2. 11. Cp. V 2, *sup.*

8. **aliena**] This is probably an allusion to Ps. xviii. 14 (xix. 13) where A. interprets 'ab alienis' as meaning 'sins to which we are tempted by others'; here he appears to mean the theories which the Manichaeans had put into his mind.

10. **collocauerat ... suo**] Cf. Ezek. xiv 7.

13. **ne uiderent uanitatem**] Ps. cxviii (cxix) 37.

14. **consopita est**] *was lulled to sleep.*

XV. *All things owe their being to God, Who is above time and space.*

19. **omnitenens**] The compound is first cited from [Tertull.] *Carm. adu. Marc.* v 202.

es, non post innumerabilia spatia temporum coepisti operari, quia omnia spatia temporum, quae praeterierunt et quae praeteribunt, nec abirent nec uenirent nisi te operante et manente.

XVI. Et sensi expertus non esse mirum, quod palato non sano poena est et panis, qui sano suauis est, et oculis aegris odiosa lux, quae puris amabilis. et iustitia tua displicet iniquis, nedum uipera et uermiculus, quae bona creasti, apta inferioribus creaturae tuae partibus, quibus et ipsi iniqui apti sunt, quanto dissimiliores sunt tibi, apti autem superioribus, quanto similiores fiunt tibi. et quaesiui, quid esset iniquitas, et non inueni substantiam, sed a summa substantia, te deo, detortae in infima uoluntatis peruersitatem proicientis intima sua et tumescentis foras.

XVII. Et mirabar, quod iam te amabam, non pro te phantasma, et non stabam frui deo meo, sed rapiebar ad te decore tuo moxque diripiebar abs te pondere meo et ruebam in ista cum gemitu; et pondus hoc consuetudo carnalis. sed mecum erat memoria tui, neque ullo modo dubitabam esse cui cohaererem, sed nondum me esse, qui cohaererem, quoniam

2 *pr.* quae S, et quae BFGHMOPQVW² *edd.* 6 *pr.* et] *eras.* O, – BFMPQW *edd.*

1. **non post innumerabilia** etc.] See book XI for discussion of the Time-problem.

XVI. *Sin has no substance; but is a perversion of the will turned aside from God.*

5. **palato non sano** etc.] Antithesis pointed by alliteration and assonance.

8. **nedum**] affirmatively, 'much more.'

13. **proicientis intima sua**] Ecclus. x 10 (9) *τί ὑπερηφανεύεται γῆ καὶ σποδός; ὅτι ἐν ζωῇ ἔρριψα τὰ ἐνδόσθια αὐτοῦ.* The passage in the original is intended to humiliate man by reminding him that he is 'a little city of sewers.' A. interprets mystically of rejecting the 'God within.' Cf. *de Mus.* vi 13. 40: 'progredi autem in extima, quid est aliud quam intima proicere; id est, longe a se facere Deum, non locorum spatio, sed mentis affectu?'

XVII. *A. now loves God, but cannot abide in Him because of his evil habits, which drag him downwards.*

16. **stabam frui**] *yet I did not continue steadfastly in the enjoyment of my God* (lit. 'stand to enjoy). The use of an infinitive of purpose (instead of the supine) with verbs of motion becomes common in late Latin (see Goelzer *Latinité de St. Jérome*, p. 370); it is here still further extended, the infinitive depending on a verb denoting 'rest at.'

20. **sed nondum** etc.] The

corpus, quod corrumpitur, adgrauat animam et deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem, eramque certissimus, quod inuisibilia tua a constitutione mundi per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque uirtus et diuinitas tua. quaerens enim, unde adprobarem pulchritudinem corporum siue caelestium siue terrestrium et quid mihi praesto esset integre de mutabilibus iudicanti et dicenti: "hoc ita esse debet, illud non ita," hoc ergo quaerens, unde iudicarem, cum ita iudicarem, inueneram inconmutabilem et ueram ueritatis aeternitatem supra mentem meam conmutabilem. atque ita gradatim a corporibus ad sentientem per corpus animam atque inde ad eius interiorem uim, cui sensus corporis exteriora nuntiaret, et quousque possunt bestiae, atque inde rursus ad ratiocinantem potentiam, ad quam refertur iudicandum quod sumitur a sensibus corporis; quae se quoque

'sed' clause forms part of the compound idea which A. now 'did not doubt'—*I became convinced that there was One to whom I ought to cleave but that I was not yet capable of cleaving to Him.*

1. **corpus...cogitantem**] Wisd. ix 15.

3. **inuisibilia tua** etc.] Rom. i 20.

5. **unde adprobarem pulchritudinem**] Cf. *Enn.* v 1. 11, where Plotinus argues that the permanent principles of beauty and justice cannot be resident in the individual soul since the discursive reason is sometimes directed towards them, sometimes not; therefore our possession of them implies that we have in us Mind, nay the source and cause of Mind, God.

11. **atque ita gradatim**] The verb is omitted. We may supply 'ascendi,' or perhaps 'quaesiui' from the previous 'quaerens.'

ib. **sentientem per corpus animam**] τὸ αἰσθητικὸν (τῆς ψυχῆς) of Plotinus, which, through the sense-organs, has perception of things without. *Enn.* v 3. 2.

12. **interiorem uim**] The 'interior sensus' (1 31), which correlates the sensations (*a*) with each other and (*b*) with the self as subject of sensation (*de Lib. Arb.* II iii and iv), being thus practically equivalent to the Aristotelian 'common sense.' In the Neo-Platonist psychology these functions are ascribed directly to the δύναμις τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι of the soul; *Enn.* I 1. 7. Cf. Wallace, *Aristotle's Psychology*, Introd. lxxv sq.; Bouillet, *Les Ennéades de Plotin*, i 325, ii 571; Ferraz, *Psychologie de St. Augustin* p. 142 sq.

13. **et quousque possunt bestiae**] 'which is the limit of the intelligence of animals,' *i.e.* they possess this 'interior sensus'; but nothing higher.

14. **ratiocinantem potentiam**] τὸ (ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ) λογιζόμενον of Plotinus, which is in touch, on the one hand, with the data of sense-impression and, on the other, with the conceptions which have their origin in the higher Mind. Cf. *Enn.* v 3. 2.

15. **quae se quoque...mutabilem**] Cf. the passage of Plotinus

in me conperiens mutabilem erexit se ad intellegentiam suam et abduxit cogitationem a consuetudine, subtrahens se contradicentibus turbis phantasmatum, ut inueniret, quo lumine aspargeretur, cum sine ulla dubitatione clamaret inconmutabile praeferendum esse mutabili, unde nosset ipsum inconmutabile— quod nisi aliquo modo nosset, nullo modo illud mutabili certa praeponeret—et peruenit ad id, quod est, in ictu trepidantis aspectus. tunc uero inuisibilia tua per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspexi, sed aciem figere non eualui et repercussa infirmitate redditus solitis non mecum ferebam nisi amantem memoriam et quasi olefacta desiderantem, quae comedere nondum possem.

XVIII. Et quaerebam uiam conparandi roboris, quod 24
esset idoneum ad fruendum te, nec inueniebam, donec amplecterer mediatorem dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum, qui est super omnia deus benedictus in saecula, uocantem et dicentem: ego sum uia ueritatis et uita, et cibum, cui capiendo inualidus eram, miscentem carni, quoniam uerbum caro factum est, ut infantiae nostrae lactesceret

4 aspargeretur] aspergeretur FGHMOPQW *edd.* 17 ueritatis S, et ueritas BGMOPQW *o*, ueritas FHV *m*.

summarised p. 191 l. 5, note. A. reproduces it in substance in *de Lib. Arb.* II 6. 14.

2. **a consuetudine**] 'from the tyranny of habit.'

ib. **contradicentibus** etc.] See § 1 *sup.*

3. **quo lumine** etc.] Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* V 3. 3. The discursive reason is enabled to form such conceptions as that of the Good, ἐπιλάμποντος αὐτῇ νοῦ.

7. **peruenit ad id, quod est**] The mystical intuition which was the goal of the Neo-Platonic discipline. See IX 25 for fuller description and notes.

ib. **in ictu trepidantis aspectus**] 'with the flash of one trembling glance' (Pusey).

8. **inuisibilia** etc.] Rom. i 20.

9. **repercussa**] See § 16 note ('reuerberasti').

XVIII. *He is unable to find a way of rising to full joy in God.*

15. **mediatorem...Iesum**] 1 Tim. ii 5.

16. **qui est...deus**] Rom. ix 5. A. obviously applies the words to Christ. So the great majority of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, see Sanday-Headlam 233 sq.

17. **uia ueritatis et uita**] Jn xiv 6.

18. **cibum**] sc. the Divine Nature, cf. § 16 *sup.* 'cibus sum grandium, cresce et manducabis me.'

19. **uerbum...est**] Jn i 14.

ib. **lactesceret**] The inceptive form conveys a delicate shade of meaning, 'might become capable of giving suck.'

sapientia tua, per quam creasti omnia. non enim tenebam deum meum Iesum humilis humilem, nec cuius rei magistra esset eius infirmitas noueram. uerbum enim tuum, aeterna ueritas, superioribus creaturae tuae partibus supereminens subditos erigit ad se ipsam, in inferioribus autem aedificauit sibi humilem domum de limo nostro, per quam subdendos deprimeret a se ipsis et ad se traiceret, sanans tumorem et nutriens amorem, ne fiducia sui progrederentur longius, sed potius infirmarentur uidentes ante pedes suos infirmam diuinitatem ex participatione tunicae pelliciae nostrae et lassi prosternerentur in eam, illa autem surgens leuaret eos.

XIX. Ego uero aliud putabam tantumque sentiebam de domino Christo meo, quantum de excellentis sapientiae uiro,

2. **magistra esset**] *was designed to teach.*

5. **aedificauit domum**] probably refers to Prov. ix 1.

9. **infirmam diuinitatem**] 1 Cor. i 25.

10. **tunicae pelliciae**] Gen. iii 21. Explained by A. (*Enarr. in Ps.* ciii Serm. 1 § 8) as a figure for mortality, since skins are taken from the dead bodies of animals. Origen interprets similarly, *Hom. in Leuit.* vi 2; while in *c. Cels.* IV 40 he speaks of the verse as conveying a mystery comparable to Plato's myth in the *Phaedrus* of the soul losing its wings and receiving a material frame. Clement *Strom.* III 14 refers to, but rejects, the opinion of the heretic Cassianus that the χιτῶνες δερμάτινοι were τὰ σώματα. Iren. *c. Haer.* 1 5. 5 ascribes to the Gnostics the opinion that the 'tunicae pelliciae' represent a grosser form of matter than that with which man had originally been clothed. Tertull. (*de Res. Carn.* vii) while rejecting the interpretation 'bodies' thinks of the 'tunica pellicia' as man's own skin ('cutis'), thus agreeing with a Rabbinic tradition; cf. Talmud Babyl., *Niddah*, fol. 25 *a* 'R. Joshua ben Chanania said, "From this (Gen. iii 21) it appears that the Holy One.....does not prepare a skin for man until he is completely formed."' Wünsche, *das B. Talmud* II 4. 129. Cp. Srawley on Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* pp. xx, xxv, 42.

XIX. *He thinks of Christ not as 'the Word made flesh,' but simply as a wise and excellent teacher; while his friend Alypius thinks of Him, not as truly man, but as God dwelling in a human body.*

12. **ego uero aliud putabam** etc.] Harnack (*H. D.* iii 33 E.T.) refers to this passage in proof of the vagueness of belief regarding the Person of Christ among the laity of the West at this time. Both A. and Alypius, as he notes, 'had held their Christology to be catholic'; see below 'ita putabat credi a catholicis' and 'ego posterius didicisse me fateor... quomodo catholica ueritas a Photini falsitate dirimatur.' It should be noted however that neither of them was as yet a member of the church, and that though A. was a catechumen he does not appear to have received, up to this period, any definite instruction.

cui nullus posset aequari, praesertim quia mirabiliter natus ex uirgine ad exemplum contemnendorum temporalium prae adipiscenda immortalitate diuina pro nobis cura tantam auctoritatem magisterii meruisse uidebatur. quid autem sacramenti haberet uerbum caro factum, ne suspicari quidem poteram. tantum cognoueram ex his, quae de illo scripta traderentur, quia manducauit et bibit, dormiuit, ambulauit, exhilaratus est, contristatus est, sermocinatus est, non haesisse carnem illam uerbo tuo nisi cum anima et mente humana. nouit hoc omnis, qui nouit incommutabilitatem uerbi tui, quam ego iam noueram, quantum poteram, nec omnino quicquam inde dubitabam. etenim nunc mouere membra corporis per uoluntatem, nunc non mouere, nunc aliquo affectu affici, nunc non affici, nunc proferre per signa sapientes sententias, nunc esse in silentio propria sunt mutabilitatis animae et mentis. quae si falsa de illo scripta essent, etiam omnia periclitarentur mendacio neque in illis litteris ulla fidei salus generi humano remaneret. quia itaque uera scripta sunt, totum hominem in Christo agnoscebam, non corpus tantum hominis aut cum corpore sine mente animum, sed ipsum hominem, non persona ueritatis, sed magna quadam naturae humanae excellentia et perfectiore participatione sapientiae praeferri ceteris arbitrabar. Alypius autem deum carne indutum ita putabat credi a catholicis, ut praeter deum et carnem non esset in Christo anima, mentemque hominis non existimabat in eo praedicari. et quoniam bene persuasum tenebat ea, quae de illo memoriae mandata sunt, sine uitali et rationali creatura non fieri, ad ipsam christianam fidem pigrius mouebatur. sed postea haereticorum

2 prae] pro BHMPQ *edd.*

4. **quid autem sacramenti**] For the use of 'sacramentum' here in the sense of 'mystery,' see above on VI 8.

8. **non haesisse** etc.] 'that the flesh was not united to Thy Word otherwise than in conjunction with a human soul and mind.'

20. **sed ipsum hominem...arbitrabar**] *but I held that this very man was to be preferred to all others, not in virtue of his divine personality but in virtue of the exceeding excellence of his human nature and of a more perfect participation in* (*the divine*) *wisdom.*

Apollinaristarum hunc errorem esse cognoscens catholicae fidei conlaetatus et contemperatus est. ego autem aliquanto posterius didicisse me fateor, in eo quod uerbum caro factum est, quomodo catholica ueritas a Photini falsitate dirimatur. inprobatio quippe haereticorum facit eminere, quid ecclesia tua sentiat et quid habeat sana doctrina. oportuit enim et haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fierent inter infirmos.

26 XX. Sed tunc, lectis Platonicorum illis libris, posteaquam inde admonitus quaerere incorpoream ueritatem inuisibilia tua per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspexi, et repulsus sensi quid per tenebras animae meae contemplari non sinerer, certus

1. **Apollinaristarum errorem**] In *Enarr. II in Ps.* xxix §§ 2 and 3 A. distinguishes two sects of Apollinarians: 'illi igitur haeretici dixerunt dominum nostrum Iesum Christum non habuisse mentem humanam, et illud quod λογικὸν Graeci dicunt, nos dicimus rationale, unde homo ratiocinatur, quod non habent cetera animalia. sed quid dicunt? ipsum uerbum Dei hoc erat in illo homine pro mente.... non defuerunt etiam alii quidam ex ipso errore uenientes, qui non solum mentem dicerent non habuisse illum hominem, mediatorem Christum inter Deum et homines, sed nec animam.' The latter evidently are referred to here.

2. **contemperatus est**] *acquiesced in.* 'Contempero' does not appear to have been noted elsewhere in a metaphorical sense; its usual meaning is 'to mix,' with reference to liquids.

4. **Photini**] Bishop of Sirmium about 340. He taught that Christ was a man born of the Virgin and illuminated by a special Divine influence. Cf. Aug. *Ep.* cxlvii § 19 '(Photiniani) principium Filio Dei ex utero uirginis tribuunt, nec uolunt credere quod et antea fuerit.' Photinus was deposed by a council held at Sirmium in 351, after being publicly confuted by Basil of Ancyra. See Epiph. *Haer.* LXXI, Hilary *de Trin.* VII 7.

6. **oportuit enim**] 1 Cor. xi 19. Cf. Vincent. Lerin. *Common.* XX (25) 'oportet, inquit, et haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant in uobis; ac si diceret: ob hoc haereseon non statim diuinitus eradicantur auctores, ut probati manifesti fiant, id est, ut unusquisque quam tenax et fidelis et fixus catholicae fidei sit amator appareat. et reuera, cum quaeque nouitas ebullit, statim cernitur frumentorum grauitas et leuitas palearum; tunc sine magno molimine excutitur ab area quod nullo pondere intra aream tenebatur.'

7. **infirmos**] Cf. Rom. xiv 1, and the correlate idea in the phrase 'sana doctrina' 1 Tim. i 10 etc.

XX. *A. gives thanks that the Platonist books came into his hands before, and not after, he experienced the power of the Scriptures.*

9. **inuisibilia tua**] Rom. i 20.

10. **et repulsus sensi** etc.] *and though I was foiled in this attempt* (to attain to the incorporeal truth) *I perceived what the truth was which the darkness of my mind would not permit me clearly to behold; I became convinced that Thou art* etc.

11. **per tenebras animae meae**] Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* I 6. 9 ἄρτι μὲν ἐγειρομένη (ὄψις) οὐ πάνυ τὰ λαμπρὰ δύναται βλέπειν. Part of the pre-

esse te et infinitum esse nec tamen per locos finitos infinitosue diffundi, et uere te esse, qui semper idem ipse esses, ex nulla parte nulloque motu alter aut aliter, cetera uero ex te esse omnia, hoc solo firmissimo documento, quia sunt, certus quidem in istis eram, nimis tamen infirmus ad fruendum te. garriebam plane quasi peritus et, nisi in Christo, saluatore nostro, uiam tuam quaererem, non peritus, sed periturus essem. iam enim coeperam uelle uideri sapiens plenus poena mea et non flebam, insuper autem inflabar scientia. ubi enim erat illa aedificans caritas a fundamento humilitatis, quod est Christus Iesus? aut quando illi libri me docerent eam? in quos me propterea, priusquam scripturas tuas considerarem, credo uoluisti incurrere, ut inprimeretur memoriae meae, quomodo ex eis affectus essem et, cum postea in libris tuis mansuefactus essem et curantibus digitis tuis contrectarentur uulnera mea, discernerem atque distinguerem, quid interesset inter praesumptionem et confessionem, inter uidentes, quo eundum sit, nec uidentes qua, et uiam ducentem ad beatificam

3 alter] aliter FGMOQV *edd.* 9 autem S, et BFGHMOPQVW *mo.*

paration for vision consisted in purging from the soul ὅσα σκοτεινά, *ib.*

2. **et uere te esse**] The 'te' is emphatic, God's immutability being contrasted with the derivative and mutable existence of the creature.

ib. **semper idem...esses**] Cf. *de Mor. Manich.* vi 8 'esse enim ad manendum refertur; itaque quod summe et maxime esse dicitur, permanendo in se dicitur.'

7. **peritus ... periturus**] Paronomasia: 'not skilled but killed' (Pusey).

8. **poena mea**] sc. pride, which entails a penal blindness. Cf. II 2, VII 11 *fin.*

9. **inflabar scientia** etc.] Cf. 1 Cor. viii 1 'scientia inflat, caritas uero aedificat.'

10. **fundamento ... quod est Christus Iesus**] 1 Cor. iii 11.

17. **praesumptionem ... confessionem**] These words apparently characterise the respective effects of the acceptance of Neo-Platonism, or of Christianity. For 'praesumptionem' see above § 13 *init.*, and for 'confessio' cf. *Tract. in Ioan.* xiv 5: 'antequam ueniret dominus Iesus homines gloriabantur de se: uenit ille homo ut minueretur hominis gloria et augeretur gloria Dei...si sic uenit ille ut dimitteret peccata, Deus largiatur, homo confiteatur. etenim confessio hominis humilitas hominis: miseratio Dei altitudo Dei.'

18. **et uiam**] Cf. *de Ciu. Dei* XI 2, where A. repeats the whole metaphor and makes his interpretation of 'uiam' explicit. 'Per hoc enim mediator per quod et homo; per hoc et uia. quoniam si inter eum qui tendit et illud quo tendit uia media est, spes est perueniendi; si autem desit, aut ignoretur qua eundum sit, quid prodest nosse quo eundum sit?'

patriam non tantum cernendam sed et habitandam. nam si primo sanctis tuis litteris informatus essem et in earum familiaritate obdulcuisses mihi et post in illa uolumina incidissem, fortasse aut abripuissent me a solidamento pietatis, aut si in affectu quem salubrem inbiberam perstitissem, putarem etiam ex illis libris eum posse concipi, si eos solos quisque didicisset.

27 XXI. Itaque auidissime arripui uenerabilem stilum spiritus tui et prae ceteris apostolum Paulum, et perierunt illae quaestiones, in quibus mihi aliquando uisus est aduersari sibi et non congruere testimoniis legis et prophetarum textus sermonis eius,

7 quisque] quisquam BPQ *edd.*

1. **patriam non tantum cernendam**] Cf. *de Trin.* IV 15. 20 'quid enim prodest superbienti, et ob hoc erubescenti lignum conscendere, de longinquo prospicere patriam transmarinam? aut quid obest humili, de tanto interuallo non eam uidere, in illo ligno ad eam uenienti, quo dedignatur ille portari?'

7. **quisque**] If the reading is right (see textual note) 'quisque' seems to be used in the sense of 'aliquis.'

XXI. *His mind is enlightened by the writings of the Apostle Paul, in which he finds, in addition to the truths taught by the Platonists, the praises of Divine grace.*

8. **auidissime** etc.] Referring to this period in *c. Acad.* II 2. 5 A. says 'respexi tantum, confiteor, quasi de itinere in illam religionem, quae pueris nobis insita est...uerum autem ipsa me ad se nescientem rapiebat. itaque titubans, properans, haesitans arripio apostolum Paulum.' It is interesting to note that Victorinus, through whose translations A. had become acquainted with the writings of the Neo-Platonists, was after his conversion an earnest student of the Pauline Epistles. Is it possible that we have here a clue to the explanation of A.'s sudden transition from the Neo-Platonists to St Paul? The conjecture certainly suggests itself that Victorinus may have added comments to his translations, pointing out contrasts and parallels with the N.T. Cp. A.'s frequent quotation in this book of Rom. i 20, and the comparison in § 14 between Phil. ii 6—11 and the Neo-Platonist dicta regarding the Nous.

9. **Paulum**] When A. took up the codex of 'the Apostle' a new era opened for the thought and life of the Church. Cf. Harnack, *H. D.* I 136, on the importance of the Pauline reactions; 'Marcion after the Apostolic Fathers; Irenaeus, Clement and Origen after the Apologists; Augustine after the Greek Fathers; the great reformers of the Middle Ages from Agobard to Wessel in the bosom of the mediaeval Church; Luther after the Scholastics; Jansenism after the Council of Trent: everywhere it has been Paul in these men, who produced the reformation.' Cf. also Bigg *Christian Platonists*, pp. 53, 283, to whom Harnack refers.

ib. **quaestiones**] Cf. the references to Rom. i 3, 2 Cor. v 16 etc. in *c. Faust.* XI.

et apparuit mihi una facies eloquiorum castorum, et exultare cum tremore didici. et coepi et inueni quidquid illac uerum legeram, hac cum conmendatione gratiae tuae dici, ut qui uidet non sic glorietur, quasi non acceperit, non solum quod uidet, sed etiam ut uideat—quid enim habet quod non accepit?—et ut te, qui es semper idem, non solum admoneatur ut uideat, sed etiam sanetur ut teneat, et qui de longinquo uidere non potest, uiam tamen ambulet, qua ueniat et uideat et teneat, quia, etsi condelectetur homo legi dei secundum interiorem hominem, quid faciet de alia lege in membris suis repugnante legi mentis suae et se captiuum ducente in lege peccati, quae est in membris eius? quoniam iustus es, domine; nos autem peccauimus, inique fecimus, inpie gessimus, et grauata est super nos manus tua, et iuste traditi sumus antiquo peccatori, praeposito mortis, quia persuasit uoluntati nostrae similitudinem uoluntatis suae, qua in ueritate tua non stetit. quid faciet miser homo? quis eum liberabit de corpore mortis huius nisi gratia tua per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum, quem genuisti coaeternum et creasti in principio uiarum tua-

4 quod S, id quod BFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

1. **exultare cum tremore**] Ps. ii 11.

2. **illac**] sc. in the Neo-Platonic writings.

4. **glorietur...acceperit**] 1 Cor. iv 7.

ib. **non solum...ut uideat**] *not only what he sees but also the power of seeing.*

6. **te**] Object of 'uideat' and 'teneat' (hyperbaton).

ib. **qui es semper idem**] Cf. Ps. ci 28 (cii 27) 'tu autem idem ipse es, et anni tui non deficient.'

9. **condelectetur** etc.] Rom. vii 22, 23.

12. **quoniam iustus es** etc.] From the apocryphal Prayer of Azarias—Dan. iii 27—32 in LXX and Vulgate.

14. **grauata est super nos**] Ps. xxxi (xxxii) 4.

15. **praeposito mortis**] 'Lord of Death,' cf. Dan. iii 32; Heb. ii 14.

16. **in ueritate...non stetit**] Jn viii 44.

17. **miser homo** etc.] Rom. vii 24 sq.

19. **creasti**] Prov. viii 22, LXX ἔκτισέ με (Heb. קָנָנִי), a famous battleground of the Arian controversy. A. interprets 'created' as referring to the Human Nature, and understands 'in principio uiarum suarum' of Christ's humanity, as being the way by which men were first brought near to God: *de Doct. Christ.* I 34. 38. So, in the main, Athanasius *c. Ar.* II 19. 6, Ambrose *de Fid.* III 7, and other orthodox interpreters. See Greg. Naz. *Or. Theol.* IV 2 with Mason's notes.

rum, in quo princeps huius mundi non inuenit quicquam morte dignum, et occidit eum; et euacuatum est chirografum, quod erat contrarium nobis? hoc illae litterae non habent. non habent illae paginae uultum pietatis illius, lacrimas confessionis, sacrificium tuum, spiritum contribulatum, cor contritum et humiliatum, populi salutem, sponsam ciuitatem, arram spiritus sancti, poculum pretii nostri. nemo ibi cantat: nonne deo subdita erit anima mea? ab ipso enim salutare meum: etenim ipse deus meus et salutaris meus, susceptor meus: non mouebor amplius. nemo ibi audit uocantem: uenite ad me, qui laboratis. dedignantur ab eo discere, quoniam mitis est et humilis corde. abscondisti enim haec a sapientibus et prudentibus et reuelasti ea paruulis. et aliud est de siluestri cacumine uidere patriam pacis et iter ad eam non inuenire

4 illius] huius BFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 8 subdita] subiecta FGHMQW (*Vulg.*).

1. **princeps huius mundi**] Jn xiv 30.

ib. **non inuenit...dignum**] Cf. Lk. xxiii 14, 15.

2. **et occidit eum; et euacuatum est chirografum**] Col. ii 14. A.'s theory of the atonement, taken over from earlier writers, is—at least in this aspect, for his teaching is many-sided—that the devil, who had just rights over men on account of sin ('iure aequissimo uindicabat,' *de Lib. Arb.* III 10. 31), over-reached himself by slaying the sinless Christ. The debt which men owed to him was thus overpaid and his claim against them cancelled. Cf. *de Trin.* XIII 14. 18 'Et quomodo uictus est? quia cum in eo nihil morte dignum inueniret, occidit eum tamen. et utique iustum est ut debitores, quos tenebat, liberi dimittantur, in eum credentes quem sine ullo debito occidit' (a link in the argument is here supplied by the word-play 'debitores'—'credentes'). In his sermons A. speaks once or twice of Christ's humanity as the bait by which the devil was trapped (*Serm.* cxxxiv 5. 6; cclxiii 1), but he does not, like Gregory of Nyssa, lay stress on this side of the transaction. The whole theory of the 'ransom to the devil' plays a subordinate part in A.'s teaching on redemption. For other aspects of his doctrine, see IV 19 and X 69.

5. **sacrificium ... humiliatum**] Ps. l 19 (li 17).

6. **sponsam ciuitatem**] Rev. xxi 2.

ib. **arram spiritus**] 2 Cor. i 22 (Vulg. 'pignus spiritus').

7. **nonne deo ... amplius**] Ps. lxi 2, 3 (lxii 1, 2).

10. **uenite ad me** etc.] Mt. xi 28 sq.

12. **abscondisti** etc.] Mt. xi 25.

13. **et aliud est...uidere**] Cf. Dante *Inferno* I 16

'Guardai in alto, e vidi le sue spalle
vestite già de' raggi del pianeta
che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle.'

ib. 91

'A te convien tenere altro viaggio.'

et frustra conari per inuia circum obsidentibus et insidiantibus fugitiuis desertoribus cum principe suo leone et dracone, et aliud tenere uiam illuc ducentem cura caelestis imperatoris munitam, ubi non latrocinantur qui caelestem militiam deseruerunt; uitant enim eam sicut supplicium. haec mihi inuiscerabantur miris modis, cum minimum apostolorum tuorum legerem, et consideraueram opera tua et expaueram.

3 cura] curia *o*.

2. **leone et dracone**] Cf. Ps. xc (xci) 13. The intrusion of these mystical figures into the realistic metaphor drawn from the civilisation of the day is characteristic. In Augustine the Roman world and the Middle Ages meet.

3. **uiam...munitam**] Cf. *de Ciu. Dei* XI 2 'sola est autem aduersus omnes errores uia munitissima, ut idem ipse sit Deus et homo: quo itur, Deus; qua itur, homo.'

6. **minimum apostolorum tuorum**] sc. St Paul; cf. 1 Cor. xv 9 'ego sum minimus apostolorum.'

LIBER OCTAVUS.

1 I. Deus meus, recorder in gratiarum actione tibi et confitear misericordias tuas super me. perfundantur ossa mea dilectione tua et dicant: domine, quis similis tibi? dirupisti uincula mea: sacrificem tibi sacrificium laudis. quomodo dirupisti ea, narrabo, et dicent omnes, qui adorant te, cum audient haec: "benedictus dominus in caelo et in terra; magnum et mirabile nomen eius." inhaeserant praecordiis meis uerba tua, et undique circumuallabar abs te. de uita tua aeterna certus eram, quamuis eam in aenigmate et quasi per speculum uideram; dubitatio tamen omnis de incorruptibili substantia, quod ab illa esset omnis substantia, ablata mihi erat, nec certior de te, sed stabilior in te esse cupiebam. de mea uero temporali uita nutabant omnia et mundandum erat cor a fermento ueteri; et placebat uia ipse

6 audient] audiunt BFGHMOPQVW*o*.

I. *Augustine in his perplexity consults Simplicianus, an aged servant of God.*

1. **recorder** etc.] The phrase is an echo of Scriptural language, though not a direct quotation. Cf. Isa. lxiii 7.

2. **perfundantur ossa...et dicant**] The reference to Ps. xxxiv (xxxv) 10 ('dicent ossa mea') seems to be combined with an allusion to some such passage as Rom. v 5.

3. **dilectione**] 'love.' The word is first cited from Tertull. *adu. Marc.* IV 27, where it appears to represent ἀγάπη in Lk. xi 42.

4. **dirupisti uincula** etc.] Ps. cxv (cxvi) 16, 17.

7. **magnum et mirabile nomen**] Cf. Ps. lxxv 2 (lxxvi 1) 'In Israel magnum nomen eius'; viii 2 (1) 'quam admirabile est nomen tuum.'

9. **in aenigmate...per speculum**] 1 Cor. xiii 12.

14. **a fermento ueteri**] Cf. 1 Cor. v 7.

ib. **uia ipse saluator**] The rhythm of the sentence suggests that 'ipse' goes with 'uia' rather than with 'saluator,' the gender being adapted to the significance of the metaphor; cf. Ambrose *Hymnus in Aurora*: (referring to Christ) 'Aurora totus prodeat'; *Hymnus in Nocte ad Galli Cantum*: 'ipse petra ecclesiae' (St Peter); the hymn *Aeterne lucis conditor*: 'Lux ipse' (Christ).

saluator et ire per eius angustias adhuc pigebat. et inmisisti in mentem meam uisumque est bonum in conspectu meo pergere ad Simplicianum, qui mihi bonus apparebat seruus tuus, et lucebat in eo gratia tua. audieram etiam, quod a iuuentute sua deuotissime tibi uiueret; iam uero tunc senuerat et longa aetate in tam bono studio sectandae uiae tuae multa expertus, multa edoctus mihi uidebatur: et uere sic erat. unde mihi ut proferret uolebam conferenti secum aestus meos, quis esset aptus modus sic affecto, ut ego eram, ad ambulandum in uia tua.

Videbam enim plenam ecclesiam, et alius sic ibat, alius 2 autem sic. mihi autem displicebat, quod agebam in saeculo, et oneri mihi erat ualde non iam inflammantibus cupiditatibus, ut solebant, spe honoris et pecuniae ad tolerandam illam seruitutem tam grauem. iam enim me illa non delectabant prae dulcedine tua et decore domus tuae, quam dilexi, sed adhuc tenaciter alligabar ex femina, nec me prohibebat apostolus

17 alligabar S, conligabar BFGHM²OPQVW *edd.*

3. **Simplicianum**] Simplicianus, who succeeded Ambrose as Bishop of Milan in 397, is chiefly known from the record of his influence over men greater than himself. Ambrose, as well as A., regarded him as in some sense his father in the faith (Amb. *Ep.* xxxvii 2; lxv *fin.*; Aug. *de Diu. Quaest. ad Simplic.* Prolog.), and each paid him a tribute of intellectual respect. A. dedicated to him the above-named work on exegetical problems, and in *Ep.* xxxvii expressed his gratification at S.'s favourable reception of it, while Ambrose (*Ep.* lxv 1) says: 'acri praesertim ingenio etiam intelligibilia complectens, utpote qui etiam philosophiae libros, quam a uero sint deuii, demonstrare soleas.' Paulinus relates that Ambrose on his death-bed, hearing Simplicianus named as his probable successor, signified his approval by thrice repeating, with a strength which astonished those about him, the words, 'senex sed bonus' (Paulin. *Vit. Amb.* xlvi).

8. **proferret**] Cf. Mt. xiii 52 'Scriba doctus in regno caelorum qui proferret' etc.

ib. **aestus**] Probably 'perplexities' rather than 'passions.' A. had not yet come to the point of perceiving that the latter constituted the real obstacle to his pursuit of the higher life; cf. § 18 *infr.* 'et putaueram' etc., and § 23 *fin.* the phrase 'diuersis uoluntatibus aestuare.' In § 19 'aestus'=perturbation.

16. **decore domus tuae**] Ps. xxv (xxvi) 8.

17. **alligabar ex femina**] Cf. 1 Cor. vii 27 (Vulg. 'alligatus es uxori?'). The awkward construction seems to have been adopted to give the phrase an impersonal turn. For 'ex' causal cf. VII 12 *sup.* 'ex occulta manu.'

coniugari, quamuis exhortaretur ad melius maxime uolens omnes homines sic esse, ut ipse erat. sed ego infirmior eligebam molliorem locum et propter hoc unum uoluebar in ceteris languidus et tabescens curis marcidis, quod et in aliis rebus, quas nolebam pati, congruere cogebar uitae coniugali, cui deditus obstringebar. audieram ex ore ueritatis esse spadones, qui se ipsos absciderunt propter regnum caelorum; sed, qui potest, inquit, capere, capiat. uani sunt certe omnes homines, quibus non inest dei scientia, nec de his, quae uidentur bona, potuerunt inuenire eum qui est. at ego iam non eram in illa uanitate; transcenderam eam et contestante uniuersa creatura inueneram te creatorem nostrum et uerbum tuum apud te deum, tecumque unum deum, per quod creasti omnia. et est aliud genus inpiorum, qui cognoscentes deum non sicut deum glorificauerunt aut gratias egerunt. in hoc quoque incideram, et dextera tua suscepit me et inde ablatum posuisti, ubi conualescerem, quia dixisti homini: ecce pietas est sapientia, et: noli uelle uideri sapiens, quoniam dicentes se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt. et inueneram iam bonam margaritam, et uenditis omnibus, quae haberem, emenda erat, et dubitabam.

II. Perrexi ergo ad Simplicianum, patrem in accipienda gratia tunc episcopi Ambrosii et quem uere ut patrem dili-

4. **marcidis**] Properly 'withered,' 'flaccid,' and, metaphorically, 'languid,' seems here to be used in an active sense 'wearying'; cf. 'inquietum' = 'disquieting' I 27. There is an approach to this use in Claudian *de III Cons. Honor.* 40 'marcida luxu otia' ('enervating').

6. **spadones** etc.] Mt. xix 12. An Old Lat. reading which differs markedly from the Vulg. 'Absciderunt' does not occur in any MS. or citation given by Sabatier iii 111. Otherwise the quotation agrees with Cod. Colbert. (C).

8. **uani...est**] Wisd. xiii 1.

12. **uerbum tuum apud te deum**] Cf. Jn i 1 sq.

14. **cognoscentes . . . egerunt**] Rom. i 21.

16. **dextera...me**] Ps. xvii 36 (xviii 35).

17. **dixisti homini** etc.] Job xxviii 28. (Vulg. 'ecce timor Dei' etc.)

18. **noli uelle...facti sunt**] Cf. Prov. iii 7.

ib. **dicentes se...sunt**] Rom. i 22.

19. **bonam margaritam**] Mt. xiii. 45.

II. *Simplicianus narrates to him the story of Victorinus.*

23. **tunc**] used adjectivally—as we say colloquially 'the then Bishop.'

gebat. narraui ei circuitus erroris mei. ubi autem conmemoraui legisse me quosdam libros Platonicorum, quos Victorinus quondam rhetor urbis Romae, quem christianum defunctum esse audieram, in latinam linguam transtulisset, gratulatus est mihi, quod non in aliorum philosophorum scripta incidissem plena fallaciarum et deceptionum secundum elementa huius mundi, in istis autem omnibus modis insinuari deum et eius uerbum. deinde, ut me exhortaretur ad humilitatem Christi sapientibus absconditam et reuelatam paruulis, Victorinum ipsum recordatus est, quem, Romae cum esset, familiarissime nouerat, deque illo mihi narrauit quod non silebo. habet enim magnam laudem gratiae tuae confitendam tibi, quemadmodum ille doctissimus senex et omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus quique philosophorum tam multa legerat et diiudicauerat, doctor tot nobilium senatorum, qui etiam

11 deque] de quo FM¹O¹P*o*. illo] ille P*o*, illo ille G. 15 diiudicauerat] +et dilucidauerat BPQ*m*.

2. **quosdam libros Platonicorum**] These appear to have been chiefly writings of Plotinus and Porphyry. See Introd. xxxix—li. A. has numerous parallels with Plotinus, whom he considered the best exponent of 'Platonic' doctrine (*c. Acad.* III 18. 41 etc.). In the *de Ciu. Dei* he refers by name to the treatises of Porphyry *πρὸς Ἀνεβῶ*, *περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς* and *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας* (X 11, X 32, XIX 23).

3. **Victorinus**] Gaius Marius V. Afer (Jerome *Comm. in Galat.* Prolog. and *de Virr. Illustr.* ci). In addition to his (lost) Neo-Platonic translations he wrote various theological and exegetical works which survive. In view of the affinity of his thought to that of A. on such characteristic points as, *inter alia*, predestination, the doctrines of grace, the priority of faith to intelligence, Dr Gore remarks (Art. 'Victorinus,' *Dictionary of Christian Biography*): 'It seems not at all improbable that the (hitherto unsuspected) influence of the writings of the old philosopher, whose conversion stirred him so deeply, was a determining force upon the theology of St Augustine.'

6. **secundum ... mundi**] Col. ii 8.

8. **deum et eius uerbum**] Cf. VII 13. In *de Ciu. Dei* X 29 A. quotes Simplicianus as speaking of a certain 'Platonic' who declared that the opening verses of St John ought to be conspicuously displayed in all churches. From the reference to the churches, the 'Platonic' seems to have been a Christian, and was perhaps Victorinus himself. (Subsequently to making this conjecture we found that it had been suggested by Reinhold Schmidt *Marius Victorinus Rhetor und seine Beziehungen zu Augustin*, Kiel 1895, p. 16.)

9. **sapientibus ... paruulis**] Cf. Mt. xi 25.

12. **laudem gratiae tuae**] Cf. Eph. i 6.

14. **legerat et diiudicauerat**] 'had read so many philosophical

ob insigne praeclari magisterii, quod ciues huius mundi eximium putant, statuam Romano foro meruerat et acceperat, usque ad illam aetatem uenerator idolorum sacrorumque sacrilegorum particeps, quibus tunc tota fere Romana nobilitas inflata spirabat <prodigia> iam et omnigenum deum monstra et Anubem latratorem, quae aliquando

contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Mineruam

tela tenuerant et a se uictis iam Roma supplicabat, quae iste senex Victorinus tot annos ore terricrepo defensitauerat, non erubuerit esse puer Christi tui et infans fontis tui subiecto collo ad humilitatis iugum et edomita fronte ad crucis opprobrium.

4 O domine, domine, qui inclinasti caelos et descendisti, tetigisti montes et fumigauerunt, quibus modis te insinuasti illi pectori? legebat, sicut ait Simplicianus, sanctam scripturam omnesque christianas litteras inuestigabat studiosissime et per-

5 spirabat BFGHMOPQSVW (*v. Serta Harteliana* p. 138), inspirabat *mo.* prodigia iam] *coniec. Knöll,* popilios iam FHMOSVW, populique iam G, populosirim B, populos iam P*o*, pelusia Q^1 popli usyã Q^2 *s.l.*

writings, and had read them with discrimination.'

1. **ob insigne** etc.] *as a memorial of his distinction as a teacher.*

5. **prodigia**] This is a conjectural reading; see the textual note. In *Serta Harteliana*, p. 138, Knöll explains the corruption by suggesting that the D, written with the round stroke short, was taken for P, and an ill-formed G read as L.

ib. **omnigenum**]

'Omnigenumque deum monstra, et latrator Anubis
contra Neptunum et Venerem,
contraque Mineruam
tela tenent....'

Aen. VIII 698–9.

8. **et a se uictis** etc.] *whom Rome once vanquished but now worshipped.* The lines quoted from the *Aeneid* refer to the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra as figured by Vulcan on the shield of Aeneas.

9. **terricrepo**] 'terribly-thundering.' The word occurs here only. Cf. 'terriloquus' Lucr. I. 103. Plautus *Asin.* I i 21 has the compound 'ferricrepinus' in the sense 'resounding with the clang of fetters.'

10. **infans fontis**] A technical term for the newly-baptized, suggested by Jn iii 5. Cf. the petition in the ancient pre-baptismal prayer given by Duchesne *Christian Worship* p. 311: 'ut sanctificatione concepta ab immaculato diuini fontis utero in nouam renata creaturam progenies caelestis emergat.'

11. **crucis opprobrium**] Cf. Gal. v 11 (Vulg. 'scandalum crucis').

13. **domine** etc.] Ps. cxliii (cxliv) 5.

scrutabatur et dicebat Simpliciano non palam, sed secretius et familiarius: "noueris iam me esse christianum." et respondebat ille: "non credam nec deputabo te inter christianos, nisi in ecclesia Christi uidero." ille autem inridebat dicens: "ergo parietes faciunt christianos?" et hoc saepe dicebat, iam se esse christianum, et Simplicianus illud saepe respondebat et saepe ab illo parietum inrisio repetebatur. amicos enim suos reuerebatur offendere, superbos daemonicolas, quorum ex culmine Babylonicae dignitatis quasi ex cedris Libani, quas nondum contriuerat dominus, grauiter ruituras in se inimicitias arbitrabatur. sed posteaquam legendo et inhiando hausit firmitatem timuitque negari a Christo coram angelis sanctis, si eum timeret coram hominibus confiteri, reusque sibi magni criminis adparuit erubescendo de sacramentis humilitatis uerbi tui et non erubescendo de sacris sacrilegis superborum daemoniorum, quae imitator superbus acceperat, depuduit uanitati et erubuit ueritati subitoque et inopinatus ait Simpliciano, ut ipse narrabat: "eamus in ecclesiam: christianus uolo fieri." at ille non se capiens laetitia perrexit cum eo. ubi autem imbutus est primis instructionis sacramentis, non

20 instructionum BFMPQ *edd.*

5. **ergo parietes**] Cf. Thuc. *Hist.* VII 77. 7 *ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις καὶ οὐ τείχη.*

9. **Babylonicae**] Alluding to the O.T. use of Babylon as a type of pride Is. xiv 4, 12, 13; perhaps also to the interpretation of Babylon as Rome in Rev. xvii 9 etc.

ib. **cedris...quas nondum contriuerat**] Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* xxviii (xxix) 5 'Vox domini conterens cedros: uox domini contritione cordis humilians superbos.'

12. **negari a Christo** etc.] Lk. xii 9.

14. **erubescendo de sacr.**] *in being ashamed of the sacraments instituted by Thy Word in the time of His humiliation.*

16. **depuduit uanitati et erubuit ueritati**] For the late and rare 'depudesco,' 'to become shameless,' cf. Apul. *Met.* X 29 'priusquam ...infamia publici spectaculi depudescerem.' Pusey renders here 'he became bold-faced against vanity and shame-faced towards the truth.'

20. **instructionis sacramentis**] The ceremonies which attended initiation into the catechumenate. (For the wide range of meaning covered by 'sacramentum' see IV 3, note.) These consisted of exorcism, the making of the sign of the cross upon the forehead, the laying on of hands, and the administration of salt, which had been previously exorcised, with the words 'Accipe sal sapientiae propitiatus in uitam aeternam.' The 'Benedictio Salis' in the Gelasian Sacramentary includes the petition 'ut haec creatura

multo post nomen dedit, ut per baptismum regeneraretur mirante Roma, gaudente ecclesia. superbi uidebant et irascebantur, dentibus suis stridebant et tabescebant: seruo autem tuo dominus deus erat spes eius et non respiciebat in uanitates et insanias mendaces.

Denique ut uentum est ad horam profitendae fidei, quae uerbis certis conceptis retentisque memoriter de loco eminentiore in conspectu populi fidelis Romae reddi solet ab eis, qui accessuri sunt ad gratiam tuam, oblatum esse dicebat Victorino a presbyteris, ut secretius redderet, sicut nonnullis, qui uerecundia trepidaturi uidebantur, offerri mos erat; illum autem maluisse salutem suam in conspectu sanctae multitudinis profiteri. non enim erat salus, quam docebat, in rhetorica et

1 post S, +etiam BFGHMOPQW *edd.*

salis in nomine Trinitatis efficiatur salutare sacramentum ad effugandum diabolum.' See Duchesne *Christian Worship* 295 ff. Cf. the passage from *de Pecc. Mer.* II 26. 42 quoted Introd. xviii, note.

ib. **non multo post nomen dedit**] It was possible to remain in the first stage of the catechumenate (among the 'audientes') for an indefinite period. Those who desired to proceed to baptism 'gave in their names' on a day appointed near the beginning of Lent. They were thenceforth known as 'competentes' and entered on a course of catechetical instruction, towards the close of which the Creed and, at Rome, also the Lord's Prayer and the Gospel, were solemnly delivered to them ('Traditio Symboli, Euangelii et Dominicae Orationis'). The conclusion of the preparation was marked by the 'Redditio Symboli,' the public recitation of the creed mentioned below. See Duchesne *ut sup.*

2. **superbi uidebant** etc.] Cf. Ps. cxi (cxii) 10 'peccator uidebit et irascetur, dentibus suis fremet et tabescet.'

4. **spes eius** etc.] Ps. xxxix 5 (xl 4).

6. **quae uerbis certis conceptis**] The form of the old Roman Baptismal Confession as reconstructed from Rufinus (*In Symb.*) and Marcellus (ap. Epiphan. *Haer.* LXXII 836) was 'Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem (Ruf. 'in Deo Patre' etc. but Marcellus εἰς Θεόν). et in Christum Iesum unicum Filium eius dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dextram Patris, unde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos. et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.' See Swete *The Apostles' Creed* p. 16.

8. **in conspectu populi** etc.] Rufinus (*ut sup.*) refers to this custom. 'Mos inibi (Romae) seruatus antiquus, eos qui gratiam baptismi suscepturi sunt, publice, id est fidelium populo audiente, symbolum reddere.' (Migne *P. L* 21. 339.)

tamen eam publice professus erat. quanto minus ergo uereri debuit mansuetum gregem tuum pronuntians uerbum tuum, qui non uerebatur in uerbis suis turbas insanorum? itaque ubi ascendit, ut redderet, omnes sibimet inuicem, quisque ut eum nouerat, instrepuerunt nomen strepitu gratulationis. quis autem ibi non eum nouerat? et sonuit presso sonitu per ora cunctorum conlaetantium: "Victorinus, Victorinus." cito sonuerunt exultatione, quia uidebant eum, et cito siluerunt intentione, ut audirent eum. pronuntiauit ille fidem ueracem praeclara fiducia, et uolebant eum omnes rapere intro in cor suum. et rapiebant amando et gaudendo: hae rapientium manus erant.

III. Deus bone, quid agitur in homine, ut plus gaudeat de 6
salute desperatae animae et de maiore periculo liberatae, quam si spes ei semper affuisset aut periculum minus fuisset? etenim tu quoque, misericors pater, plus gaudes de uno paenitente quam de nonaginta nouem iustis, quibus non opus est paenitentia. et nos cum magna iucunditate audimus, cum audimus quam exsultantibus pastoris humeris reportetur ouis, quae errauerat, et drachma referatur in thesauros tuos conlaetantibus uicinis mulieri, quae inuenit, et lacrimas excutit gaudium sollemnitatis domus tuae, cum legitur in domo tua

5 nomen S, +eius BFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 19 exsultantibus] exultantis BPQ, +angelis M^2m. 20 drachma] dragma *mss.*

3. **turbas insanorum**] Probably his previous auditors are called 'insani' as being idolaters. Or the meaning may be that as an orator he had prided himself on being able to calm the passions of a hostile crowd.

7. **cito sonuerunt ... audirent eum**] A particularly elaborate example of A.'s favourite balanced antithesis with equal members (parisosis) and similar endings of the parallel words throughout (homoeoptoton).

III. *There is more rejoicing on earth, as in heaven, when one is converted whose conversion was not to be looked for than for one of whom there had always been good hope. A. inquires what is the explanation of this.*

16. **de uno paenitente** etc.] Lk. xv 7 sq.

19. **exsultantibus pastoris humeris**] The poetic hypallage (for 'exultantis pastoris') is suggested by the 'pathos' (in the ancient sense) of the passage, and may have commended itself to a rhetorician as avoiding a sequence of -is endings.

22. **gaudium sollemnitatis**] *the festal joy.*

de minore filio tuo, quoniam mortuus fuerat et reuixit, perierat et inuentus est. gaudes quippe in nobis et in angelis tuis sancta caritate sanctis. nam tu semper idem, quia ea quae non semper nec eodem modo sunt eodem modo semper nosti omnia.

7 Quid ergo agitur in anima, cum amplius delectatur inuentis aut redditis rebus, quas diligit, quam si eas semper habuisset? contestantur enim et cetera et plena sunt omnia testimoniis clamantibus: "ita est." triumphat uictor imperator et non uicisset, nisi pugnauisset, et quanto maius periculum fuit in proelio, tanto est gaudium maius in triumpho. iactat tempestas nauigantes minaturque naufragium; omnes futura morte pallescunt: tranquillatur caelum et mare, et exultant nimis, quoniam timuerunt nimis. aeger est carus et uena eius malum renuntiat; omnes, qui eum saluum cupiunt, aegrotant simul animo: fit ei recte et nondum ambulat pristinis uiribus, et fit iam tale gaudium, quale non fuit, cum antea saluus et fortis ambularet. easque ipsas uoluptates humanae uitae etiam non inopinatis et praeter uoluntatem inruentibus, sed institutis et uoluntariis molestiis homines adquirunt. edendi et bibendi uoluptas nulla est, nisi praecedat esuriendi et sitiendi molestia. et ebriosi quaedam salsiuscula comedunt, quo fiat molestus ardor, quem dum exstinguit potatio, fit delectatio. et institutum est, ut iam pactae sponsae non tradantur statim, ne uile habeat maritus datam, quam non suspirauerit sponsus dilatam.

8 Hoc in turpi et exsecranda laetitia, hoc in ea quae concessa

1 fuerat S, erat BFGHMOPQVW *edd.* (Vulg.) 3 quia] qui BFGHOPQVW*m.* 25 uile] GOSV, uilem BFHMPQW *edd.*

14. **uena eius malum renuntiat**] *his pulse clearly indicates danger.*

16. **fit ei recte**] 'he gets better.' Cp. the close parallel to this picture in Gray's *Ode on Vicissitude.*

22. **salsiuscula**] The appearance of large numbers of new diminutives—'salsiusculus' first occurs here—is a feature of late Latin. Apuleius is credited with over 80, Koziol *Stil des Apuleius* pp. 264–6.

24. **ne...datam quam...dilatam**] Another parison with homoeoteleuton. The difference of quantity and the third, apparently accidental, assonance with 'statim' make the phrase less artistic than usual.

et licita est, hoc in ipsa sincerissima honestate amicitiae, hoc in eo qui mortuus erat et reuixit, perierat et inuentus est: ubique maius gaudium molestia maiore praeceditur. quid est hoc, domine deus meus, cum tu aeternum tibi, tu ipse sis gaudium, et quaedam de te circa te semper gaudeant? quid est, quod haec rerum pars alternat defectu et profectu, offensionibus et conciliationibus? an is est modus earum et tantum dedisti eis, cum a summis caelorum usque ad ima terrarum, ab initio usque in finem saeculorum, ab angelo usque ad uermiculum, a motu primo usque ad extremum omnia genera bonorum et omnia iusta opera tua suis quaeque sedibus locares et suis quaeque temporibus ageres? ei mihi, quam excelsus es in excelsis et quam profundus in profundis! et nusquam recedis, et uix redimus ad te.

IV. Age, domine, fac excita et reuoca nos, accende et 9
rape, fragra, dulcesce: amemus, curramus. nonne multi ex profundiore tartaro caecitatis quam Victorinus redeunt ad te et accedunt et inluminantur recipientes lumen, quod si qui recipiunt, accipiunt a te potestatem, ut filii tui fiant? sed si minus noti sunt populis, minus de illis gaudent etiam qui nouerunt eos. quando enim cum multis gaudetur, et in singulis uberius est gaudium, quia feruefaciunt se et inflammantur ex alterutro. deinde, quod multis noti, multis sunt auctoritati ad salutem et multis praeeunt secuturis, ideoque multum de illis et qui eos praecesserunt laetantur, quia non de

16 fragra] *coniec. Knöll*, fragla O^1SV.

2. **qui mortuus erat** etc.] Lk. xv 32.

5. **quaedam**] The reference is doubtless to the angels: the neuter is due to the conception, under Neo-Platonic influence, of the whole 'caelum caeli' as animate. See XII 12.

6. **defectu et profectu** etc.] *advance and decline, opposition and harmony.*

8. **summis caelorum**] Mt. xxiv 31.

IV. *Why men rejoiced so greatly over the conversion of Victorinus.*

16. **dulcesce**] 'charm us.'

ib. **amemus, curramus**] Cf. Cant. i 3 (i 2) 'trahe me: post te curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.'

19. **accipiunt ... potestatem ut filii tui fiant**] Jn i 12.

21. **quando ... cum multis** etc.] Cf. Butler *Serm.* v 'On Compassion' § 5.

solis laetantur. absit enim, ut in tabernaculo tuo prae pauperibus accipiantur personae diuitum aut prae ignobilibus nobiles, quando potius infirma mundi elegisti, ut confunderes fortia, et ignobilia huius mundi elegisti et contemtibilia et ea quae non sunt, tamquam sint, ut ea quae sunt euacuares. et tamen idem ipse minimus apostolorum tuorum, per cuius linguam tua ista uerba sonuisti, cum Paulus pro consule per eius militiam debellata superbia sub lene iugum Christi tui missus esset regis magni prouincialis effectus, ipse quoque ex priore Saulo Paulus uocari amauit ob tam magnae insigne uictoriae. plus enim

7 pro consule] proconsul $B^2FGH^2M^2O^2PQ$ *edd.*

1. **prae pauperibus** etc.] Ja. ii 1—9.

3. **infirma mundi** etc.] 1 Cor. i 27.

6. **minimus apostolorum**] 1 Cor. xv 9.

7. **Paulus pro consule**] Acts xiii 6—12.

8. **debellata superbia**] Cf. *Aen.* vi 853 'parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'

ib. **sub lene iugum** etc.] combines the Roman 'sub iugum mittere' with an allusion to Mt. xi 29.

ib. **regis magni prouincialis**] A. frequently speaks metaphorically of laymen as 'prouinciales' in contrast with clerics who are 'milites' (the duty of the 'prouincialis' being to pay taxes for the maintenance of the army). The point here is that Sergius Paulus, who had been a great man in the imperial service, became a mere humble private citizen in Christ's kingdom. For A.'s use of 'prouincialis' cf. *Serm.* cccli 5 'sed si hoc (habere paenitentiam debent) dispensatores uerbi Dei et ministri sacramentorum eius, milites Christi; quanto magis cetera stipendiaria multitudo, et quaedam prouincia magni regis?...quanto ergo magis ecclesiae prouinciales, saecularibus negotiis obligati, quotidianam debent agere paenitentiam?' On this passage the Benedictine editors note: 'quos laicos usitatius dicimus, ipsos uocat ecclesiae prouinciales et stipendiarios; pulchre alludens, ut saepe alias, ad popularem loquendi usum, quo prouinciae, quae soluendo militibus stipendio noxiae essent, stipendiariae dicebantur.' See also *Serm.* cccii 15 (where 'prouincialis' is used without metaphorical significance for 'private person' in contrast to various officials); *de Op. Monach.* v 6; xv 16; *Enarr. in Ps.* xc Serm. i 10; *in Ps.* ciii Serm. iii 9.

10. **ob tam magnae insigne uictoriae**] Jerome (*in Philem.* init.) illustrates from the cases of Scipio Africanus and Metellus Creticus. It is now recognised that it was usual for the Jews of the Dispersion to adopt a second name for use among Gentiles; that the choice of the name was frequently suggested by assonance with the Jewish name; and that Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος is the regular formula where both are used (see Ramsay *St Paul the Traveller*, p. 81 ed. 2, and Deissmann *Bible Studies*, 313–7 E.T.). A. elsewhere (*de Spir. et Lit.* vii 12) explains the name as adopted by St Paul in token of his being 'minimus apostolorum.' For the phrase 'ob insigne' cf. § 3 *sup.*

hostis uincitur in eo, quem plus tenet et de quo plures tenet. plus autem superbos tenet nomine nobilitatis et de his plures nomine auctoritatis. quanto igitur gratius cogitabatur Victorini pectus, quod tam inexpugnabile receptaculum diabolus obtinuerat, Victorini lingua, quo telo grandi et acuto multos peremerat, abundantius exultare oportuit filios tuos, quia rex noster alligauit fortem, et uidebant uasa eius erepta mundari et aptari in honorem tuum et fieri utilia domino ad omne opus bonum.

V. Sed ubi mihi homo tuus Simplicianus de Victorino ista narrauit, exarsi ad imitandum: ad hoc enim et ille narrauerat. posteaquam uero et illud addidit, quod imperatoris Iuliani temporibus lege data prohibiti sunt christiani docere litteraturam et oratoriam—quam legem ille amplexus loquacem scholam deserere maluit quam uerbum tuum, quo linguas infantium facis disertas—non mihi fortior quam felicior uisus est, quia inuenit occasionem uacandi tibi. cui rei ego suspirabam ligatus non ferro alieno, sed mea ferrea uoluntate. uelle meum

2 plus BFGHMOPQVW, plures S. 4 tam S, tamquam BFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

1. **de quo**] *by means of whom.* For the instrumental 'de' see V 5 note ('de qua numerant').

4. **receptaculum**] *stronghold.* Cf. Livy XLIV 39 'castra sunt uictoris receptaculum, uicto perfugium.'

6. **alligauit fortem**] Cf. Mt. xii 29.

8. **utilia** etc.] Cf. 2 Tim. ii 21.

V. *Simplicianus tells A. how Victorinus abandoned his profession of rhetorician when Julian made a law forbidding Christians to teach the liberal sciences. The conduct of Victorinus excites the emulation of A. and he longs to follow his example; but he finds, like the Apostle Paul, that the flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh.*

12. **prohibiti**] The classics being for Julian sacred books, it was an outrage that they should be expounded by unbelievers. He desired also to degrade Christianity by cutting it off from literary culture. His own teacher Proaeresius of Athens refused the special exemption which was offered to him and resigned his chair. In *de Ciu. Dei* XVIII 52 A. classes Julian among the persecutors on the ground of this edict, and Julian's admirer, Ammianus Marcellinus, speaks still more strongly, desiring that it might be 'buried in eternal silence (obruendum perenni silentio)' XXII 10. A curious consequence of the prohibition was the attempt of the two Apollinarii to provide a Christian literature by turning the O.T. into epic and drama and the N.T. into Platonic dialogues; Socrates *H.E.* III 16.

14. **linguas infantium** etc.] Wisd. x 21. Cf. Ps. viii 3 (2); Mt. xxi 16.

17. **uelle meum**] See note on 'cuius uidere' III 12, and ref. there.

tenebat inimicus et inde mihi catenam fecerat et constrinxerat me. quippe uoluntate peruersa facta est libido, et dum seruitur libidini, facta est consuetudo, et dum consuetudini non resistitur, facta est necessitas. quibus quasi ansulis sibimet innexis—unde catenam appellaui—tenebat me obstrictum dura seruitus. uoluntas autem noua, quae mihi esse coeperat, ut te gratis colere fruique te uellem, deus, sola certa iucunditas, nondum erat idonea ad superandam priorem uetustate roboratam. ita duae uoluntates meae, una uetus, alia noua, illa carnalis, illa spiritalis, confligebant inter se atque discordando dissipabant animam meam.

11 Sic intellegebam me ipso experimento id quod legeram, quomodo caro concupisceret aduersus spiritum et spiritus aduersus carnem, ego quidem in utroque, sed magis ego in eo, quod in me approbabam quam in eo, quod in me improbabam. ibi enim magis iam non ego, quia ex magna parte id patiebar inuitus quam faciebam uolens. sed tamen consuetudo aduersus me pugnacior ex me facta erat, quoniam uolens quo nollem peruueneram. et quis iure contradiceret, cum peccantem iusta poena sequeretur? et non erat iam illa excusatio, qua uideri mihi solebam propterea me nondum contempto saeculo seruire tibi, quia incerta mihi esset perceptio ueritatis: iam enim et ipsa certa erat. ego autem adhuc terra obligatus militare tibi recusabam et inpedimentis omnibus sic timebam expediri, quemadmodum inpediri timendum est.

12 Ita sarcina saeculi, uelut somno assolet, dulciter premebar,

2 uoluntate] ex u. BFHMOPQVW *edd.* 7 colerem BFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

2. **dum seruitur libidini** etc.] An arresting description of the growth of habit.

4. **ansulis**] small links or rings.

6. **gratis colere**] Job i 9, Old Lat.

12. **me ipso experimento**] 'from my own experience' (lit. 'I myself having been the subject of the experiment').

13. **caro** etc.] Gal. v 17.

18. **pugnacior ex me facta erat**] *i.e.* had been reinforced by that portion of his own will which treacherously deserted to the enemy.

20. **iusta poena**] Cf. Plato *Theaetet.* 176–7, where we are told that the penalty of injustice is not death or stripes but the fatal necessity of becoming more and more unjust.

et cogitationes, quibus meditabar in te, similes erant conatibus expergisci uolentium, qui tamen superati soporis altitudine remerguntur. et sicut nemo est, qui dormire semper uelit, omniumque sano iudicio uigilare praestat, differt tamen plerumque homo somnum excutere, cum grauis torpor in membris est, eumque iam displicentem carpit libentius, quamuis surgendi tempus aduenerit: ita certum habebam esse melius tuae caritati me dedere quam meae cupiditati cedere; sed illud placebat et uincebat, hoc libebat et uinciebat. non enim erat quod tibi responderem dicenti mihi: surge qui dormis et exsurge a mortuis, et inluminabit te Christus, et undique ostendenti uera te dicere, non erat omnino, quid responderem ueritate conuictus, nisi tantum uerba lenta et somnolenta: "modo," "ecce modo," "sine paululum." sed "modo et modo" non habebat modum et "sine paululum" in longum ibat. frustra condelectabatur legi tuae secundum interiorem hominem, cum alia lex in membris meis repugnaret legi mentis meae et captiuum me duceret in lege peccati, quae in membris meis erat. lex enim peccati est uiolentia consuetudinis, qua trahitur et tenetur etiam inuitus animus eo merito, quo in eam uolens inlabitur. miserum ergo me quis liberaret de corpore mortis huius nisi gratia tua per Iesum Christum, dominum nostrum?

VI. Et de uinculo quidem desiderii concubitus, quo 13 artissimo tenebar, et saecularium negotiorum seruitute quem-

21 liberaret BFGHMOPQW, liberet SV.

8. **dedere ... cedere**] 'Dedere' is from 'dedo.' On the frequency of these rhyming antitheses in A., see Wölfflin *Archiv für Lat. Lexic.* I 350.

9. **uincebat**] *was beginning to conquer.*

10. **surge qui dormis**] Eph. v 14.

14. **modo**] 'presently.' Cf. Persius *Sat.* v 66

'Cras hoc fiet? idem cras fiet. quid? quasi magnum,
nempe diem donas? sed cum lux altera uenit,
iam cras hesternum consumpsimus; ecce aliud cras
egerit hos annos et semper paulum erit ultra.'

16. **frustra condelectabatur**] 'It was vain to delight in thy law,' etc. Cf. Rom. vii 22.

21. **quis...dominum nostrum**] Rom. vii 24, 25.

VI. *The story of Ponticianus regarding two courtiers who renounced the world.*

admodum exemeris narrabo et confitebor nomini tuo, domine, adiutor meus et redemptor meus. agebam solita crescente anxitudine et cotidie suspirabam tibi, frequentabam ecclesiam tuam, quantum uacabat ab eis negotiis, sub quorum pondere gemebam. mecum erat Alypius otiosus ab opere iuris peritorum post assessionem tertiam, expectans, quibus iterum consilia uenderet, sicut ego uendebam dicendi facultatem, si qua docendo praestari potest. Nebridius autem amicitiae nostrae cesserat, ut omnium nostrum familiarissimo Verecundo, Mediolaniensi et ciui et grammatico, subdoceret, uehementer desideranti et familiaritatis iure flagitanti de numero nostro fidele adiutorium, quo indigebat nimis. non itaque Nebridium cupiditas conmodorum eo traxit—maiora enim posset, si uellet, de litteris agere—sed officio beniuolentiae petitionem nostram contemnere noluit amicus dulcissimus et mitissimus. agebat autem illud prudentissime cauens innotescere personis secundum hoc saeculum maioribus, deuitans in eis omnem inquietudinem animi, quem uolebat habere liberum et quam multis posset horis feriatum ad quaerendum aliquid uel legendum uel audiendum de sapientia.

14 Quodam igitur die—non recolo causam, qua erat absens Nebridius—cum ecce ad nos domum uenit ad me et Alypium

1 exemeris PS, me ex. BGHMOQVW *edd.*

1. **confitebor...domine**] Ps. liii 8 (liv 6).

2. **adiutor meus et redemptor meus**] Ps. xviii 15 (xix 14).

6. **assessionem tertiam**] See VI 16, note.

10. **subdoceret**] The word is used by Cicero *ad Att.* VIII 4 in the sense of teaching 'a little': 'Ciceronesque nostros meo potius labore subdoceri quam me alium uis magistrum quaerere.' The present appears to be the only passage in which it has been noted in the sense 'to teach under another.' Ausonius, however, *Profess. Burdig.* xxii, has the substantive 'subdoctor' in the sense of under-master; cf. I 9 'condoctor.'

13. **posset, si uellet**] For a similar use of the imperf. for pluperf. subjunctive in both members of a conditional sentence referring to past time cf. Terence *Adelph.* I ii 26, 27 'nam si esset unde fieret, faceremus' (='fuisset,' 'fecissemus'). See Madvig *Lat. Gr.* § 347, obs. 2, and above at VI 5 'proponerem.'

18. **quam multis posset horis feriatum**] Ablative of 'time throughout which.' Cf. IX 33 'exigua parte horae...fleuisse.' It becomes common in late style. For 'quam' with the positive cf. Val. Max. VI 4. 1 'quam poterat clara uoce.'

Ponticianus quidam, ciuis noster, in quantum Afer, praeclare in palatio militans: nescio quid a nobis uolebat. et consedimus, ut conloqueremur. et forte supra mensam lusoriam, quae ante nos erat, adtendit codicem: tulit, aperuit, inuenit apostolum Paulum, inopinate sane; putauerat enim aliquid de libris, quorum professio me conterebat. tum uero arridens meque intuens gratulatorie miratus est, quod eas et solas prae oculis meis litteras repente conperisset. christianus quippe et fidelis erat et saepe tibi, deo nostro, prosternebatur in ecclesia crebris et diuturnis orationibus. cui ego cum indicassem illis me scripturis curam maximam inpendere, ortus est sermo ipso narrante de Antonio Aegyptio monacho, cuius nomen excellenter clarebat apud seruos tuos, nos autem usque in illam horam latebat. quod ille ubi conperit, inmoratus est in eo sermone insinuans tantum uirum ignorantibus et admirans eandem nostram ignorantiam. stupebamus autem audientes tam recenti memoria et prope nostris temporibus testatissima mirabilia tua in fide recta et catholica ecclesia. omnes mirabamur, et nos, quia tam magna erant, et ille, quia inaudita nobis erant.

2. **militans**] 'Militare' is used freely in late Latin of other than military service: 'qui igitur principi in quolibet officio seu in qualibet dignitate palatina, ciuili aut militari, deseruiebat, ei militare dicebatur eiusque esse miles.' Du Cange *sub uoc.*

3. **lusoriam**] *for some game.*

4. **codicem ... apostolum Paulum**] 'The Apostle' usually formed one codex, the most usual division for the rest of the N.T. being The Four Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse; Kenyon, *Handbook of Text. Crit.* p. 44.

5. **aliquid de libris**] The neuter is doubtless used in a generalising sense. It gives the shade of meaning which would be conveyed in English by the colloquialism, 'something in the way of one of the books.'

12. **Antonio**] The *Vita S. Antonii* is attributed to Athanasius. Regarding its genuineness authorities are divided. For discussion, see the note in Gwatkin's *Studies of Arianism*, ed. 2, pp. 102–7, which still, as Professor Gwatkin has kindly informed us, represents his view, so far as concerns the *Vita*; A. Robertson *Select Writings of Athanasius* (Nicene Fathers, Ser. 2, vol. iv) pp. 188—193; Zöckler *Askese und Mönchtum* (1897) pp. 188—92; Butler *Palladius* (1898) i 215–28 (mainly concerned with the question of historicity). According to the traditional view Antony was born in 251, spent twenty years in solitude, subsequently gathered disciples, and founded settlements which are regarded as the beginnings of monasticism.

Inde sermo eius deuolutus est ad monasteriorum greges et mores suaueolentiae tuae et ubera deserta heremi, quorum nos nihil sciebamus. et erat monasterium Mediolanii plenum bonis fratribus extra urbis moenia sub Ambrosio nutritore, et non noueramus. pertendebat ille et loquebatur adhuc, et nos intenti tacebamus. unde incidit, ut diceret nescio quando se et tres alios contubernales suos, nimirum apud Treueros, cum imperator pomeridiano circensium spectaculo teneretur, exisse deambulatum in hortos muris contiguos atque illic, ut forte combinati spatiabantur, unum secum seorsum et alios duos itidem seorsum pariterque digressos; sed illos uagabundos inruisse in quandam casam, ubi habitabant quidam serui tui spiritu pauperes, qualium est regnum caelorum, et inuenisse ibi codicem, in quo scripta erat uita Antonii. quam legere coepit

3 Mediolanii] Mediolani CGHMOQVW *edd.*

2. **mores suaueolentiae tuae**] *i.e.* of Thy servants who are a sweet savour unto Thee. An example of the bold use of abstract for concrete which is a feature of late style. Cf. IX 37, XII 21 etc.

3. **erat monasterium...non noueramus**] Butler *Palladius* i 217 notes this as one of those passages which illustrate the dangerous character of the 'argument from silence.' The writers of antiquity did not always, any more than the most confident critic, know all that they might reasonably have been expected to know.

7. **Treueros**] Trier (Trèves) on the Moselle. See Freeman, 'Augusta Treverorum,' *Hist. Essays* 3rd ser. p. 68. From the time of Diocletian, Trier had been 'the capital of the west, the centre of dominion for Gaul, Spain and Britain, the second Rome beyond the Alps,' a position which it retained throughout the whole of the fourth century (*ut sup.* 88, 101). In Church history it is notable as the scene of the first exile of Athanasius—the occurrence of the *Vit. Ant.* there is of some slight importance as an argument for its genuineness—and of the execution, in 384, under the usurper Maximus, of the Spanish heretic Priscillian. The incident to which Ponticianus refers is probably to be placed in the reign of Gratian, who resided chiefly at Trier. For its situation and importance, cf. Ausonius, *Treveris*:

'Armipotens dudum celebrari Gallia gestit
Treuericaeque urbis solium, quae proxima Rheno
pacis ut in mediae gremio secura quiescit,
imperii uires quod alit, quod uestit et armat.
lata per extentum procurrunt moenia collem;
largus tranquillo praelabitur amne Mosella
longinqua omnigenae uectans commercia terrae.'

8. **circensium**] The panegyrist Eumenius in the time of Constantine alludes to the circus 'which Rome itself might envy,' *Pan.* VII 22 (quoted by Freeman *ut sup.* p. 93).

14. **spiritu pauperes**] Mt. v 3.

unus eorum et mirari et accendi et inter legendum meditari arripere talem uitam et relicta militia saeculari seruire tibi. erant autem ex eis, quos dicunt agentes in rebus. tum subito repletus amore sancto et sobrio pudore iratus sibi coniecit oculos in amicum et ait illi: "dic, quaeso te, omnibus istis laboribus nostris quo ambimus peruenire? quid quaerimus? cuius rei causa militamus? maiorne esse poterit spes nostra in palatio, quam ut amici imperatoris simus? et ibi quid non fragile plenumque periculis? et per quot pericula peruenitur ad grandius periculum? et quando istuc erit? amicus autem dei, si uoluero, ecce nunc fio." dixit hoc et turbidus parturitione nouae uitae reddidit oculos paginis: et legebat et mutabatur intus, ubi tu uidebas, et exuebatur mundo mens eius, ut mox apparuit. namque dum legit et uoluit fluctus cordis sui, infremuit aliquando et discreuit decreuitque meliora iamque tuus ait amico suo: "ego iam abrupi me ab illa spe nostra et deo seruire statui et hoc ex hac hora, in hoc loco aggredior. te si piget imitari, noli aduersari." respondit ille adhaerere se socium tantae mercedis tantaeque militiae. et ambo iam tui aedificabant turrem sumptu idoneo relinquendi omnia sua et

3 tum] tunc BFGHMPQVW *edd.* *edd.* urbem S. 20 turrem] turrim $BH^2M^2V^2$

3. **agentes in rebus**] Their duties included those of couriers, commissariat officers, and secret police. See *Cod. Iust.* XII 20—23.

8. **amici imperatoris**] These were persons of senatorial or equestrian rank who formed the immediate entourage of the Emperor and were called into council by him on official matters. See Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms* ed. 5 (1881), p. 117 sq., and cf. Le Blant *Les Persécuteurs et les Martyrs*, p. 307 § 7.

ib. **et ibi quid non fragile** etc.] Friedländer (*ut sup.* p. 125) remarks that this position, so eagerly sought by the courtiers as the highest honour, seemed to outside observers of philosophic temperament intolerably burdensome, beset, as it was, with constraint, unrest and anxiety of every kind. Epictetus *Diss.* IV 1. 42—50 gives a lively picture of the discomforts and dangers of the position, concluding with the words Ὁμόσαι δύναμαι ὅτι οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀναίσθητος ἢ ἀναλήθης, ὡς μὴ ἀποδύρασθαι τὰς αὐτοῦ συμφορὰς ὅσῳ ἂν ἧ φίλτερος.

13. **intus, ubi tu uidebas**] Cf. Mt. vi 18.

15. **discreuit** etc.] 'discerned and decided upon the better course.'

20. **aedificabant turrem**] *began to build their tower, i.e.* having counted the cost at once took the decisive step. Cf. Lk. xiv 28—30.

sequendi te. tum Ponticianus et qui cum eo per alias horti partes deambulabant, quaerentes eos deuenerunt in eundem locum et inuenientes admonuerunt, ut redirent, quod iam declinasset dies. at illi narrato placito et proposito suo, quoque modo in eis talis uoluntas orta est atque firmata petiuerunt, ne sibi molesti essent, si adiungi recusarent. isti autem nihil mutati a pristinis fleuerunt se tamen, ut dicebat, atque illis pie congratulati sunt et conmendauerunt se orationibus eorum et trahentes cor in terra abierunt in palatium, illi autem affigentes cor caelo manserunt in casa. et habebant ambo sponsas: quae posteaquam hoc audierunt, dicauerunt etiam ipsae uirginitatem tibi.

16 VII. Narrabat haec Ponticianus. tu autem, domine, inter uerba eius retorquebas me ad me ipsum, auferens me a dorso meo, ubi me posueram, dum nollem me adtendere, et constituebas me ante faciem meam, ut uiderem, quam turpis essem, quam distortus et sordidus, maculosus et ulcerosus. et uidebam et horrebam, et quo a me fugerem non erat. et si conabar a me auertere aspectum, narrabat ille quod narrabat, et tu me rursus opponebas mihi et inpingebas me in oculos meos, ut inuenirem iniquitatem et odissem. noueram eam, sed dissimulabam et cohibebam et obliuiscebar.

5 orta est] o. esset BCFGHM²PQVW *edd.* esset o. O. 7 nihil] nihilo BCFGMOPQV *edd.* 21 iniquitatem] + meam BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

ib. **relinquendi** etc.] Genitive of definition, explaining of what the building of the tower consisted.

9. **trahentes cor**] Metaphor from dragging a helpless limb ('genua aegre trahentem,' *Aen.* v 468).

VII. *A. is overwhelmed with shame on hearing the narrative told him by Ponticianus.*

21. **ut inuenirem** etc.] Cf. Ps. xxxv 3 (xxxvi 2) (as quoted by A.) 'ut inueniret iniquitatem suam et odisset.'

22. **cohibebam**] In late Latin 'cohibeo' (usually with dative) acquires the sense 'overlook, permit, acquiesce in.' Cf. Facundus Hermian., *pro Defens. Trium Capit.* II 2 (Migne *P.L.* 67. 565): 'sancta illa synodus haeresi Nestorianae cohibuit, quae apud se recitatam eandem epistulam non damnauit,' where the context shows that the meaning is 'acquiesced in.' A. uses 'cohibentia' in the sense of 'acquiescence' in *de Unitat. Eccl.* (*ad Cath. c. Donatist.*) ii 4 'si...aliqua uel segnitia uel cohibentia tales a communione remouere noluerunt.' A

Tunc uero quanto ardentius amabam illos, de quibus 17
audiebam salubres affectus, quod se totos tibi sanandos
dederant, tanto exsecrabilius me conparatum eis oderam.
quoniam multi mei anni mecum effluxerant—forte duodecim
anni—ex quo ab undeuicensimo anno aetatis meae lecto
Ciceronis Hortensio excitatus eram studio sapientiae et differe-
bam contemta felicitate terrena ad eam inuestigandam uacare,
cuius non inuentio, sed uel sola inquisitio iam praeponenda
erat etiam inuentis thesauris regnisque gentium et ad nutum
circumfluentibus corporis uoluptatibus. at ego adulescens
miser ualde, miserior in exordio ipsius adulescentiae, etiam
petieram a te castitatem et dixeram: "da mihi castitatem et
continentiam, sed noli modo." timebam enim, ne me cito
exaudires et cito sanares a morbo concupiscentiae, quem
malebam expleri quam exstingui. et ieram per uias prauas
superstitione sacrilega, non quidem certus in ea, sed quasi
praeponens eam ceteris, quae non pie quaerebam, sed inimice
oppugnabam.

Et putaueram me propterea differre de die in diem contempta 18
spe saeculi te solum sequi, quia non mihi apparebat certum
aliquid, quo dirigerem cursum meum. et uenerat dies, quo
nudarer mihi et increparet in me conscientia mea: "ubi est
lingua mea? nempe tu dicebas propter incertum uerum nolle
te abicere sarcinam uanitatis. ecce iam certum est, et illa te
adhuc premit humerisque liberioribus pinnas recipiunt, qui

11 miserior SW, miser BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 14 quem] quam CM *edd.* 22 in] – BC^2M^2PQ. est] es $BCFM^2$ *o.* 23 mea S, – BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

Graeco-Latin glossary quoted by Du Cange gives 'cohibeo' (?sc. 'oculos') for ἐπιμύω, and in Forcellini *Lex. tot. Lat.* the usage is attributed to confusion with 'conniueo.' (The Bened. edd. read 'conniuebam' here, but without MS. authority.)

5. **lecto Hortensio**] See III 7.

15. **per uias prauas**] Cf. Ecclus. ii 16 'uae his, qui...diuerterunt in uias prauas.'

19. **differre de die in diem**] Cf. Ecclus. v 8 'non tardes conuerti ad dominum, et ne differas de die in diem.'

25. **pinnas recipiunt**] An allusion to Plato's myth in the *Phaedrus*. To receive wings sooner than others is the reward of the philosopher, *Phaedr.* 249. Cf. also 250 'As he (the initiate) receives the effluence of beauty through the eyes, the wing

neque ita in quaerendo adtriti sunt nec decennio et amplius ista meditati." ita rodebar intus et confundebar pudore horribili uehementer, cum Ponticianus talia loqueretur. terminato autem sermone et causa, qua uenerat, abiit ille, et ego ad me. quae non in me dixi? quibus sententiarum uerberibus non flagellaui animam meam, ut sequeretur me conantem post te ire? et renitebatur, recusabat et non se excusabat. consumpta erant et conuicta argumenta omnia: remanserat muta trepidatio et quasi mortem formidabat restringi a fluxu consuetudinis, quo tabescebat in mortem.

19 VIII. Tum in illa grandi rixa interioris domus meae, quam fortiter excitaueram cum anima mea in cubiculo nostro, corde meo, tam uultu quam mente turbatus inuado Alypium, exclamo: "quid patimur? quid est hoc, quod audisti? surgunt indocti et caelum rapiunt, et nos cum doctrinis nostris ecce ubi uoluta-mur in carne et sanguine! an quia praecesserunt, pudet sequi et non pudet nec saltem sequi?" dixi nescio qua talia, et abripuit me ab illo aestus meus, cum taceret attonitus me intuens. neque enim solita sonabam. plus loquebantur animum meum frons, genae, oculi, color, modus uocis quam uerba, quae promebam. hortulus quidam erat hospitii nostri, quo nos utebamur sicut tota domo: nam hospes ibi non habitabat, dominus domus. illuc me abstulerat tumultus pectoris, ubi nemo impediret ardentem litem, quam mecum

9 formidabat] reformidabat BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 14 quod] quid COPQW *mo.* 15 nostris S, +sine corde BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 17 qua] quae BCM²W² *edd.*

moistens and he warms, and as he warms, the parts out of which the wing grew, and which had hitherto been closed and rigid, and had prevented the wing from shooting forth, are melted, and as nourishment streams upon him, the lower end of the wing begins to swell and grow from the root upwards; and the growth extends under the whole soul—for once the whole was winged' (Jowett).

4. **et ego ad me**] sc. 'abii.' See VII 16, note ('admonitus redire' etc.).

6. **post te ire**] = 'sequi' in metaphorical sense, is a Hebraism introduced by the Biblical versions. Cf. Jer. vii 9 'ire post deos alienos.'

VIII. *A. goes into the garden adjoining his lodging and is followed by Alypius.*

15. **caelum rapiunt**] Cf. Mt. xi 12 'regnum caelorum uim patitur et uiolenti rapiunt illud.'

aggressus eram, donec exiret qua tu sciebas, ego autem non: sed tantum insaniebam salubriter et moriebar uitaliter, gnarus, quid mali essem, et ignarus, quid boni post paululum futurus essem. abscessi ergo in hortum et Alypius pedem post pedem. neque enim secretum meum non erat, ubi ille aderat. et quando me sic affectum desereret? sedimus quantum potuimus remoti ab aedibus. ego fremebam spiritu indignans indignatione turbulentissima, quod non irem in placitum et pactum tecum, deus meus, in quod eundum esse omnia ossa mea clamabant et in caelum tollebant laudibus: et non illuc ibatur nauibus aut quadrigis aut pedibus, quantum saltem de domo in eum locum ieram, ubi sedebamus. nam non solum ire uerum etiam peruenire illuc nihil erat aliud quam uelle ire, sed uelle fortiter et integre, non semisauciam hac atque hac uersare et iactare uoluntatem parte adsurgente cum alia parte cadente luctantem.

Denique tam multa faciebam corpore in ipsis cunctationis aestibus, quae aliquando uolunt homines et non ualent, si aut ipsa membra non habeant aut ea uel conligata uinculis uel resoluta languore uel quoquo modo impedita sint. si uulsi capillum, si percussi frontem, si consertis digitis amplexatus sum genu, quia uolui, feci. potui autem uelle et non facere, si mobilitas membrorum non obsequeretur. tam multa ergo feci, ubi non hoc erat uelle quod posse: et non faciebam, quod

2 insaniebam BCFOPQVW*o*, insanibam S *m Knöll in ed. mai.* 4 *pr* pedem] pede CFGH²MOV *mo.* 5 et] aut BFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

2. **insaniebam salubriter** etc.] A notable example of oxymoron.

4. **pedem post pedem**] Some word like 'posuit' may be understood.

8. **placitum et pactum tecum**] Cf. Ezech. xvi 8 'ingressus sum pactum tecum, ait Dominus Deus, et facta es mihi.'

9. **omnia ossa**] Ps. xxxiv (xxxv) 10.

10. **non illuc ibatur nauibus**] Cf. the passage from Plotin. *Enn.* I 6. 8 quoted in note at I 28 ('non enim pedibus').

14. **semisauciam**] The compound appears to have been coined by A. Cf. 'terricrepus' § 3 *sup.* and note there.

24. **non hoc...posse**] *where to will was not the same as to be able* (as it is in the case of making a resolve).

et inconparabili affectu amplius mihi placebat et mox, ut uellem, possem, quia mox, ut uellem, utique uellem. ibi enim facultas ea, quae uoluntas, et ipsum uelle iam facere erat; et tamen non fiebat, faciliusque obtemperabat corpus tenuissimae uoluntati animae, ut ad nutum membra mouerentur, quam ipsa sibi anima ad uoluntatem suam magnam in sola uoluntate perficiendam.

21 IX. Unde hoc monstrum? et quare istuc? luceat misericordia tua, et interrogem, si forte mihi respondere possint latebrae poenarum hominum et tenebrosissimae contritiones filiorum Adam. unde hoc monstrum? et quare istuc? imperat animus corpori, et paretur statim: imperat animus sibi, et resistitur. imperat animus, ut moueatur manus, et tanta est facilitas, ut uix a seruitio discernatur imperium: et animus animus est, manus autem corpus est. imperat animus, ut uelit animus, nec alter est nec facit tamen. unde hoc monstrum? et quare istuc? imperat, inquam, ut uelit, qui non imperaret, nisi uellet, et non facit quod imperat. sed non ex toto uult: non ergo ex toto imperat. nam in tantum imperat, in quantum uult, et in tantum non fit quod imperat, in quantum non uult, quoniam uoluntas imperat, ut sit uoluntas, nec alia, sed ipsa. non itaque plena imperat; ideo non est quod imperat. nam si plena esset, nec imperaret ut esset, quia iam esset. non igitur monstrum partim uelle, partim nolle, sed aegritudo animi est,

5 nutum]+mentis GM*m*. 18 facit OSW, fit BFGHMPQV *edd.*
22 itaque] utique BPQV*m*.

1. **mox, ut uellem, possem**] *as soon as I would, I could.*

5. **quam ipsa sibi anima**] *than the mind obeyed itself in carrying out this strong volition which could be accomplished wholly within the will.*

IX. *There seem to be two wills in man when he has to make choice between good and evil.*

10. **latebrae poenarum**] refers to the mysterious dispensation by which this inability is part of the penalty of Adam's sin. Cf. v 16, note ('originalis peccati uinculum').

ib. **contritiones**] 'sufferings.' See I 5 note ('miserationes').

14. **uix a seruitio** etc.] *you can scarce distinguish the command from its fulfilment.*

21. **imperat, ut sit uoluntas**] *calls into being a volition which is not other than itself.* The original plays on the ambiguity of 'uoluntas' —'u. (the faculty) imperat ut sit u. (viz. a volition).'

quia non totus assurgit ueritate subleuatus, consuetudine praegrauatus. et ideo sunt duae uoluntates, quia una earum tota non est et hoc adest alteri, quod deest alteri.

X. Pereant a facie tua, deus, sicuti pereunt, uaniloqui et 22
mentis seductores, qui cum duas uoluntates in deliberando animaduerterint, duas naturas duarum mentium esse asseuerant, unam bonam, alteram malam. ipsi uere mali sunt, cum ista mala sentiunt, et idem ipsi boni erunt, si uera senserint uerisque consenserint, ut dicat eis apostolus tuus: fuistis aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in domino. illi enim dum uolunt esse lux non in domino, sed in se ipsis, putando animae naturam hoc esse, quod deus est, ita facti sunt densiores tenebrae, quoniam longius a te recesserunt horrenda arrogantia, a te, uero lumine inluminante omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum. adtendite, quid dicatis, et erubescite et accedite ad eum et inluminamini, et uultus uestri non erubescent. ego cum deliberabam, ut seruirem domino deo meo, sicut diu disposueram, ego eram, qui uolebam, ego, qui nolebam; ego eram. nec plene uolebam nec plene nolebam. ideo mecum contendebam et dissipabar a me ipso, et ipsa dissipatio me inuito quidem fiebat, nec tamen ostendebat naturam mentis alienae, sed poenam meae. et ideo non iam ego operabar

17 ut S, +iam BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 18 ego eram OSW, ego ego e. BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

2. **et ideo sunt duae uoluntates**] Cf. *de Duab. Anim.* xiii 19, where A. develops the idea of motive more clearly: 'quare non duas animas hinc (viz. from the fact of deliberation) fateri cogor? possumus enim melius et multo expeditius intellegere duo genera bonarum rerum (*i.e.* good in themselves)... unam animam ex diuersis afficere partibus.'

X. *But these 'two wills' do not warrant us in assuming two natures in man as the Manichaeans hold. The absurdity of this assumption is shown by referring to cases where, not two, but several different impulses compete. Could we imagine that there are as many natures as impulses?*

4. **pereant a facie tua**] Ps. lxvii 3 (lxviii 2).

ib. **uaniloqui et...seductores**] Tit. i 10.

9. **fuistis aliquando** etc.] Eph. v 8.

14. **uero...mundum**] Jn i 9.

15. **accedite** etc.] Ps. xxxiii 6 (xxxiv 5).

17. **ut seruirem** etc.] Cf. Deut. vi 13; Mt. iv 10; Jer. xxx 9.

22. **non iam ego** etc.] Rom. vii 17.

illam, sed quod habitat in me peccatum de supplicio liberioris peccati, quia eram filius Adam.

23 Nam si tot sunt contrariae naturae, quot uoluntates sibi resistunt, non iam duae, sed plures erunt. si deliberet quisquam, utrum ad conuenticulum eorum pergat an ad theatrum, clamant isti: "ecce duae naturae, una bona hac ducit, altera mala illac reducit. nam unde ista cunctatio sibimet aduersantium uoluntatum?" ego autem dico ambas malas, et quae ad illos ducit et quae ad theatrum reducit. sed non credunt nisi bonam esse, qua itur ad eos. quid? si ergo quisquam noster deliberet et secum altercantibus duabus uoluntatibus fluctuet, utrum ad theatrum pergat an ad ecclesiam nostram, nonne et isti quid respondeant fluctuabunt? aut enim fatebuntur, quod nolunt, bona uoluntate pergi in ecclesiam nostram, sicut in eam pergunt qui sacramentis eius imbuti sunt atque detinentur, aut duas malas naturas et duas malas mentes in uno homine confligere putabunt, et non erit uerum quod solent dicere, unam bonam, alteram malam, aut conuertentur ad uerum et non negabunt, cum quisque deliberat, animam unam diuersis uoluntatibus aestuare.

1 habitabat BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 11 noster] nostrum BFGHM²PQVW *edd.* alternantibus GMQ¹.

1. **de supplicio liberioris peccati**] *from the penalty of a sin committed in conditions of greater freedom.* A. uses the comparative degree ('liberior') because in his view the highest 'freedom' is not the power of not sinning which Adam possessed, but the absolute determination of the will towards good which is the condition of the unfallen angels and of the saints in heaven. Cf. *de Corrept. et Grat.* xii 33 'quapropter, bina ista quid inter se differant, diligenter et uigilanter intuendum est, posse non peccare, et non posse peccare...prima ergo libertas uoluntatis erat, posse non peccare; nouissima erit multo maior, non posse peccare.'

5. **conuenticulum eorum**] This early example of the contemptuous use of the diminutive is interesting. Cicero *pro Sest.* xlii uses the word in a neutral sense: 'conuenticula hominum quae postea ciuitatis nominatae sunt.' In Arnobius and Lactantius it seems to be almost a technical term for a Christian meeting-place; cf. Arnob. *c. Gent.* IV 26 'cur ... conuenticula (meruerunt) dirui?' Lactant. *Diu. Inst.* V 11 'qui uniuersum populum cum conuenticulo concremauit.'

15. **sicut in eam**] sc. 'ecclesiam nostram.' The phrase defines what it means to enter the church 'bona uoluntate.' (Pusey takes 'eam' as referring to the Manichaean church, and renders 'that the will which leads to our church is good as well as theirs.')

Iam ergo non dicant, cum duas uoluntates in homine uno 24
aduersari sibi sentiunt, duas contrarias mentes de duabus
contrariis substantiis et de duobus contrariis principiis con-
tendere, unam bonam, alteram malam. nam tu, deus uerax,
inprobas eos et redarguis atque conuincis eos, sicut in utraque
mala uoluntate, cum quisque deliberat, utrum hominem ueneno
interimat an ferro, utrum fundum alienum illum an illum
inuadat, quando utrumque non potest, utrum emat uoluptatem
luxuria an pecuniam seruet auaritia, utrum ad circum pergat
an ad theatrum, si uno die utrumque exhibeatur; addo etiam
tertium, an ad furtum de domo aliena, si subest occasio; addo
et quartum, an ad conmittendum adulterium, si et inde simul
facultas aperitur, si omnia concurrant in unum articulum tem-
poris pariterque cupiuntur omnia, quae simul agi nequeunt:
discerpunt enim animum sibimet aduersantibus quattuor uolun-
tatibus uel etiam pluribus in tanta copia rerum, quae appetuntur,
nec tamen tantam multitudinem diuersarum substantiarum solent
dicere. ita et in bonis uoluntatibus. nam quaero ab eis, utrum
bonum sit delectari lectione apostoli et utrum bonum sit de-
lectari psalmo sobrio et utrum bonum sit euangelium disserere.
respondebunt ad singula: "bonum." quid? si ergo pariter
delectent omnia simulque uno tempore, nonne diuersae uolun-
tates distendunt cor hominis, dum deliberatur, quid potissimum
arripiamus? et omnes bonae sunt et certant secum, donec
eligatur unum, quo feriatur tota uoluntas una, quae in plures
diuidebatur. ita etiam, cum aeternitas delectat superius et
temporalis boni uoluptas retentat inferius, eadem anima est

14 cupiuntur] cupiantur BCGHMOPQW *edd.* 23 dum] cum BCHMPQW *m.* 25 feriatur] feratur BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* feretur F. 27 uoluptas] uoluntas F¹HSVW.

9. **luxuria**] *by extravagance.* Cf. Plin. *Paneg.* xliv *fin.* where 'luxuria' is contrasted with 'frugalitas.'

25. **quo feriatur...una**] *whereby the whole will is set at rest and united.* The other reading 'feratur' should be noticed, which gives the meaning 'towards which the will may be directed, as an united whole.'

non tota uoluntate illud aut hoc uolens et ideo discerpitur graui molestia, dum illud ueritate praeponit, hoc familiaritate non ponit.

25 XI. Sic aegrotabam et excruciabar accusans memet ipsum solito acerbius nimis ac uoluens et uersans me in uinculo meo, 5 donec abrumperetur totum, quo iam exiguo tenebar. sed tenebar tamen. et instabas tamen in occultis meis, domine, seuera misericordia flagella ingeminans timoris et pudoris, ne rursus cessarem et non abrumperetur id ipsum exiguum et tenue, quod remanserat, et reualesceret iterum et me robustius alligaret. 10 dicebam enim apud me intus: "ecce modo fiat, modo fiat," et cum uerbo iam ibam in placitum. iam paene faciebam et non faciebam nec relabebar tamen in pristina, sed de proximo stabam et respirabam. et item conabar et paulo minus ibi eram et paulo minus, iam iamque adtingebam et tenebam: et 15 non ibi eram nec adtingebam nec tenebam, haesitans mori morti et uitae uiuere, plusque in me ualebat deterius inolitum, quam melius insolitum, punctumque ipsum temporis, quo aliud futurus eram, quanto propius admouebatur, tanto ampliorem incutiebat horrorem; sed non recutiebat retro nec auertebat, 20 sed suspendebat.

26 Retinebant nugae nugarum et uanitates uanitantium, anti-

7 *alt.* tamen SW, tu BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* BCFGHMOPQVW, – deterius S *Knöll in ed. mai.* 17 deterius inol. 22 uanitantium] uanitatum C^2GMQ_o, uanitantum BC^1FHV.

XI. *The inner struggle. The recollection of his former guilty pleasures clings to his mind and holds him back.*

4. **sic aegrotabam** etc.] The ensuing description (to the end of § 28) is a wonderful example of A.'s power of presenting inner experience in vivid imagery.

8. **flagella ingeminans**] 'redoubling the lashes' ('dextra ingeminans ictus' *Aen.* v 457).

22. **uanitates uanitantium**] Cf. Eccl. i 2. In *Retract.* i 7. 3 A. refers to the reading 'uanitantium,' and says that subsequently to writing *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.* he discovered that it was incorrect. This does not determine the reading here, however, as the *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.* was written ten years before the *Conf.* and he does not mention at what period he made the discovery. In the present instance the internal and external evidence are at variance. The analogy of 'nugae nugarum' seems almost to require 'uanitas uanitatum,' but the MS. authority for the latter is quite inferior.

quae amicae meae, et succutiebant uestem meam carneam et submurmurabant: "dimittisne nos?" et "a momento isto non erimus tecum ultra in aeternum" et "a momento isto non tibi licebit hoc et illud ultra in aeternum." et quae suggerebant in eo, quod dixi "hoc et illud," quae suggerebant, deus meus? auertat ab anima serui tui misericordia tua! quas sordes suggerebant, quae dedecora! et audiebam eas iam longe minus quam dimidius, non tamquam libere contradicentes eundo in obuiam, sed uelut a dorso mussitantes et discedentem quasi furtim uellicantes, ut respicerem. retardabant tamen cunctantem me abripere atque excutere ab eis et transilire quo uocabar, cum diceret mihi consuetudo uiolenta: "putasne sine istis poteris?"

Sed iam tepidissime hoc dicebat. aperiebatur enim ab ea 27
parte, qua intenderam faciem et quo transire trepidabam, casta dignitas continentiae, serena et non dissolute hilaris, honeste blandiens, ut uenirem neque dubitarem, et extendens ad me suscipiendum et amplectendum pias manus plenas gregibus bonorum exemplorum. ibi tot pueri et puellae, ibi iuuentus multa et omnis aetas et graues uiduae et uirgines anus, et in omnibus ipsa continentia nequaquam sterilis, sed fecunda mater filiorum, gaudiorum de marito te, domine. et inridebat me inrisione hortatoria, quasi diceret: "tu non poteris quod isti, quod istae? an uero isti et istae in se ipsis possunt ac non in domino deo suo? dominus deus eorum me dedit eis. quid in te stas et non in te stas? proice te in eum, noli metuere; non se subtrahet, ut cadas: proice te securus, excipiet et sanabit te." et erubescebam nimis, quia illarum nugarum murmura adhuc audiebam, et cunctabundus pendebam. et rursus illa, quasi diceret: "obsurdesce aduersus inmunda illa membra tua, ut mortificentur. narrant tibi delectationes, sed

26 in te] – BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 29 murmur BFGHPQ*m*.
31 tua S, + super terram BCFGHMPQVW *edd.* (*Col. iii* 5 *Vulg.*).

1. **succutiebant**] *plucked softly at*, lit. 'shook slightly.' The context indicates that 'sub' has its moderating sense.

21. **sterilis...mater**] Cf. Ps. cxii (cxiii) 9.

31. **membra...ut mortificentur**] Col. iii 5.

non sicut lex domini dei tui." ista controuersia in corde meo non nisi de me ipso aduersus me ipsum. at Alypius affixus lateri meo inusitati motus mei exitum tacitus opperiebatur.

28 XII. Ubi uero a fundo arcano alta consideratio traxit et congessit totam miseriam meam in conspectu cordis mei, oborta est procella ingens ferens ingentem imbrem lacrimarum. et ut totum effunderem cum uocibus suis, surrexi ab Alypio—solitudo mihi ad negotium flendi aptior suggerebatur—et secessi remotius, quam ut posset mihi onerosa esse etiam eius praesentia. sic tunc eram, et ille sensit: nescio quid enim, puto, dixeram, in quo apparebat sonus uocis meae iam fletu grauidus, et sic surrexeram. mansit ergo ille ubi sedebamus nimie stupens. ego sub quadam fici arbore straui me nescio quomodo et dimisi habenas lacrimis, et proruperunt flumina oculorum meorum, acceptabile sacrificium tuum, et non quidem his uerbis, sed in hac sententia multa dixi tibi: et tu, domine, usquequo? usquequo, domine, irasceris in finem? ne memor fueris iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum. sentiebam enim eis me teneri. iactabam uoces miserabiles: "quamdiu, quamdiu 'cras et cras'? quare non modo? quare non hac hora finis turpitudinis meae?"

29 Dicebam haec et flebam amarissima contritione cordis mei. et ecce audio uocem de uicina domo cum cantu dicentis et

4 traxit] contraxit BGHPQV *edd.* 5 conspectu] conspectum CMOPVW *mo.* 23 uicina BCGHMOPQVW, diuina S *Knöll in ed. mai.*

ib. **narrant tibi delectationes**] Psalm cxviii (cxix) 85. Vulgate 'fabulationes.' A.'s comment *ad loc.* is interesting in that he notices both renderings: 'quas Graeci ἀδολεσχίας uocant...aliqui interpretes delectationes, aliqui fabulationes.' His interpretation combines both: 'exercitationes delectabiles uerbis... sed non sicut lex tua, quia me in ea ueritas, non uerba, delectat.'

XII. *He hears a voice repeating 'Take, and read.' He opens the volume of 'the Apostle' and reads Romans xiii 13 and 14. He accepts the words as a message from God; light comes to him, and his darkness flees away.*

13. **fici arbore**] As 'ficus' itself means fig-tree, the periphrasis is curious.

14. **dimisi habenas lacrimis**] Cf. *Aen.* XII 499 'irarumque omnes effudit habenas.'

15. **acceptabile sacrificium**] Cf. Ps. l 19 (li 17).

16. **et tu, domine, usquequo**] Ps vi 4 (3).

17. **irasceris...antiquarum**] Ps. lxxviii (lxxix) 5 and 8.

crebro repetentis quasi pueri an puellae, nescio: "tolle lege, tolle lege." statimque mutato uultu intentissimus cogitare coepi, utrumnam solerent pueri in aliquo genere ludendi cantitare tale aliquid, nec occurrebat omnino audisse me uspiam, repressoque impetu lacrimarum surrexi, nihil aliud interpretans diuinitus mihi iuberi, nisi ut aperirem codicem et legerem quod primum caput inuenissem. audieram enim de Antonio, quod ex euangelica lectione, cui forte superuenerat, admonitus fuerit, tamquam sibi diceretur quod legebatur: uade, uende omnia, quae habes, da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelis; et ueni, sequere me, et tali oraculo confestim ad te esse conuersum. itaque concitus redii in eum locum, ubi sedebat Alypius: ibi enim posueram codicem apostoli, cum inde surrexeram. arripui, aperui et legi in silentio capitulum, quo primum coniecti sunt oculi mei: non in comissationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et inpudicitiis, non in contentione et aemulatione, sed induite dominum Iesum Christum et carnis prouidentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis. nec ultra uolui legere nec opus erat. statim quippe cum fine huiusce sententiae quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo omnes dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt.

Tum interiecto aut digito aut nescio quo alio signo codicem clausi et tranquillo iam uultu indicaui Alypio. at ille quid in se ageretur—quod ego nesciebam—sic indicauit. petit uidere quid legissem: ostendi, et adtendit etiam ultra quam ego legeram. et ignorabam quid sequeretur. sequebatur autem: in-

10 da] et da BFGHMOV *edd.* (Vulg.). 26 autem S, uero *cet. et edd.*

7. **caput**] 'passage' or 'paragraph.' It is regularly used of the paragraphs of a law; cf. Cic. *de Leg. Agr.* II 6. 15 'a primo capite legis usque ad extremum.'

ib. **audieram enim de Antonio**] It is evident that the story of Antony acted as a psychological preparation for this experience.

9. **uade...me**] Mt. xix 21.

14. **capitulum**] See 'caput' above. The use of the diminutive in this sense seems to have been later than that of 'caput.'

15. **non in comissationibus**] Rom. xiii 13, 14.

22. **interiecto...signo**] sc. between the leaves of the 'codex,' which consisted of a 'block' of pages fastened together almost in book form.

26. **infirmum** etc.] Rom. xiv 1.

firmum uero in fide recipite. quod ille ad se rettulit mihique aperuit. sed tali admonitione firmatus est placitoque ac proposito bono et congruentissimo suis moribus, quibus a me in melius iam olim ualde longeque distabat, sine ulla turbulenta cunctatione coniunctus est. inde ad matrem ingredimur, indicamus: gaudet. narramus quemadmodum gestum sit: exultat et triumphat et benedicebat tibi, qui potens est ultra quam petimus aut intellegimus facere, quia tanto amplius sibi a te concessum de me uidebat, quam petere solebat miserabilibus flebilibusque gemitibus. conuertisti enim me ad te, ut nec uxorem quaererem nec aliquam spem saeculi huius stans in ea regula fidei, in qua me ante tot annos ei reuelaueras, et conuertisti luctum eius in gaudium multo uberius, quam uoluerat, et multo carius atque castius, quam de nepotibus carnis meae requirebat.

1 uero S, autem *cet. et edd.* recipite BCFHOPQW, recipe S *Knöll in ed. mai.* 7 est] es BCFGHMOPQV*o*.

7. **qui potens ... facere**] Eph. iii 20. III 19, note.
11. **in ea regula fidei**] Cf. 12. **conuertisti luctum** etc.] Ps. xxix 12 (xxx 11).

LIBER NONUS.

I. O domine, ego seruus tuus, ego seruus tuus et filius 1
ancillae tuae. dirupisti uincula mea; tibi sacrificabo hostiam
laudis. laudet te cor meum et lingua mea, et omnia ossa mea
dicent: domine, quis similis tibi? dicant, et responde mihi et
5 dic animae meae: salus tua ego sum. quis ego et qualis ego?
quid non mali aut facta mea aut, si non facta, dicta mea aut, si
non dicta, uoluntas mea fuit? tu autem, domine, bonus et
misericors et dextera tua respiciens profunditatem mortis meae
et a fundo cordis mei exhauriens abyssum corruptionis. et hoc
10 erat totum nolle quod uolebam, et uelle quod uolebas. sed
ubi erat tam annoso tempore et de quo imo altoque secreto
euocatum est in momento liberum arbitrium meum, quo sub-

2 hostiam] sacrificium *Mm* (A. in *Enarr. in Ps.*). 4 dicent] dicant BCFGHIMOPQVW *edd.* 10 uolebam] uolebas H^2Q (*m. rec.*). uolebas] nolebas HV.

I. *A. gives thanks for his deliverance from the bondage of sin and rejoices in his new sense of freedom. He now finds his happiness in God instead of in his former pleasures.*

1. **o domine** etc.] Ps. cxv (cxvi) 16, 17.

3. **omnia ossa** etc.] Ps. xxxiv (xxxv) 10.

5. **dic animae meae** etc.] Ps. xxxiv (xxxv) 3.

8. **dextera tua**] The two clauses, 'respiciens...exhauriens,' are apparently to be taken as a kind of hendiadys (*looking upon...to* etc.) and 'dextera' goes with the general idea of helping.

9. **exhauriens**] 'emptying,' 'cleansing out.' Cf. Cic. *de Leg. Agr.* ii 26. 70 'urbanam plebem... exhauriendam esse; hoc enim est usus quasi de aliqua sentina... loqueretur.'

ib. **et hoc...uolebas**] '*and this* (viz. the deliverance from the state of corruption) *was that I ceased to will all that I had willed, and began to will what Thou didst will.*

12. **euocatum est ... liberum arbitrium**] It is to be noted that for A. grace, so far from destroying, restores freewill. Cf. *de Spir. et Lit.* xxx 52 'sicut lex non euacuatur, sed statuitur, per fidem, quia fides impetrat gratiam, qua lex

derem ceruicem leni iugo tuo et humeros leui sarcinae tuae, Christe Iesu, adiutor meus et redemptor meus? quam suaue mihi subito factum est carere suauitatibus nugarum, et quas amittere metus fuerat, iam dimittere gaudium erat. eiciebas enim eas a me, uera tu et summa suauitas, eiciebas et intrabas pro eis omni uoluptate dulcior, sed non carni et sanguini, omni luce clarior, sed omni secreto interior, omni honore sublimior, sed non sublimibus in se. iam liber erat animus meus a curis mordacibus ambiendi et adquirendi et uolutandi atque scalpendi scabiem libidinum, et garriebam tibi, claritati meae et diuitiis et saluti meae, domino deo meo.

2 II. Et placuit mihi in conspectu tuo non tumultuose abripere, sed leniter subtrahere ministerium linguae meae nundinis loquacitatis, ne ulterius pueri meditantes non legem tuam, non pacem tuam, sed insanias mendaces et bella forensia mercarentur ex ore meo arma furori suo. et opportune iam

11 diuitiis S, +meis BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

impleatur, ita liberum arbitrium non euacuatur per gratiam, sed statuitur, quia gratia sanat uoluntatem, qua iustitia libere diligatur.'

1. **leni iugo tuo**] Mt. xi 30. Cf. Dante *Purg.* XII 118 sq.

'Maestro, di', qual cosa greve
levata s' è da me? che nulla quasi
per me fatica andando si riceve.'

2. **Christe Iesu**] Here only in the *Confessions* is Christ directly addressed. Three times prayer is addressed to God through Christ ('per Christum obsecro' XI §§ 4, 28).

ib. **adiutor meus** etc.] Ps. xviii 15 (xix 14).

5. **intrabas pro eis**] See I 24, note ('dulcescas ... super ... seductiones'), and the quotations there.

8. **sed non sublimibus** etc.] *but not to the lofty-minded.*

9. **scalpendi ... libidinum**] Cf. III 1.

10. **garriebam**] *I spoke in childlike accents.*

II. *A. decides to abandon his profession as a public teacher of rhetoric; but to do so without ostentation. An affection of the lungs, which would in any case have obliged him to intermit his labours, provides him with a suitable excuse.*

13. **subtrahere ... nundinis loquac.**] *withdraw the service of my tongue from the rhetoric market.* A.'s disparagement of his former profession recalls Conington's remark about the attitude of Persius towards the military life which he had for a time contemplated. Persius' frequent attacks upon it are to be regarded, Conington says, not merely as expressions of moral or constitutional antipathy, but as protests against a former taste which may still have continued to assert itself in spite of the precepts of philosophy. (Conington *Satires of Persius* Introd. p. xviii.)

15. **insanias ... forensia**] Cf. IV 2.

paucissimi dies supererant ad uindemiales ferias, et statui tolerare illos, ut sollemniter abscederem et redemptus a te iam non redirem uenalis. consilium ergo nostrum erat coram te, coram hominibus autem nisi nostris non erat. et conuenerat inter nos, ne passim cuiquam effunderetur, quamquam tu nobis in conualle plorationis ascendentibus et cantantibus canticum graduum dederas sagittas acutas et carbones uastatores aduersus linguam subdolam uelut consulendo contradicentem et, sicut cibum assolet, amando consumentem.

Sagittaueras tu cor nostrum caritate tua, et gestabamus 3 uerba tua transfixa uisceribus, et exempla seruorum tuorum, quos de nigris lucidos et de mortuis uiuos feceras, congesta in sinum cogitationis nostrae urebant et absumebant grauem torporem, ne in ima uergeremus, et accendebant nos ualide, ut omnis ex lingua subdola contradictionis flatus inflammare nos acrius posset, non extinguere. uerum tamen quia propter

6 in S, a BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

1. **uindemiales ferias**] About this time an edict of Theodosius and Valentinian II fixed definitely the vacations for the imperial tribunals, and probably also for the schools. The vintage vacation was for two months at the end of summer (22nd Aug.—15th Oct.) 'aestiuis feruoribus mitigandis et autumnis fetibus discerpendis.' The other vacations were a fortnight at Easter and three days at the New Year. *Cod. Theod.* II 8. 19, *Cod. Iust.* III 12.

2. **sollemniter**] *with due formality.*

5. **quamquam tu nobis**] *i.e.* his motive was not fear of opposition, against which he was armed with the 'arrows' of God's word and the 'coals' of stimulating examples (see below), but the dread of ostentation.

6. **conualle plorationis**] Ps. lxxxiii 7 (lxxxiv 6), Vulg. 'in ualle lacrymarum.'

ib. **canticum graduum**] Cf. Pss. cxix—cxxxiii (cxx—cxxxiv) (titles).

7. **sagittas acutas** etc.] Ps. cxix (cxx) 4. Cf. A.'s exposition *ad loc.* (§ 5) 'Sagittae potentis acutae uerba Dei sunt...cum transfixa fuerint corda sagittis uerbi Dei amor excitatur, non interitus comparatur ... carbones autem uastatores qui sunt? parum est uerbis agere contra linguam subdolam...et exemplis agendum est. exempla sunt carbones uastatores.'

8. **uelut consulendo contradicentem**] *opposing, while it seems to seek, our good.* In his exposition (*ut sup.*) A. defines 'subdola' as 'habens imaginem consulendi et perniciem nocendi.'

10. **sagittaueras** etc.] These words suggested A.'s emblem in Christian art — a burning heart pierced with an arrow. See H. Detzel *Christliche Ikonographie* ii 173 sq.

16. **propter nomen tuum...per terras**] *i.e.* in view of the wide

nomen tuum, quod sanctificasti per terras, etiam laudatores utique haberet uotum et propositum nostrum, iactantiae simile uidebatur non opperiri tam proximum feriarum tempus, sed de publica professione atque ante oculos omnium sita ante discedere, ut conuersa in factum meum ora cunctorum intuentium, quam uicinum uindemialium diem praeuenire uoluerim, multa dicerent, quod quasi appetissem magnus uideri. et quo mihi erat istuc, ut putaretur et disputaretur de animo meo et blasphemaretur bonum nostrum?

4 Quin etiam quod ipsa aestate litterario labori nimio pulmo meus cedere coeperat et difficulter trahere suspiria doloribusque pectoris testari se saucium uocemque clariorem productioremue recusare, primo perturbauerat me, quia magisterii illius sarcinam paene iam necessitate ponere cogebat aut, si curari et conualescere potuissem, certe intermittere. sed ubi plena uoluntas uacandi et uidendi, quoniam tu es dominus, oborta mihi est atque firmata—nosti, deus meus—etiam gaudere coepi, quod haec quoque suberat non mendax excusatio, quae offensionem hominum temperaret, qui propter liberos suos

8 istud CGPQVW *edd.* 14 ponere] deponere BCGHMOPQVW *edd.*, me ponere F.

diffusion of Christianity there was now a Christian 'public opinion' which such an act would have conciliated. For the expression cf. Mt. vi 9, 10.

3. **tam proximum**] For the debased superlative cf. the use of 'pessimus' in I 24. See also p. 239, l. 4 below.

6. **multa dicerent, quod** etc.] Either the 'quod' clause is in apposition with 'multa,' 'they might say many things to the effect that I desired etc.,' or there is an ellipsis after 'quod (because)': 'they might talk much, because it would have been as though etc.' This is the nearest approach to self-vindication in the *Confessions*. Christians of the strictest sort were foes of rhetoric and rhetoricians and would have wished A. to renounce his profession and quit the chair of rhetoric with a public protest. At the time he had no disposition to do so; he continued to read Vergil and to give lessons in rhetoric at Cassiciacum. See Introd. p. lviii.

7. **et quo mihi** etc.] *And what end would it have served?...*

8. **blasphemaretur** etc.] Cf. Rom. xiv 16.

12. **uocemque...recusare**] 'And to render impossible even a moderately clear tone or any prolonged exertion of the voice.'

16. **uacandi** etc.] Cf. Ps. xlv 11 (xlvi 10) 'uacate et uidete quoniam ego sum Deus.'

19. **liberos...liberum**] Paronomasia.

me liberum esse numquam uolebant. plenus igitur tali gaudio tolerabam illud interuallum temporis, donec decurreret—nescio utrum uel uiginti dies erant—sed tamen fortiter tolerabantur, quia recesserat cupiditas, quae mecum solebat ferre graue negotium, et ego premendus remanseram, nisi patientia succederet. peccasse me in hoc quisquam seruorum tuorum, fratrum meorum, dixerit, quod iam pleno corde militia tua passus me fuerim uel una hora sedere in cathedra mendacii. at ego non contendo. sed tu, domine misericordissime, nonne et hoc peccatum cum ceteris horrendis et funereis in aqua sancta ignouisti et remisisti mihi?

III. Macerabatur anxitudine Verecundus de isto nostro bono, quod propter uincula sua, quibus tenacissime tenebatur, deseri se nostro consortio uidebat. nondum christianus coniuge fideli, ea tamen ipsa artiore prae ceteris conpede, ab itinere, quod aggressi eramus, retardabatur, nec christianum esse alio modo se uelle dicebat quam illo, quo non poterat. benigne tamen obtulit, ut, quamdiu ibi essemus, in re eius essemus.

12 anxitudine] anxietudine BGHMQ *edd.* 18 tamen SW, sane BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* obtulit ut] –ut C *o*.

3. **sed tamen fortiter**] *And yet it needed fortitude to bear them, because the greed of gain which formerly helped me to sustain the heavy pressure of work had left me, and I should have been crushed by the burden, had not patience come to my aid.*

III. *A.'s friend Verecundus placed at his disposal his farm at Cassiciacum. Verecundus was not yet a Christian but became so not long before his death. A. rejoices to think that he had received an abundant reward for his kindness. Nebridius, who, though now freed from the doctrinal errors in which he had been involved, had not yet found the truth which he sought, decided to accompany A. to Cassiciacum. A. speaks of his subsequent conversion and early death.*

12. **anxitudine**] This is the best attested spelling. Cf. Cic. *de Rep.* Frag. (II 41. 68) ap. Non. II 32 'anxitudo prona ad luctum et maerens semperque ipsa se sollicitans.' The form in -udo is one of the numerous 'early and late' byforms. Nonius cites it from Pacuvius and Accius, besides the fragment of Cicero, which reads like a reminiscence from a poet, and it does not occur again till Augustine.

ib. **Verecundus**] See VIII 13.

15. **artiore prae ceteris**] The comparative is reinforced by the preposition, as frequently in late style.

16. **nec christianum esse alio modo**] This illustrates the tendency of the new monastic ideal to discredit ordinary Christianity.

18. **ibi**] apparently refers to the

retribues illi, domine, in retributione iustorum, quia iam ipsam sortem retribuisti ei. quamuis enim absentibus nobis, cum Romae iam essemus, corporali aegritudine correptus et in ea christianus et fidelis factus ex hac uita emigrauit. ita misertus es non solum eius sed etiam nostri, ne cogitantes egregiam erga nos amici humanitatem nec eum in grege tuo numerantes dolore intolerabili cruciaremur. gratias tibi, deus noster, tui sumus; indicant hortationes et consolationes tuae: fidelis promissor reddis Verecundo pro rure illo eius Cassiciaco, ubi ab aestu saeculi requieuimus in te, amoenitatem sempiternae uirtutis paradisi tui, quoniam dimisisti ei peccata super terram in monte incaseato, monte tuo, monte uberi.

1 retributione] resurrectione BCFGMOPQVW *edd.* 9 reddes BGMPQ *m.* Cassiciaco] cassitiaco M^1W, cassiaco BP^1V, cassiato P^2Q. 10 sempiterne FHMOQ *edd.* 11 uirtutis] uirentis BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

following 'in re,' or A. may have supposed that he had already mentioned an intention of retiring to the country.

1. **in retributione iustorum**] Cf. Lk xiv. 14.

ib. **ipsam sortem**] sc. 'iustorum': cf. Num. xxiii. 10.

6. **egregiam...in grege**] Figura etymologica.

8. **indicant**] viz. that 'we are Thine.'

ib. **hortationes et consolationes**] A. apparently refers to the promises of God, which are an 'encouragement' to the living and a 'consolation' in thinking of the dead.

9. **Cassiciaco**] Probably on the site now occupied by the Lombard village of Casciago, from which Monte Rosa is visible. See A. Manzoni's letter in Poujoulat *Histoire de St A.* i 349 ff. Archbishop Alexander, in *St Augustine's Holiday*, thus describes its situation:

'Four lakes that made a fourfold heav'n below
Slept in that pleasant place, where Apennine
Grey-fissured meets the Alpine lines of snow;
Round it a symphony of light divine,
Red on the hillside, gold along the plain,
The purpling cluster, and the yellowing grain.'

11. **uirtutis paradisi tui**] The textual variation here is of more interest than is usual in the *Confessions*. If 'uirtutis' is read, it is probably to be understood as meaning Christ, with allusion to 1 Cor. i 24 'Christum Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam,' to which A. makes reference in *de Trin.* VII 1. 1. Cf. also *de Ciu. Dei* XIII 21 where, in an allegorical interpretation of paradise, A. says 'lignum uitae... utique Christum.'

12. **in monte incaseato**] Ps. lxvii 16 (lxviii 15), Old Lat. (Vulg. 'mons coagulatus, mons pinguis'). 'Incaseatus' (from 'caseus,' 'cheese') = LXX τετυρωμένος, intended, no doubt, as a picturesque synonym for 'rich.' A. takes the words, in his exposition (§ 22), as a reference to Christ: 'Ipse (Christus) est mons

Angebatur ergo tunc ipse, Nebridius autem conlaetabatur. 6
quamuis enim et ipse nondum christianus in illam foueam
perniciosissimi erroris inciderat, ut ueritatis filii tui carnem
phantasma crederet, tamen inde emergens sic sibi erat, nondum
imbutus ullis ecclesiae tuae sacramentis, sed inquisitor arden-
tissimus ueritatis. quem non multo post conuersionem nostram
et regenerationem per baptismum tuum ipsum etiam fidelem
catholicum castitate perfecta atque continentia tibi seruientem
in Africa apud suos, cum tota domus eius per eum christiana
facta esset, carne soluisti. et nunc ille uiuit in sinu Abraham.
quidquid illud est, quod illo significatur sinu, ibi Nebridius
meus uiuit, dulcis amicus meus, tuus autem adoptiuus ex
liberto filius: ibi uiuit. nam quis alius tali animae locus? ibi
uiuit, unde me multa interrogabat homuncionem inexpertum.
iam non ponit aurem ad os meum, sed spiritale os ad fontem
tuum et bibit, quantum potest, sapientiam pro auiditate sua
sine fine felix. nec eum sic arbitror inebriari ex ea, ut obliui-
scatur mei, cum tu, domine, quem potat ille, nostri sis memor.

12 autem S, +domine BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

incaseatus propter paruulos gratia tamquam lacte nutriendos.' The quotation of the verse here seems to be suggested by the assonance 'Cassiciaco,' 'incaseato.'

1. **Nebridius**] See IV 6.

3. **ueritatis filii tui**] 'of Thy son who is the Truth' (with allusion to Jn xiv 6).

4. **sic sibi erat**] 'he was in the following position' (taking 'sibi' as a kind of ethic dative without much emphasis).

ib. **nondum...sacramentis**] *i.e.* he had not even entered the catechumenate. For the use of 'sacramenta' with reference to the rites of initiation, see above VIII 4.

10. **in sinu Abraham**] Cf. Lk. xvi 22.

11. **quidquid...illo significatur sinu**] Cf. *de Anim. et eius Orig.* IV 16. 24 'Sinum Abrahae intellege, remotam sedem quietis atque secretam, ubi est Abraham. et ideo Abrahae dictum, non quod ipsius tantum sit, sed quod ipse pater multarum gentium sit positus, quibus est ad imitandum fidei principatu propositus.'

12. **ex liberto**] Probably, as von Raumer interprets, A. himself is the freedman, Nebridius his spiritual son, who has received the adoption of sonship from God. Or, possibly, that from a freedman (his position as a Christian upon earth) he had become a son (in the household above).

14. **unde**] *about which.* The use of 'unde' in this peculiar way is perhaps due to the influence of the preceding 'ibi.' Correctness would have required 'in eo loco...de quo.'

17. **ut obliuiscatur mei**] Cf. Cic. *de Amicit.* vii 23 'Mortui uiuunt; tantus eos honos, memoria,

sic ergo eramus, Verecundum consolantes tristem salua amicitia de tali conuersione nostra et exhortantes ad fidem gradus sui, uitae scilicet coniugalis, Nebridium autem opperientes, quando sequeretur. quod de tam proximo poterat et erat iam iamque facturus, cum ecce euoluti sunt dies illi tandem. nam longi et multi uidebantur prae amore libertatis otiosae ad cantandum de medullis omnibus: tibi dixit cor meum, quaesiui uultum tuum; uultum tuum, domine, requiram.

7 IV. Et uenit dies, quo etiam actu soluerer a professione rhetorica, unde iam cogitatu solutus eram. et factum est. eruisti linguam meam, unde iam erueras cor meum, et benedicebam tibi gaudens profectus in uillam cum meis omnibus. ubi quid egerim in litteris iam quidem seruientibus tibi, sed adhuc superbiae scholam tamquam in pausatione anhelantibus, testantur libri disputati cum praesentibus et cum ipso me solo

13 ubi] ibi BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

desiderium prosequitur amicorum.' The difference between the words of A. and those of Cicero is worth observing. The one hopes that even in his high happiness his friend will not forget him; the other seeks to give a sort of after-life to his friends by keeping alive their memory in this world. Cf. Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms*, ed. 6, iii 770 seq.

7. **tibi dixit** etc.] Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 8 Vulg. 'Tibi dixit cor meum, exquisiuit te facies mea: faciem tuam, Domine, requiram.'

IV. *At the commencement of the vintage-vacation A., with his friends, goes to Cassiciacum. His literary occupations while there. His delight in the Psalms. Quotations from Psalm iv and comments thereon. He is delivered from pain in answer to prayer.*

12. **cum meis omnibus**] The little company included his mother Monnica, his brother Navigius and his son Adeodatus; his two cousins Lastidianus and Rusticus, his friend Alypius, his pupils Licentius, son of Romanianus, and Trygetius, a Thagastan (cf. *de B. Vita* 1 6, *de Ord.* 1 7).

13. **litteris...seruientibus tibi**] A. was not conscious of any essential want of harmony of these dialogues with his Christian profession, such as has been insisted on by some critics (see Introd. lvii ff.).

14. **tamquam in pausatione**] The point of the comparison seems to be that the pride of the schools was still noticeable in his style, as the loud breathing of the combatants in a gymnastic contest continues after the combat is over.

15. **libri disputati** etc.] These were the *contra Academicos* (see v 19); the *de Beata Vita*, in which the 'summum bonum' is found in the knowledge of God; and the *de Ordine*, a treatise on Providence. They are actual 'disputations' taken down by a shorthand writer (*c. Acad.* 1 1. 4 'adhibito notario'), although it is probable that A. revised and perhaps altered them. Cf. Cic. *ad Varron.* (*ad Fam.* IX

coram te; quae autem cum absente Nebridio, testantur epistulae. et quando mihi sufficiat tempus conmemorandi omnia magna erga nos beneficia tua in illo tempore praesertim ad alia maiora properanti? reuocat enim me recordatio mea, et dulce mihi fit, domine, confiteri tibi, quibus internis me stimulis perdomueris et quemadmodum me conplanaueris humilitatis montibus et collibus cogitationum mearum et tortuosa mea direxeris et aspera lenieris, quoque modo ipsum etiam Alypium, fratrem cordis mei, subegeris nomini unigeniti tui, domini et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi, quod primo dedignabatur inseri litteris nostris. magis enim eas uolebat redolere gymnasiorum cedros, quas iam contriuit dominus, quam salubres herbas ecclesiasticas aduersas serpentibus.

Quas tibi, deus meus, uoces dedi, cum legerem psalmos 8 Dauid, cantica fidelia, sonos pietatis excludentes turgidum spiritum, rudis in germano amore tuo, catechumenus in uilla cum catechumeno Alypio feriatus, matre adhaerente nobis

7 humiliatis BCFG²HO²QV *edd.* 15 sonos] et sonos BPQ *edd.*

8. 1) when sending him the *Academica Posteriora*: 'puto fore ut, cum legeris, mirere nos id locutos esse inter nos quod numquam locuti sumus; sed nosti morem dialogorum.' It has been alleged that the primarily philosophical character of these dialogues throws doubt on the fidelity of the narrative of his conversion which A. gives in the *Confessions*. See Introd. p. lx.

ib. **cum ipso me solo**] The two books of *Soliloquies*, at the outset of which he proposes to himself two objects of investigation, God and the soul. The work is unfinished. The first book deals with the qualifications necessary for the pursuit of knowledge, the second is a discussion of the immortality of the soul in which 'diu res agitur, et non peragitur,' *Retract.* 1 4. 1.

1. **cum absente Nebridio**] See A.'s *Epp.* of which iii—xiv in the Benedictine edition are to or from Nebridius. Of these, iii and iv were written at Cassiciacum.

6. **conplanaueris** etc.] Cf. Is. xl 4. The form 'humilito,' which is implied by Knöll's reading here, is cited by Forcellini as a *v. l.* in Ammian. xxx 4 'ad humili-(t)andam celsitudinem potestatis' and from a scholiast on Cic. *Sull.* viii 'maternum genus humilitare conatus est.' See Georges *Lex. der lat. Wortformen*.

12. **gymnasiorum cedros**] Cf. Ps. xxviii (xxix) 5. A. was however more of a philosopher at this time than we should gather from the *Confessions*. Writing to Hermogenianus *Ep.* i 3 (A.D. 386) regarding the *c. Academicos* he says 'Non tam me delectat quod, ut scribis, Academicos uicerim...quam quod mihi abruperim odiosissimum retinaculum, quo a philosophiae ubere desperatione ueri, quod est animi pabulum, refrenabar.'

muliebri habitu, uirili fide, anili securitate, materna caritate, christiana pietate! quas tibi uoces dabam in psalmis illis et quomodo in te inflammabar ex eis et accendebar eos recitare, si possem, toto orbi terrarum aduersum tyfum generis humani! et tamen toto orbe cantantur, et non est qui se abscondat a calore tuo. quam uehementi et acri dolore indignabar manichaeis et miserabar eos rursus, quod illa sacramenta, illa medicamenta nescirent et insani essent aduersus antidotum, quo sani esse potuissent! uellem, ut alicubi iuxta essent tunc et me nesciente, quod ibi essent, intuerentur faciem meam et audirent uoces meas, quando legi quartum psalmum in illo tunc otio, quid de me fecerit ille psalmus: cum inuocarem te, exaudisti me, deus iustitiae meae; in tribulatione dilatasti mihi. miserere mei, domine, et exaudi orationem meam: audirent ignorante me, utrum audirent, ne me propter se illa dicere putarent, quae inter haec uerba dixerim, quia et re uera nec ea dicerem nec sic ea dicerem, si me ab eis audiri uiderique sentirem, nec, si dicerem, sic acciperent, quomodo mecum et mihi coram te de familiari affectu animi mei.

4 orbi] orbe BFGHMOPQVW *edd.* aduersum] aduersus BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* 7 illa medicamenta] – S. 9 tunc] ignorante me utrum audirent (– M) tunc CFMO, tunc ignorante me utrum audirent BPQ, – et me...essent CM. 13 te] – CFGHMOV *edd.* exaudiuit CFGHMOVW *mo.*

1. **anili securitate** etc.] 'with matronly tranquillity and motherly love.'

5. **non est qui se abscondat**] Ps. xviii 7 (xix 6).

7. **illa sacramenta, illa medicamenta**] Cf. Ignatius *Eph.* xx ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὅς ἐστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός. 'Illa' is allusive, 'those sacraments of thine,' cf. II 14 'ille seruus.'

9. **uellem ... essent ... audirent**] The imperfect 'uellem' ('I could wish') may be explained as referring to his present mood, as the 'tunc' in the following clause suggests; but we should have expected 'fuissent,' 'audiuissent.' See above VI 5 and VIII 13, notes.

12. **quid de me fecerit** etc.] This clause is in apposition with 'faciem,' 'uoces': 'the effect, in short, which the psalm had upon me.'

ib. **cum inuocarem te**] Ps. iv 2 (1) (Vulg. 'cum inuocarem exaudiuit me Deus iustitiae meae').

17. **nec sic ea dicerem**] *nor should I say them in just the same way.* A subtle touch of psychological accuracy. As regards the expression, strict logic would require 'aut, si dicerem, non sic' etc.

18. **quomodo mecum**] Either 'quomodo' etc. answers to 'sic ea

Inhorrui timendo ibidemque inferbui sperando et exultando 9
in tua misericordia, pater. et haec omnia exibant per oculos et
uocem meam, cum conuersus ad nos spiritus tuus bonus ait
nobis: filii hominum, quousque graues corde? ut quid
diligitis uanitatem et quaeritis mendacium? dilexeram enim
uanitatem et quaesieram mendacium. et tu, domine, iam
magnificaueras sanctum tuum, suscitans eum a mortuis et
collocans ad dexteram tuam, unde mitteret ex alto pro-
missionem suam, paracletum, spiritum ueritatis. et miserat
eum iam, sed ego nesciebam. miserat eum, quia iam magni-
ficatus erat resurgens a mortuis et ascendens in caelum. ante
autem spiritus nondum erat datus, quia Iesus nondum erat
clarificatus. et clamat prophetia: quousque graues corde? ut
quid diligitis uanitatem et quaeritis mendacium? et scitote,
quoniam dominus magnificauit sanctum suum. clamat quous-
que, clamat scitote, et ego tamdiu nesciens uanitatem dilexi et
mendacium quaesiui, et ideo audiui et contremui, quoniam
talibus dicitur, qualem me fuisse reminiscebar. in phantas-
matis enim, quae pro ueritate tenueram, uanitas erat et
mendacium. et insonui multa grauiter et fortiter in dolore
recordationis meae. quae utinam audissent qui adhuc usque
diligunt uanitatem et quaerunt mendacium: forte contur-
barentur et euomuissent illud, et exaudires eos, cum clamarent

2 oculos + meos BCPQ *edd.* 13 clamabat FHMV *m.* 18 phan-
tasmatibus B^2CFMQ^2 *o.*

dicerem' as though the intervening words had been omitted (hyperbaton), or we must supply 'dicerem' after 'quomodo.'

1. **sperando** etc.] Cf. Ps. xxx 7, 8 (xxxi 6, 7) 'Ego autem in Domino sperani: exultabo et laetabor in misericordia tua.'

4. **filii hominum** etc.] Ps. iv 3 (2).

7. **magnificaueras** etc.] Ps. iv 4 (3) (Vulg. 'mirificauit Dominus sanctum suum'). For the interpretation as a reference to Christ, cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* iv 4 "sanctum suum" quem, nisi eum quem suscitauit ab inferis, et in caelo ad dexteram collocauit?'

ib. **suscitans** etc.] Eph. i 20 (Vulg. 'suscitans illum a mortuis et constituens ad dexteram suam').

9. **paracletum** etc.] Jn xiv 16, 17.

12. **spiritus nondum** etc.] Jn vii 39.

13. **clarificatus**] Vulg. 'glorificatus.'

ib. **quousque** etc.] Ps. iv 3, 4 (2, 3).

ad te, quoniam uera morte carnis mortuus est pro nobis, qui te interpellat pro nobis.

10 Legebam: irascimini et nolite peccare, et quomodo mouebar, deus meus, qui iam didiceram irasci mihi de praeteritis, ut de cetero non peccarem, et merito irasci, quia non alia 5 natura gentis tenebrarum de me peccabat, sicut dicunt qui sibi non irascuntur et thesaurizant sibi iram in die irae et reuelationis iusti iudicii tui. nec iam bona mea foris erant nec oculis carneis in isto sole quaerebantur. uolentes enim gaudere forinsecus facile uanescunt et effunduntur in ea, quae uidentur 10 et temporalia sunt, et imagines eorum famelica cogitatione lambiunt. et o si fatigentur inedia et dicant: quis ostendet nobis bona? et dicamus, et audiant: signatum est in nobis lumen

10 uanescunt] euanescunt BCHPQV *edd.* 11 lambiunt] lambunt C^2GM^2 *edd.*

1. **mortuus est** etc.] Rom. viii 34.

3. **irascimini** etc.] Ps. iv 5 (4). Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* iv § 6 'Agite paenitentiam; id est, irascimini uobis ipsis de praeteritis peccatis, et ulterius peccare desinite.'

6. **natura gentis tenebrarum**] sc. as the Manichaeans taught. Cf. *Op. impf.* III 186 'concupiscentiam... non uitium substantiae bonae, sed malam uult esse substantiam.' See above V 20.

ib. **de me**] 'De' is probably instrumental, 'by means of me,' 'using me as an instrument.' Cf. V 5 ('de qua numerant') with ref. there. The literal sense 'from out of' is possible, the evil nature using him, so to speak, as a vantage-ground.

7. **thesaurizant**] Rom. ii 5.

8. **nec ... bona mea foris**] Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* iv § 9, 'dicunt, Quis ostendit nobis bona? quae uero non oculis foris, sed intus cordis simplicitate quaerenda sunt.'

10. **quae uidentur**] Cf. 2 Cor. iv 18 'quae enim uidentur temporalia sunt: quae autem non uidentur aeterna sunt.'

11. **famelica**] 'hungry'; sc. because it has lost the reality which alone can sustain it ('uerum, quod est animi pabulum' A. *Ep.* i) and vainly endeavours to satisfy itself with shadows.

ib. **lambiunt**] The fourth conjugation form is well supported by the MSS. here, and has been noted once or twice elsewhere. See Georges *Lex. der Lat. Wortformen.*

13. **signatum est ... lumen**] Ps. iv 7 (6). According to A.'s interpretation the answer to the question 'Who will show us any good?' is that we have a revelation of God in ourselves if we will but attend to it. Traces of His image remain; to have it renewed is the true good. Cf. his exposition *ad loc.* (§ 8): 'hoc lumen est totum hominis et uerum bonum quod non oculis sed mente conspicitur. "Signatum" autem dixit in nobis tamquam denarius signatur regis imagine: homo enim factus est ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei, quam peccando corrupit: bonum ergo eius est uerum atque aeternum, si renascendo signetur.'

uultus tui, domine. non enim lumen nos sumus, quod inluminat omnem hominem, sed inluminamur a te, ut, qui fuimus aliquando tenebrae, simus lux in te. o si uiderent internum aeternum, quod ego quia gustaueram, frendebam, quoniam non eis poteram ostendere, si afferrent ad me cor in oculis suis foris a te et dicerent: quis ostendit nobis bona? ibi enim, ubi mihi iratus eram, intus in cubili, ubi conpunctus eram, ubi sacrificaueram mactans uetustatem meam et, inchoata meditatione renouationis meae, sperans in te, ibi mihi dulcescere coeperas et dederas laetitiam in corde meo. et exclamabam legens haec foris et agnoscens intus nec uolebam multiplicari terrenis bonis et deuorans tempora et deuoratus temporibus,

4 internum] in te internum lumen HV. 6 ostendet GHIM *edd.*
12 et deuorans] – et BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

1. **inluminat omnem hominem**] Jn i 9.

3. **aliquando tenebrae**] Eph. v 8.

4. **internum aeternum**] Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* iv § 8 'non ergo foris quaerenda est laetitia...in interiore enim homine habitat Christus.'

5. **cor in oculis**] *i.e.* the whole interest of the mind directed towards outward things.

7. **intus...ubi conpunctus eram**] Cf. Ps. iv 5 'quae dicitis in cordibus, in cubilibus uestris compingimini'; where, A. says (*Enarr. in Ps.* iv § 6), we should understand 'quae dicitis, in cordibus *dicite*,' in contrast with a confession coming merely from the lips. 'Cubile' he interprets as a synonym of 'cor'—'in cubilibus...hoc est quod iam dictum est "in cordibus"; haec enim sunt cubilia de quibus et Dominus monet ut intus oremus clausis ostiis' (Mt. vi 6).

8. **sacrificaueram** etc.] Cf. Ps. iv 6 (5) 'Sacrificate sacrificium iustitiae et sperate in Domino.' In his exposition (§ 7) A. suggests as alternative interpretations the sacrifice of penitence, by which self is slain, or the dedication of the new nature as an acceptable offering. Here he appears to combine both: 'where I had sacrificed by slaying my old nature and—having begun to fix my thoughts on my renewal—by setting my hope in thee.' 'Renouatio' is an allusion to such passages as Col. iii 10, 2 Cor. iv 16, in reference to which A. in *de Pecc. Mer.* II 7. 9 emphasises the thought that this renewal is gradual and will only be consummated in the resurrection: 'renouatio incipit a remissione omnium peccatorum... cetera uero in spe facta sunt, donec etiam in re fiant, usque ad ipsius corporis renouationem in meliorem statum inmortalitatis.' It is therefore an appropriate subject for the 'hope' of which he speaks in the present passage.

10. **dederas laetitiam**] Ps. iv 7.

11. **multiplicari terrenis bonis**] Cf. Ps. iv 8 (7) 'a fructu frumenti, uini, et olei sui, multiplicati sunt.' 'Multiplicati' A. interprets (*Enarr. in Ps.* iv § 9) as a reference to the condition of those who have no true centre of unity but whose affections are drawn this way and that by the attraction of material goods; 'dedita

cum haberem in aeterna simplicitate aliud frumentum et uinum et oleum.

11 Et clamabam in consequenti uersu clamore alto cordis mei: o in pace! o in id ipsum! o quid dixit: obdormiam et somnum capiam? quoniam quis resistet nobis, cum fiet sermo, qui scriptus est: absorpta est mors in uictoria? et tu es id ipsum ualde, qui non mutaris, et in te requies obliuiscens laborum omnium, quoniam nullus alius tecum, nec ad alia adipiscenda, quae non sunt quod tu, sed tu, domine, singulariter in spe constituisti me. legebam et ardebam nec inueniebam, quid facerem surdis mortuis, ex quibus fueram, pestis, latrator amarus et caecus aduersus litteras de melle caeli melleas et de lumine tuo luminosas, et super inimicis scripturae huius tabescebam.

12 Quando recordabor omnia dierum illorum feriatorum? sed

6 uictoriam BCFHOW *mo. edd.* 8 alia]+multa BCFGHMOPQVW

temporalibus uoluptatibus anima... multiplici atque aerumnosa cogitatione distenta simplex bona uidere non sinitur....talis anima innumerabilibus completa phantasmatibus sic multiplicata est, ut non possit agere quod praeceptum est, ''Sentite de Domino in bonitate, et in simplicitate cordis quaerite illum"' (Wisd. i 1).

1. **frumentum et uinum et oleum**] See V 23, notes.

4. **in id ipsum**] Ps. iv 9 (8). 'In id ipsum' represents the *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* of the LXX (Heb.='I will lay me down and sleep at once'). In *de Vera Rel.* xxi 41 A. gives the words a philosophical sense: 'Sic a tempore frumenti, uini et olei sui multiplicatus est ut non inueniat id ipsum, id est naturam incommutabilem et singularem.'

ib. **obdormiam** etc.] Ps. iv 9 (8) Vulg. 'dormiam et requiescam.' A. refers the words to the heavenly rest which awaits the faithful (§ 9): 'recte enim speratur a talibus omnimoda mentis abalienatio a mortalibus rebus et miseriarum saeculi huius obliuio, quae nomine obdormitionis et somni...significatur, ubi summa pax nullo tumultu interpellari potest. sed hoc iam non tenetur in hac uita, sed post hanc uitam sperandum est.'

5. **fiet sermo...uictoria**] 1 Cor. xv 54.

8. **nullus alius tecum**] Cf. Deut. iv. 35, Isa. xlv 5, etc.

9. **singulariter in spe**] Ps. iv 10 (8). The E.V. refers the adverb to the action of God ('Thou only,' etc.). The Heb. is ambiguous and might mean to dwell 'apart' in safety (cf. LXX *κατὰ μόνας*). A. in his exposition, § 10, considers it to be contrasted with 'multiplicati,' pointing to the singleness of mind with which the saints put their trust in God.

13. **super...tabescebam**] Ps. cxxxviii (cxxxix) 21 (LXX *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ἐξετηκόμην*). *I was consumed with vexation against the enemies of this scripture.*

nec oblitus sum nec silebo flagelli tui asperitatem et misericordiae tuae mirabilem celeritatem. dolore dentium tunc excruciabas me, et cum in tantum ingraueſceret, ut non ualerem loqui, ascendit in cor meum admonere omnes meos qui aderant, ut deprecarentur te pro me, deum salutis omnimodae. et scripsi hoc in cera et dedi, ut eis legeretur. mox ut genua simplici affectu fiximus, fugit dolor ille. sed quis dolor? aut quomodo fugit? expaui, fateor, domine meus et deus meus: nihil enim tale ab ineunte aetate expertus fueram. et insinuati sunt mihi in profundo nutus tui et gaudens in fide laudaui nomen tuum, et ea fides me securum esse non sinebat de praeteritis peccatis meis, quae mihi per baptismum tuum remissa nondum erant.

V. Renuntiaui peractis uindemialibus, ut scholasticis suis 13 Mediolanienses uenditorem uerborum alium prouiderent, quod et tibi ego seruire delegissem et illi professioni prae difficultate spirandi ac dolore pectoris non sufficerem. et insinuaui per litteras antistiti tuo, uiro sancto Ambrosio, pristinos errores meos et praesens uotum meum, ut moneret quid mihi potissimum de libris tuis legendum esset, quo percipiendae tantae gratiae paratior aptiorque fierem. at ille iussit Esaiam prophetam; credo, quod prae ceteris euangelii uocationisque

7 simplici] supplici BCGHMOP²QVW *edd.*

4. **ascendit in cor meum**] A scriptural expression, cf. Jer. xxxii 35, 1 Cor. ii 9.

5. **salutis omnimodae**] *deliverance from every kind of evil*—from the least, such as a toothache, to the greatest, the loss of the soul.

8. **domine...meus**] Jn xx 28.

9. **insinuati sunt** etc.] *The reality of Thy sway was deeply impressed upon me.*

V. *A. formally resigns his post. He asks Ambrose to direct his study of Scripture in view of his preparation for baptism. Ambrose recommends him to read the prophecies of Isaiah, but A. finds them as yet beyond his comprehension.*

14. **renuntiaui**] 'I announced,' 'intimated.'

17. **insinuaui**] *I communicated.* For the 'late' use of 'insinuare'= 'notum facere,' cf. Sulp. Sev. *Hist.* II 42 'sed confecta synodo, decreta ad imperatorem legatio, quae gesta insinuaret.'

21. **Esaiam prophetam** etc.] Throughout life A. was more drawn to the scriptures which deal with the inner life—to the Psalms and the Epistles of St Paul. He did not, like Jerome, find his chief delight in the prophets.

22. **prae ceteris...apertior**] See above, § 5 ('artiore prae ceteris').

gentium sit praenuntiator apertior. uerum tamen ego primam huius lectionem non intellegens totumque talem arbitrans distuli repetendum exercitatior in dominico eloquio.

14 VI. Inde ubi tempus aduenit, quo me nomen dare oporteret, relicto rure Mediolanium remeauimus. placuit et Alypio renasci in te mecum, iam induto humilitate sacramentis tuis congrua et fortissimo dominatori corporis usque ad Italicum solum glaciale nudo pede obterendum insolito ausu. adiunximus etiam nobis puerum Adeodatum ex me natum carnaliter de peccato meo. tu bene feceras eum. annorum erat ferme quindecim et ingenio praeueniebat multos graues et doctos uiros. munera tua tibi confiteor, domine deus meus, creator omnium et multum potens formare nostra deformia: nam ego in illo puero praeter delictum non habebam. quod

7 dominatori] domitori BCGHMOPQVW *mo.* 13 formare] reformare BPQ *m.* 14 non] nihil PQ *m.*

1. **praenuntiator**] The word is only cited from this passage and *de Gen. ad Lit.* VIII 4. 8.

3. **exercitatior in dominico eloquio**] The construction is elliptical, 'exercitatior' being equivalent to 'cum exercitatior essem,' though it is probably not so much a conscious ellipsis as a careless 'constructio ad sensum,' as though A. had written 'repetiturus,' agreeing with the subject, instead of 'repetendum' agreeing with the object, of 'distuli.' By 'dominico eloquio' A. doubtless means 'the word of the Lord' (not, as Pusey, 'our Lord's own words'). For 'eloquium' in this sense see Ps. cxviii (cxix) 38, 41, 50 etc.

VI. *A. returns to Milan to give in his name as a candidate for baptism. Along with him are baptized Alypius and A.'s son Adeodatus, a lad of great promise, who did not live to manhood. After his baptism A. experiences a great sense of relief from the burden of past sin, and feels much joy in meditating on the way of salvation. He delights greatly in the hymns and canticles of the Church.*

4. **nomen dare**] viz. as a candidate for baptism. See VIII 4, and notes there.

6. **induto humilitate**] Cf. Col. iii 12 'induite...humilitatem.'

8. **nudo pede**] This glimpse of the tentative ascetic practices of the little company is interesting.

9. **Adeodatum**] Archbishop Alexander happily conveys the impression made by A.'s pathetic references to his son:

'Him evermore a shadow overhung,
Not of the great Numidian forests born—
The prophecy of genius that dies young,
The far cloud film of a too radiant morn.
Ah! they who early pass through one dark gate
Have looks like thine, thou young Adeodate!'

St Augustine's Holiday.

enim et nutriebatur a nobis in disciplina tua, tu inspiraueras nobis, nullus alius: munera tua tibi confiteor. est liber noster, qui inscribitur "de Magistro": ipse ibi mecum loquitur. tu scis illius esse sensa omnia, quae inseruntur ibi ex persona conlocutoris mei, cum esset in annis sedecim. multa eius alia mirabiliora expertus sum. horrori mihi erat illud ingenium: et quis praeter te talium miraculorum opifex? cito de terra abstulisti uitam eius, et securior eum recordor non timens quicquam pueritiae nec adulescentiae nec omnino homini illi. sociauimus eum coaeuum nobis in gratia tua, educandum in disciplina tua: et baptizati sumus, et fugit a nobis sollicitudo uitae praeteritae. nec satiabar in illis diebus dulcitudine mirabili, considerare altitudinem consilii tui super salute generis humani. quantum fleui in hymnis et canticis tuis, suaue sonantis ecclesiae tuae uocibus conmotus acriter! uoces

1 et nutriebatur] enutriebatur CHPQV *edd.* 12 in illis] – in BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* dulcitudine] dulcedine BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 13 salutem BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

3. **de Magistro**] Cf. *Retract.* I 12 'in quo...inuenitur magistrum non esse, qui docet hominem scientiam, nisi Deum, secundum illud etiam quod in euangelio scriptum est, Unus est magister uester, Christus' (Mt. xxiii 10).

4. **sensa**] 'thoughts,' 'conceptions.' Cf. Cicero *de Orat.* III 14. 55 '(uis eloquentiae) sensa mentis et consilia sic uerbis explicat ut' etc.

5. **in annis sedecim**] For the use of the phrase with preposition we have not found a parallel.

6. **horrori mihi ... illud ingenium**] *The genius which he showed inspired me with awe.* A.'s attitude recalls that of the father of Origen, who, as Eusebius *H.E.* VI 2 relates, used reverently to kiss the breast of his son as he slept, feeling that his high gifts were a manifestation of special Divine favour.

10. **coaeuum...in gratia tua**] *i.e.* baptized at the same time.

11. **baptizati sumus**] In *c. Iul. Pel.* I 3. 10 A. says in reference to Ambrose: 'Sed adhuc audi alium excellentem Dei dispensatorem quem ueneror ut patrem; in Christo enim Iesu per euangelium ipse me genuit, et eo Christi ministro lauacrum regenerationis accepi.' The legend which represents Ambrose and A. as improvising the 'Te Deum' in alternate strophes at the baptism of the latter occurs in the Chronicon ascribed to the bishop Datius of Milan (d. 552) but now admitted to be the work of Landulphus Senior in the 11th century.—See Burn *Niceta of Remesiana* p. xcvii seq. Apart from this, the earliest mention of it is in the Psalter presented by Charlemagne to Pope Hadrian in 772 (the Golden Psalter, Vienna Cod. 1861) 'hymnus quem S. Ambrosius et S. Augustinus inuicem composuerunt').

13. **considerare** etc.] Epexegetic infinitive.

illae influebant auribus meis et eliquabatur ueritas in cor meum et exaestuabat inde affectus pietatis, et currebant lacrimae, et bene mihi erat cum eis.

VII. Non longe coeperat Mediolaniensis ecclesia genus hoc consolationis et exhortationis celebrare magno studio fratrum concinentium uocibus et cordibus. nimirum annus erat aut non multo amplius, cum Iustina, Valentiniani regis pueri mater, hominem tuum Ambrosium persequeretur haeresis suae causa, qua fuerat seducta ab Arrianis. excubabat pia plebs in ecclesia mori parata cum episcopo suo, seruo tuo. ibi mater mea, ancilla tua, sollicitudinis et uigiliarum primas tenens, orationibus uiuebat. nos adhuc frigidi a calore spiritus tui excitabamur

1. **eliquabatur** etc.] *distilled into my heart* (Pusey).

3. **bene...cum eis**]
'Hie kan nicht sein ein böser Mut,
wo da singen Gesellen gut;
hie bleibt kein Zorn, Zank, Hass noch Neid,
weichen muss alles Herzeleid;
Geiz, Sorg, und was sonst hart anleit,
fährt hin mit aller Traurigkeit.'
Martin Luther *Frau Musica.*

VII. *How the singing of hymns was begun at Milan at the time of the struggle between Ambrose and Justina. The finding of the bodies of Protasius and Gervasius, and the cure of a blind man.*

5. **exhortationis**] Cf. Col iii 16.

6. **nimirum annus erat**] A. was baptized at Easter 387.

7. **Valentiniani regis**] For the use of 'rex' as a synonym for 'imperator,' cf. Sulp. Sev. *Hist.* II 42 'confecta synodo, decreta ad imperatorem legatio...damnati quoque ad regem profecti.' In both clauses the reference is to Constantius. The Greek *βασιλεύς* as the regular equivalent of 'imperator' probably contributed to introduce the occasional use of 'rex' in the same sense. In view, however, of the prejudice against this title which must have come down from the Republican period, it is curious how early 'rex' and its cognates come into use with reference—more or less direct—to the Emperor. Cf. Sen. *de Clem.* addressed to Nero, I 3. 3 'nullum tamen clementia ex omnibus magis quam regem aut principem decet,' cf. also I 8. 4 and 6. That the ancient prejudice was not forgotten, even at a quite late period, is shown by the dexterous allusion of Claudian *Paneg. in Cons. Manl. Theod.* 163 'nunc Brutus amaret uiuere sub regno.'

8. **persequeretur haeresis ... causa**] Justina demanded a basilica within the walls for the Arians. Cf. Amb. *Ep.* xx 19 'mandatur denique: Trade basilicam. respondeo: Nec mihi fas est tradere, nec tibi accipere, imperator, expedit....scriptum est: Quae Dei Deo, quae Caesaris Caesari. ad imperatorem palatia pertinent, ad sacerdotem ecclesiae.' Cf. the graphic but hostile account of the resistance in Gibbon, c. xxvii.

9. **excubabat pia plebs**] Cf. Ambrose *Ep.* xx 24 'Exactus est totus ille dies in maerore nostro.... ego domum redire non potui; quia circumfusi erant milites, qui basilicam custodiebant. cum fratribus psalmos in ecclesiae basilica minore diximus.'

tamen ciuitate adtonita atque turbata. tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium, ne populus maeroris taedio contabesceret, institutum est: ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis iam ac paene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cetera orbis imitantibus.

Tunc memorato antistiti tuo per uisum aperuisti, quo loco laterent martyrum corpora Protasi et Geruasi, quae per tot annos incorrupta in thesauro secreti tui reconderas, unde opportune promeres ad coercendam rabiem femineam, sed regiam. cum enim prolata et effossa digno cum honore transferrentur ad Ambrosianam basilicam, non solum quos inmundi uexabant spiritus confessis eisdem daemonibus sanabantur, uerum etiam

3 ex] et ex BCFGHMPQVW *edd.* 8 recondideras Q *edd.*
10 prolata] propalata BHMOPQ *edd.*

1. **hymni...ut canerentur** etc.] 'St Ambrose introduced the practice of the Eastern Fathers, that psalms and hymns should be sung by the people also, where previously they had only been recited by individuals singly, and among the Italians by clerks only'; Mabillon *Liturgia Gallicana* 381, quoted by Julian *Hymnology* p. 642. The hymns here spoken of as in use in the West prior to the time of Ambrose were, however, probably limited to the 'Gloria in Excelsis' and a few similar adaptations from Scripture. In the East hymns seem to have been in use from the earliest times, and the introduction of antiphonal singing is traditionally ascribed to Ignatius of Antioch. (Cf. Pliny's phrase 'carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum inuicem' *Ep. Traiano* xcvi.) As a writer of Latin hymns Ambrose was preceded by Hilary of Poitiers, but there is no certain evidence of the use of his compositions in worship. More than 90 hymns have been attributed to Ambrose, of which 18 are accepted by Biraghi *Inni sinceri di S. Ambrogio.* A. mentions four: 'Deus creator omnium,' 'Aeterne rerum conditor,' 'Iam surgit hora tertia,' 'Veni redemptor gentium.'

3. **ex illo**] sc. 'die,' or 'tempore.'

7. **Protasi et Geruasi**] The story is told also in Ambrose's Letters (*Ep.* xxii), in his hymn 'Nouum genus miraculi,' and by his secretary Paulinus, *Vit. Ambr.* 14. Ambrose *Ep.* xxii 2 says 'Inuenimus mirae magnitudinis uiros duos, ut prisca aetas ferebat. ossa omnia integra, sanguinis plurimum... sequenti die transtulimus ea in basilicam, quam appellant Ambrosianam. dum transferimus, caecus sanatus est.' For a full account, combining the sources, see Tillemont *Mémoires* Tom. II (E.T. II 61 ff.). Reference may also be made to J. Rendel Harris *The Dioscuri in Christian legend*, p. 42 sq.

9. **regiam**] See 'rex' above.

11. **ad Ambrosianam basilicam**] The 'Ambrosiana basilica' is said to have been founded on the ruins of a temple of Bacchus. The present building dates from the 12th century, but there is a tradition that the gates are those which Ambrose closed against Theodosius.

quidam plures annos caecus ciuis ciuitatique notissimus, cum populi tumultuante laetitia causam quaesisset atque audisset, exiluit eoque se ut duceret suum ducem rogauit. quo perductus inpetrauit admitti, ut sudario tangeret feretrum pretiosae in conspectu tuo mortis sanctorum tuorum. quod ubi fecit atque admouit oculis, confestim aperti sunt. inde fama discurrens, inde laudes tuae feruentes, lucentes, inde illius inimicae animus etsi ad credendi sanitatem non applicatus, a persequendi tamen furore conpressus est. gratias tibi, deus meus ! unde et quo duxisti recordationem meam, ut haec etiam confiterer tibi, quae magna oblitus praeterieram? et tamen tunc, cum ita fragraret odor unguentorum tuorum, non currebamus post te ; ideo plus flebam inter cantica hymnorum tuorum, olim suspirans tibi et tandem respirans, quantum patet aura in domo faenea.

17 VIII. Qui habitare facis unanimes in domo, consociasti nobis et Euodium iuuenem ex nostro municipio. qui cum

2 tumultuantis BCGMP²Q *m.* laetitiae BCFG *m.* 3 exiluit] exiliuit BCFGHM²PQVW *edd.*

1. **quidam plures annos caecus**] Ambrose mentions that his name was Severus, that he had been a butcher by trade before he became blind, and that he was known to many persons, *Ep.* xxii 17. It is not clear whether A. himself claims to have been an eye-witness; his words *Serm.* cclxxxvi § 4 are: 'ibi eram, Mediolani eram, facta miracula noui'; with which compare the following words 'et tamen tunc' etc.

4. **pretiosae** etc.] Ps. cxv (cxvi) 15.

11. **praeterieram**.] The miracle had evidently made no very strong impression upon him at the time.

12. **odor unguentorum** etc.] Cant. i 3.

14. **tandem respirans** etc.] 'at length breathing Thee, so far as the air is free in a house of grass,' *i.e.* so far as human frailty can receive Thee. 'Faenea' no doubt alludes to Isa. xl 6 'omnis caro faenum.' Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* ciii § 23 'omnis caro faenum, et Verbum caro est factum... Illud quod manet in aeternum, non dedignatum est suscipere faenum, ne de se desperaret faenum.' For 'domus' as a metaphor for the body, cf. 2 Cor. v. 1.

VIII. *A. is joined by Euodius. They decide to return to Africa. While they are at Ostia, about to sail, A.'s mother, Monnica, dies suddenly after a brief illness. A. describes her upbringing and character.*

16. **qui habitare** etc.] Ps. lxvii 7 (lxviii 6) Vulg. 'qui inhabitare facit unius moris in domo.'

17. **Euodium**] Euodius was afterwards Bishop of Uzala. Several letters from and to him are preserved in A.'s correspondence (*Ep.* clviii—clxiv). He was also A.'s interlocutor in the dialogues *de Lib. Arb.* and *de Quant. Anim.*

agens in rebus militaret, prior nobis ad te conuersus est et baptizatus et relicta militia saeculari accinctus in tua. simul eramus, simul habitaturi placito sancto. quaerebamus, quisnam locus nos utilius haberet seruientes tibi: pariter remeabamus in Africam. et cum apud Ostia Tiberina essemus, mater defuncta est. multa praetereo, quia multum festino. accipe confessiones meas et gratiarum actiones, deus meus, de rebus innumerabilibus etiam in silentio. sed non praeteribo quidquid mihi anima parturit de illa famula tua, quae me parturiuit et carne, ut in hanc temporalem, et corde, ut in aeternam lucem nascerer. non eius, sed tua dicam dona in eam. neque enim se ipsa fecerat aut educauerat se ipsam: tu creasti eam, nec pater nec mater sciebat, qualis ex eis fieret. et erudiuit eam in timore tuo uirga Christi tui, regimen unici tui in domo fideli, bono membro ecclesiae tuae. nec tantam erga suam disciplinam diligentiam matris praedicabat quantam famulae cuiusdam decrepitae, quae patrem eius infantem portauerat, sicut dorso grandiuscularum puellarum paruuli portari solent. cuius rei gratia et propter senectam ac mores optimos in domo christiana satis a dominis honorabatur. unde

12 eam] ea BGMPQVW *edd.* 14 unici]+filii BCFGHMPQW *edd.*

1. **agens ... militaret**] See VIII 15, notes.

5. **in Africam**] One motive for the return to Africa was probably the wish of Monnica to be buried beside her husband, see § 28 *infr.* After the death of his mother A. does not appear to have proceeded at once to Africa but to have returned to Rome; for whereas the mention of his age shows that Monnica's death took place before November 387, he says in c. *Litt. Petil.* iii § 30 that he did not return to Africa till after the death of the tyrant Maximus, in the summer of 388. While in Rome he wrote two books, *de Moribus Eccl. Cath.* and *de Mor. Manich.* He was induced to write, he says, by the success of the Manichaeans in misleading unripe Christians by their false and lofty professions of ascetic virtue. *Retract.* I 7. 1.

ib. **Ostia Tiberina**] Cf. *Aen.* I 13.

11. **dona in eam**] If the reading is correct the construction is a pregnant one, 'thy gifts implanted in her.' The ablative 'ea' has considerable MS. support and might easily have been adapted to the neighbouring accusatives.

18. **grandiuscularum**] *of the rather older girls.* For the diminutive from the comparative adjective see Madvig *Lat. Gr.* § 63 obs., and § 182 c obs.

etiam curam dominicarum filiarum conmissam diligenter gerebat et erat in eis coercendis, cum opus esset, sancta seueritate uehemens atque in docendis sobria prudentia. nam eas praeter illas horas, quibus ad mensam parentum moderatissime alebantur, etiamsi exardescerent siti, nec aquam bibere sinebat praecauens consuetudinem malam et addens uerbum sanum : "modo aquam bibitis, quia in potestate uinum non habetis ; cum autem ad maritos ueneritis factae dominae apothecarum et cellariorum, aqua sordebit, sed mos potandi praeualebit." hac ratione praecipiendi et auctoritate imperandi frenabat auiditatem tenerioris aetatis et ipsam puellarum sitim formabat ad honestum modum, ut iam non liberet quod non deceret.

8 Et subrepserat tamen, sicut mihi filio famula tua narrabat, subrepserat ei uinulentia. nam cum de more puella sobria iuberetur a parentibus de cupa uinum depromere, submisso poculo qua desuper patet, priusquam in lagunculam funderet merum, primoribus labris sorbebat exiguum, quia non poterat

1 conmissam]+sibi BGMPQ *m.* BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 15 puella] tamquam p.

1. **dominicarum filiarum**] *of her master's daughters.*

9. **apothecarum**] (ἀποθήκη) 'store rooms.' The word was in use from the classical period onward, and was specially appropriated to an apartment above the 'fumarium' in which the 'amphorae' were subjected to the influence of smoke with a view to ripening the wine.

ib. **cellariorum**] 'cellarium' occurs as a post-classical accessory form to 'cella,' *e.g.* Vulg. Deut. xxviii 28 'benedictionem in cellariis tuis.'

16. **cupa**] *cask.* The 'cupa,' in contradistinction to the earthenware 'dolium,' seems usually to have been of wood, and in shape and construction did not differ greatly from a modern wine-barrel.

ib. **submisso poculo qua** etc.] This probably means simply that she 'dipped the cup into the cask where it was open at the top,' using it much as the 'cyathus' was used to transfer wine from bowl to goblet. It is not likely that wine would be kept in an open-headed cask, but there may have been an opening in the top capable of being closed and large enough to admit the hand and cup. 'Desuper' is frequent in late Latin in the sense of 'above'; for 'submittere' = 'let down,' cf. Ovid *Metam.* III 502 'ille caput uiridi fessum submisit in herba.'

17. **lagunculam**] Diminutive from 'lagena' (λάγηνος). It was a vessel intended for use at table, answering to our 'decanter.'

18. **sorbebat exiguum**] *took the smallest taste.* The adjective is used substantively.

amplius, sensu recusante. non enim ulla temulenta cupidine faciebat hoc, sed quibusdam superfluentibus aetatis excessibus, qui ludicris motibus ebulliunt et in puerilibus annis maiorum pondere premi solent. itaque ad illud modicum cotidianum cotidiana modica addendo—quoniam qui modica spernit, paulatim decidit—in eam consuetudinem lapsa erat, ut prope iam plenos mero caliculos inhianter hauriret. ubi tunc sagax anus et uehemens illa prohibitio? numquid ualebat aliquid aduersus latentem morbum, nisi tua medicina, domine, uigilaret super nos? absente patre et matre et nutritoribus tu praesens, qui creasti, qui uocas, qui etiam per reprobos homines boni aliquid agis ad animarum salutem. quid tunc egisti, deus meus? unde curasti? unde sanasti? nonne protulisti durum et acutum ex altera anima conuicium tamquam medicinale ferrum ex occultis prouisionibus tuis et uno ictu putredinem illam praecidisti? ancilla enim, cum qua solebat accedere ad cupam, litigans cum domina minore, ut fit, sola cum sola, obiecit hoc crimen amarissima insultatione uocans meribibulam.

3 annis] animis FGHMOVW *edd.* 4 cotidianum] – BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 11 reprobos *coniec. Knöll*, praesitos F, praepositos *cet.*, praeposteros *coniec.* Ant. Arnald.

2. **sed quibusdam** etc.] *but from a certain extravagance of youthful spirits which vents itself in absurd ways and is usually in the case of children repressed by the authority of their elders.*

5. **qui modica spernit**] Ecclus. xix 1 'Operarius ebriosus non locupletabitur: et qui spernit modica paulatim decidet.'

9. **medicina...uigilaret**] Cf. § 35 *infr.* 'per medicinam...quae pependit in ligno.'

11. **per reprobos**] 'per praepositos' is the reading of all MSS. (except F, 'per praesitos,' which is perhaps accidental). In *Serta Harteliana* p. 139 Knöll suggests the conjecture 'per reprobos' (PERREPROBOS). The Benedictine editors mention the conjectures of Antoine Arnauld, the Port Royalist, 'praeposteros' or 'peruersos.'

17. **litigans** etc.] *quarrelling with her young mistress.* 'Litigare' is frequently used without any reference to a lawsuit; cf. Plaut. *Rud.* IV iv 16 'qua de re litigatis inter uos?'

18. **meribibulam**] This diminutive is cited only from A. From the *Op. Imperf. c. Iul.* I 68 it appears that A.'s Pelagian opponent made a somewhat disingenuous use of this passage to point an attack on Monnica's character: '(mater) quam in libris confessionis ut ipso uerbo utar meribibulam uocatam esse signasti.' A. replies 'quid mirum est quod te inimicum etiam eius ostendis, cum sis inimicus gratiae Dei qua eam dixi ab illo puellari uitio liberatam?'

quo illa stimulo percussa respexit foeditatem suam confestimque damnauit atque exuit. sicut amici adulantes peruertunt, sic inimici litigantes plerumque corrigunt. nec tu quod per eos agis, sed quod ipsi uoluerunt, retribuis eis. illa enim irata exagitare appetiuit minorem dominam, non sanare, et ideo clanculo, aut quia ita eas inuenerat locus et tempus litis, aut ne forte et ipsa periclitaretur, quod tam sero prodidisset. at tu, domine, rector caelitum et terrenorum, ad usus tuos contorquens profunda torrentis, fluxum saeculorum ordinate turbulentum, etiam de alterius animae insania sanasti alteram, ne quisquam, cum hoc aduertit, potentiae suae tribuat, si uerbo eius alius corrigatur, quem uult corrigi.

9 IX. Educata itaque pudice ac sobrie potiusque a te subdita parentibus quam a parentibus tibi, ubi plenis annis nubilis facta est, tradita uiro seruiuit ueluti domino et sategit eum lucrari tibi loquens te illi moribus suis, quibus eam pulchram faciebas et reuerenter amabilem atque mirabilem uiro. ita autem tolerauit cubilis iniurias, ut nullam de hac re cum marito haberet umquam simultatem. expectabat enim misericordiam

9 ordinareturbulenta H, ordinans te turbulentum G, ordinans turbulentum *m*.

5. **exagitare**] *to vex.*

7. **prodidisset**] Here in a good sense, 'reported.'

9. **contorquens** etc.] 'Fluxum' is grammatically in apposition to 'profunda' and logically to 'torrentis.' The terse oxymoron 'ordinate turbulentum' may be paraphrased 'whose turbulence is not removed from Thy control.' The Benedictine editors read 'ordinans,' but with the note 'potiores MSS. ordinate.' In Knöll's MSS. the only variants are the meaningless 'ordinareturbulenta' of H, and 'ordinans te turbulentum,' G, of which the latter tends to confirm the text.

ib. **fluxum saeculorum**] Cf. I 25 'flumen moris humani.'

10. **etiam de alterius...insania**] The over-ruling of evil is a favourite topic with A. Cf. V 14 fin., and *de Ciu. Dei* XXII 2 'Multa enim fiunt quidem a malis contra uoluntatem Dei; sed tantae est ille sapientiae, tantaeque uirtutis, ut in eos exitus siue fines, quos bonos et iustos ipse praesciuit, tendant omnia, quae uoluntati eius uidentur aduersa.'

IX. *The description of Monnica's character continued: her conduct towards her husband and mother-in-law; her skill as a peace-maker; her husband won over by her influence to Christianity. As a widow she fulfilled the description in* 1 *Tim. v.*

15. **ueluti domino**] Eph. v 21.

16. **lucrari**] *to gain as a convert.* Cf. 1 Pet. iii 1 'ut si qui non credunt uerbo, per mulierum conuersationem sine uerbo lucrifiant.'

tuam super eum, ut in te credens castificaretur. erat uero ille praeterea sicut beniuolentia praecipuus, ita ira feruidus. sed nouerat haec non resistere irato uiro, non tantum facto, sed ne uerbo quidem. iam uero refractum et quietum cum opportunum uiderat, rationem facti sui reddebat, si forte ille inconsideratius conmotus fuerat. denique cum matronae multae, quarum uiri mansuetiores erant, plagarum uestigia etiam dehonestata facie gererent, inter amica conloquia illae arguebant maritorum uitam, haec earum linguam, ueluti per iocum grauiter admonens, ex quo illas tabulas, quae matrimoniales uocantur, recitari audissent, tamquam instrumenta, quibus ancillae factae essent, deputare debuisse; proinde memores condicionis superbire aduersus dominos non oportere. cumque mirarentur illae scientes, quam ferocem coniugem sustineret, numquam fuisse auditum aut aliquo indicio claruisse, quod Patricius ceciderit uxorem aut quod a se inuicem uel unum diem domestica lite dissenserint, et causam familiariter quaererent, docebat illa institutum suum, quod supra memoraui. quae obseruabant, expertae gratulabantur; quae non obseruabant, subiectae uexabantur.

5 uiderat] uideret FGMQ *mo. cet. et edd.*

12 condicionis BCFS, conditionis

1. **castificaretur**] The word is first cited from Tertull. *de Pudicit.* xix, in a quotation of 1 Jn iii 3.

9. **haec earum linguam**] sc. 'arguebat.'

10. **tabulas ... matrimoniales**] The marriage contract drawn up at the time of betrothal.

11. **instrumenta...essent**] *legal documents by which they were made slaves.*

12. **condicionis**] sc. of the condition of subservience in which they were placed by these documents. Cf. Cic. *de Off.* I 13 'est autem infima condicio et fortuna seruorum.' The *v. l.* 'conditionis' might mean 'of their creation,' but little dependence can be placed on the spelling of the MSS. in regard to this word.

15. **Patricius**] No argument as to descent can be drawn from Latin names in Africa, as they seem to have been adopted arbitrarily. In the inscriptions, a father with a native name is often followed by a son with a Roman name; see Boissier *Roman Africa* 310 ff. It is noteworthy that while A. mentions the names of his father and mother he never mentions his own in the *Confessions*. Similarly Dante in the *Divina Commedia* only mentions his own name once (*Purgatorio* xxx 55) and then with an apology: 'I turned at the sound of my own name, which of necessity is recorded here.'

18. **institutum suum**] *her plan.*

20 Socrum etiam suam primo susurris malarum ancillarum aduersus se irritatam sic uicit obsequiis perseuerans tolerantia et mansuetudine, ut illa ultro filio suo medias linguas famularum proderet, quibus inter se et nurum pax domestica turbabatur, expeteretque uindictam. itaque posteaquam ille et matri obtemperans et curans familiae disciplinam et concordiae suorum consulens proditas ad prodentis arbitrium uerberibus coercuit, promisit illa talia de se praemia sperare debere, quaecumque de sua nuru sibi, quo placeret, mali aliquid loqueretur, nullaque iam audente memorabili inter se beniuolentiae suauitate uixerunt.

21 Hoc quoque illi bono mancipio tuo, in cuius utero me creasti, deus meus, misericordia mea, munus grande donaueras, quod inter dissidentes atque discordes quaslibet animas, ubi poterat, tam se praebebat pacificam, ut cum ab utraque multa de inuicem audiret amarissima, qualia solet eructuare turgens atque indigesta discordia, quando praesenti amicae de absente inimica per acida conloquia cruditas exhalatur odiorum, nihil tamen alteri de altera proderet, nisi quod ad eas reconciliandas ualeret. paruum hoc bonum mihi uideretur, nisi turbas innumerabiles tristis experirer nescio qua horrenda pestilentia peccatorum latissime peruagante non solum iratorum inimicorum iratis inimicis dicta prodere, sed etiam quae non dicta sunt addere, cum contra homini humano parum esse debeat inimicitias hominum nec excitare nec augere male loquendo, nisi

16 eructuare] eructare BCFGHOPQW *o*. 24 homini] animo BCFHPQ, animi G, animum M. humanū M.

3. **medias linguas**] *the meddling tongues.*

7. **coercuit**] *punished.* Cf. Cic. *de Off.* III 5. 23 'quam (sc. ciuium coniunctionem) qui dirimunt morte, exsilio, uinclis, damno coercent (leges).'

13. **deus...misericordia mea**] Ps. lviii 18 (lix 17).

16. **de inuicem**] Cf. IV. 8 'ex inuicem.'

ib. **eructuare**] This form is found in Ex. viii 3 as quoted by A. in *Locut. de Ex.* (ed. Zycha), and in several Old Latin MSS. of Ps. xliv 2 (xlv 1). See Rönsch *Itala u. Vulg.* 362, 467.

20. **nisi turbas** etc.] A. is referring to his troubles as an arbitrator. See above VI 3 and 16.

cas etiam extinguere bene loquendo studuerit. qualis illa erat docente te magistro intimo in schola pectoris.

Denique etiam uirum suum iam in extrema uita temporali 22
eius lucrata est tibi nec in eo iam fideli planxit, quod in non-
dum fideli toleraverat. erat etiam serua seruorum tuorum.
quisquis eorum nouerat eam, multum in ea laudabat et hono-
rabat et diligebat te, quia sentiebat praesentiam tuam in corde
eius, sanctae conuersationis fructibus testibus. fuerat enim
unius uiri uxor, mutuam uicem parentibus reddiderat, domum
suam pie tractauerat, in operibus bonis testimonium habebat.
nutrierat filios totiens eos parturiens, quotiens abs te deuiare
cernebat. postremo nobis, domine, omnibus, quia ex munere
tuo sinis loqui, seruis tuis, qui ante dormitionem eius in te iam
consociati uiuebamus percepta gratia baptismi tui, ita curam
gessit, quasi omnes genuisset, ita seruiuit, quasi ab omnibus
genita fuisset.

X. Impendente autem die, quo ex hac uita erat exitura— 23
quem diem tu noueras ignorantibus nobis—prouenerat, ut credo,
procurante te occultis tuis modis, ut ego et ipsa soli staremus
incumbentes ad quandam fenestram, unde hortus intra domum,
quae nos habebat, prospectabatur, illic apud Ostia Tiberina, ubi
remoti a turbis post longi itineris laborem instaurabamus nos
nauigationi. conloquebamur ergo soli ualde dulciter et prae-
terita obliuiscentes in ea quae ante sunt extenti quaerebamus

4. **nec...planxit**] *i.e.* 'nor had she to complain' etc.

5. **serua seruorum**] Cf. Gen. ix 25.

9. **unius uiri...filios**] See 1 Tim. v 4, 9, 10.

11. **totiens...parturiens**] Cf. Gal. iv 19 'filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Christus in uobis.'

13. **dormitionem**] Cf. Jn xi 13 'dixerat autem Iesus de morte eius: illi autem putauerunt quia de dormitione somni diceret.'

14. **ita curam gessit** etc.] *so took care of us as though she had been the mother of all, so served us as though she had been the daughter of all.*

X. *The discourse concerning the vision of God which Monnica held with A. a few days before her death, and the mystical experience which they enjoyed together. After this she tells A. that all her hopes are now fulfilled in seeing him not only a Christian, but altogether delivered from worldly ambition, and declares that she is ready to depart from life at any time.*

19. **staremus...fenestram**] We may recall the well-known picture by Ary Scheffer.

23. **praeterita obliuiscentes**] Phil. iii 13 (Vulg. 'quae quidem retro sunt obliuiscens, ad ea uero

inter nos apud praesentem ueritatem, quod tu es, qualis futura esset uita aeterna sanctorum, quam nec oculus uidit nec auris audiuit nec in cor hominis ascendit. sed inhiabamus ore cordis in superna fluenta fontis tui, fontis uitae, qui est apud te, ut inde pro captu nostro aspersi quoquo modo rem tantam cogitaremus.

24 Cumque ad eum finem sermo perduceretur, ut carnalium sensuum delectatio quantalibet in quantalibet luce corporea prae illius uitae iucunditate non conparatione, sed ne commemoratione quidem digna uideretur, erigentes nos ardentiore affectu in id ipsum perambulauimus gradatim cuncta corporalia et ipsum caelum, unde sol et luna et stellae lucent super terram. et adhuc ascendebamus interius cogitando et loquendo et mirando opera tua et uenimus in mentes nostras et transcendimus

quae sunt priora extendens me ipsum').

1. **praesentem ueritatem**] 2 Pet. i 12.

ib. **quod tu es**] *which thing Thou art*—referring to 'praesens ueritas.' For the grammar cf. 'triste lupus stabulis' Verg. *Ecl.* iii 80.

2. **nec oculus uidit** etc.] 1 Cor. ii 9.

4. **fontis uitae**] Ps. xxxv 10 (xxxvi 9). Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* xxxv § 15 'quis est fons uitae nisi Christus? uenit ad te in carne ut irroraret fauces tuas sitientes, satiabit sperantem qui irrorauit sitientem.' It was usual with the Fathers to find a reference to the Trinity in this verse, and in the present passage 'superna fluenta' seems to refer to the Holy Spirit; cf. XIII 14 *infr.* 'qui misisti spiritum tuum de excelsis per eum qui ascendit in altum et aperuit cataractas donorum suorum (alluding to Ps. xli 8 = xlii 7) ut fluminis impetus laetificarent ciuitatem tuam' (Ps. xlv 5 = xlvi 4). Of the latter phrase he says, *Enarr. in Ps.* xlv § 8 'qui sunt isti impetus fluminis? inundatio illa Spiritus Sancti.'

5. **aspersi**] A. doubtless uses 'aspersi' by way of self-depreciation, to indicate how little they were capable of receiving.

11. **id ipsum**] Ps. iv 9 (8); see above, § 11, note.

ib. **perambulauimus gradatim** etc.] This is the Neo-Platonic pathway of enlightenment—from nature in general through its highest manifestations, inward to the mind itself, and then, transcending even mind, to contact with the One in a region of pure intuition. Note that A. expressly says below (§ 26) that the conversation was not 'isto modo et his uerbis'; we are not asked to believe that Monnica was versed in Neo-Platonist phraseology. They held high mystical converse, which A. directed along lines familiar to him from his studies.

14. **transcendimus eas, ut attingeremus**] Cf. Wordsworth *Prel.* vi

'...in such strength
Of usurpation, when the light of sense
Goes out, but with a flash that has revealed
The invisible world, doth greatness make abode...
Our destiny, our being's heart and home,
Is with infinitude and only there.'

eas, ut attingeremus regionem ubertatis indeficientis, unde pascis Israel in aeternum ueritate pabulo, et ibi uita sapientia est, per quam fiunt omnia ista, et quae fuerunt et quae futura sunt, et ipsa non fit, sed sic est, ut fuit, et sic erit semper. quin potius fuisse et futurum esse non est in ea, sed esse solum, quoniam aeterna est: nam fuisse et futurum esse non est aeternum. et dum loquimur et inhiamus illi, attingimus eam modice toto ictu cordis; et suspirauimus et reliquimus ibi religatas primitias spiritus et remeauimus ad strepitum oris nostri, ubi uerbum et incipitur et finitur. et quid simile uerbo tuo, domino nostro, in se permanenti sine uetustate atque innouanti omnia?

Dicebamus ergo: "si cui sileat tumultus carnis, sileant phantasiae terrae et aquarum et aeris, sileant et poli et ipsa

1 unde] ubi BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 2 ueritate] ueritatis BC²FGMO²PQ *edd.* 7 attingimus] attigimus GHMOPQ *edd.*

1. **regionem ubertatis** etc.] Cf. Ezek. xxxiv 14 'in pascuis uberrimis pascam eas, et in montibus excelsis Israel erunt pascua earum.'

7. **attingimus**] If the reading is correct 'attingimus' is historic present, like 'loquimur' and 'inhiamus.'

8. **primitias spiritus**] Rom. viii 23. A. means that this experience was an earnest of the joy of heaven. Cf. XII 23 *infr.* where, referring doubtless to the present passage, he says '(Hierusalem mater mea) ubi sunt primitiae spiritus mei.'

9. **et remeauimus** etc.] *We relapsed into articulate speech, where the word has beginning and ending. How different from that Word of Thine, our Lord, who in Himself abideth ever, and groweth not old but maketh all things new.*

11. **in se permanenti**] Cf. Wisd. vii 27 'et cum sit una, omnia potest [sapientia]: et in se permanens omnia innouat.'

13. **si cui sileat** etc.] This closely reproduces a passage of Plotinus describing the preparation for intuition: ἥσυχον δὲ αὐτῇ (τῇ ψυχῇ) ἔστω μὴ μόνον τὸ περικείμενον σῶμα, καὶ ὁ τοῦ σώματος κλύδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τὸ περιέχον· ἥσυχος μὲν γῆ, ἥσυχος δὲ θάλασσα καὶ ἀὴρ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀμύμων. *Enn.* V 1. 2.

Cf. also Wordsworth *Lines composed above Tintern Abbey*

'that serene and blessed mood
In which the affections gently lead us on,
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul,
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.'

sibi anima sileat et transeat se non se cogitando, sileant somnia et imaginariae reuelationes, omnis lingua et omne signum et quidquid transeundo fit si cui sileat omnino—quoniam si quis audiat, dicunt haec omnia: non ipsa nos fecimus, sed fecit nos qui manet in aeternum—his dictis si iam taceant, quoniam erexerunt aurem in eum, qui fecit ea, et loquatur ipse solus non per ea, sed per se ipsum, ut audiamus uerbum eius, non per linguam carnis neque per uocem angeli nec per sonitum nubis nec per aenigma similitudinis, sed ipsum, quem in his amamus, ipsum sine his audiamus, sicut nunc extendimus nos et rapida cogitatione attingimus aeternam sapientiam super omnia manentem, si continuetur hoc et subtrahantur aliae uisiones longe inparis generis et haec una rapiat et absorbeat et recondat in interiora gaudia spectatorem suum, ut talis sit sempiterna uita, quale fuit hoc momentum intellegentiae, cui suspirauimus, nonne hoc est: intra in gaudium domini tui? et istud quando? an cum omnes resurgimus, sed non omnes inmutabimur?"

11 attingimus] attigimus HMO *m*. 17 resurgemus] GHMQ *edd*.

1. **transeat se non se cogitando**] In order to have the vision of what lies beyond mind, the characteristic processes of intellection must be superseded. δεῖ τὸν νοῦν.. οἷον ἑαυτὸν ἀφέντα...μὴ πάντα νοῦν εἶναι. *Enn.* III 8. 9.

3. **quidquid transeundo fit**] This clause is the subject of 'sileat': *and if all things which are subject to transiency are wholly silent to anyone.*

4. **non ipsa nos fecimus**] Ps. xcix (c) 3.

5. **qui manet in aeternum**] Cf. Ecclus. xviii 1 'qui uiuit in aeternum creauit omnia simul... manet inuictus rex in aeternum.'

8. **per linguam carnis**] *e.g.* through a prophet.

ib. **per uocem angeli**] Cf. Gen. xxii 11 etc.

ib. **per sonitum nubis**] Ps. lxxvi 18 (lxxvii 17). Cf. Exod. xix 19.

9. **nec per aenigma** etc.] Cf. Num. xii 6, 8; 1 Cor. xiii 12.

16. **intra in gaudium** etc.] Mt. xxv 21.

17. **omnes resurgimus** etc.] 1 Cor. xv 51 Vulg. 'omnes quidem resurgemus sed non omnes immutabimur.' The only Gk MS. which has ἀναστησόμεθα for οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα is D^1, but the negative in the second clause (='non omnes immutabimur') is found in ℵ (?A)CG_3 17. The variation of D^1 and the Lat. vss. probably arose from the apparent difficulty of reconciling οὐ πάντες κοιμηθησόμεθα with the fact that Paul and all his readers had died. A. interprets the passage *Ep.* ccv 14 'illi qui ad iudicium resurrecturi sunt, non commutabuntur in illam incorruptelam, quae

Dicebam talia, etsi non isto modo et his uerbis: tamen, 26
domine, tu scis, quod illo die, cum talia loqueremur et mundus
iste nobis inter uerba uilesceret cum omnibus delectationibus
suis, tunc ait illa: "fili, quantum ad me adtinet, nulla re iam
delector in hac uita. quid hic faciam adhuc et cur hic sim,
nescio, iam consumpta spe huius saeculi. unum erat, propter
quod in hac uita aliquantum inmorari cupiebam, ut te christi-
anum catholicum uiderem, priusquam morerer. cumulatius
hoc mihi deus praestitit, ut te etiam contempta felicitate terrena
seruum eius uideam. quid hic facio?"

XI. Ad haec ei quid responderim, non satis recolo, cum 27
interea uix intra quinque dies aut non multo amplius decubuit
febribus. et cum aegrotaret, quodam die defectum animae
passa est et paululum subtracta a praesentibus. nos con-
currimus, sed cito reddita est sensui et aspexit astantes me et
fratrem meum et ait nobis quasi quaerenti similis: "ubi eram?"
deinde nos intuens maerore attonitos: "ponitis hic" inquit
"matrem uestram." ego silebam et fletum frenabam. frater
autem meus quiddam locutus est, quo eam non in peregre, sed

9 deus] + meus BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 17 ponetis CGH²M *m.*
19 in peregre] – in BCGHMOPQVW *edd.*

nec doloris corruptionem pati potest. illa namque fidelium est atque sanctorum.' See also *de Ciu. Dei* XX 20.

8. **cumulatius...praestitit**] Cf. Eph. iii 20.

XI. *During her last illness Monnica gives directions that she is to be buried at Ostia. Formerly she had been very anxious to be laid beside her husband, but now she no longer feels this to be of any moment since 'no place is far from God and there is no danger that He will not know whence to raise her up at the last day.'*

11. **cum interea uix** etc.] The 'uix' is intended to modify 'quinque.' The collocation of the statements 'non recolo, cum etc.' is curious. Apparently the 'cum' clause gives the reason of his forgetting, though if so the indicative is strange. 'Interea' seems to mean 'just about this time.'

13. **defectum animae**] 'unconsciousness.'

16. **fratrem meum**] His name was Navigius. See *de B. Vita* 6.

17. **ponitis**] CGH² have 'ponetis.' The form in the text is perhaps to be explained as a colloquialism, indicative present for imperative—preserved in the desire to give the 'ipsissima uerba.' Koffmane, *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins* p. 123, quotes from Old Lat. versions 'dicis' for 'dic,' Mt. xviii 17, and 'affertis' for 'afferte,' Jn xxi 10.

19. **in peregre**] Charisius *Inst. Gram.* II (p. 212 ed. Keil) quotes 'in peregre' from the lost *Caecus* of Plautus.

in patria defungi tamquam felicius optaret. quo audito illa uultu anxio reuerberans eum oculis, quod talia saperet, atque inde me intuens: "uide" ait "quid dicit." et mox ambobus: "ponite" inquit "hoc corpus ubicumque: nihil uos eius cura conturbet; tantum illud uos rogo, ut ad domini altare memineritis mei, ubiubi fueritis." cumque hanc sententiam uerbis quibus poterat explicasset, conticuit et ingrauescente morbo exercebatur.

28 Ego uero cogitans dona tua, deus inuisibilis, quae immittis in corda fidelium tuorum, et proueniunt inde fruges admirabiles, gaudebam et gratias tibi agebam recolens, quod noueram, quanta cura semper aestuasset de sepulchro, quod sibi prouiderat et praeparauerat iuxta corpus uiri sui. quia enim ualde concorditer uixerant, id etiam uolebat, ut est animus humanus minus capax diuinorum, adiungi ad illam felicitatem et commemorari ab hominibus, concessum sibi esse post transmarinam peregrinationem, ut coniuncta terra amborum coniugum terra tegeretur. quando autem ista inanitas plenitudine bonitatis tuae coeperat in eis corde non esse, nesciebam, et laetabar admirans, quod sic mihi apparuisset, quamquam et in illo sermone nostro ad fenestram, cum dixit: "iam quid hic

6 ubiubi] ubi BCFGHMPQW. 20 apparuisset] aperuisset HV *mo.*

2. **reuerberans eum oculis**] It seems probable that 'reuerbero' is here used as an intensive form of 'uerbero' in the sense 'reproach,' 'chide.' Cf. Plaut. *Trucul.* I ii 17 'me illis quidem haec uerberat uerbis.'

5. **ad domini altare memineritis**] The reference is primarily to a yearly commemorative celebration of the Eucharist on the anniversary of her death. Cf. Tertull. *de Cor.* iii 'oblationes pro defunctis pro natalitiis annuo die facimus.' Greg. Naz. *Orat.* vii 17 *τὰς δι' ἔτους προσφέροντες τιμάς τε καὶ μνήμας.* See *Dict. Chr. Ant.* art. 'Obsequies.' Pp. 270. 16 and 271. 7, 8 seem however to indicate that a wider reference is also intended.

6. **ubiubi**] 'wheresoever.'

9. **inuisibilis**] Col. i 15.

11. **gratias...agebam**] Col. i 3, 4 'gratias agimus Deo...audientes fidem uestram' etc.

15. **adiungi...commemorari**] The subject of the infinitives is 'concessum esse ut' etc.

17. **ut coniuncta terra** etc.] The run of the sentence indicates that 'coniuncta,' which should logically go with 'amborum coniugum terra,' goes by hypallage with the first 'terra.' It may be rendered 'with the same earth.'

facio?" non apparuit desiderare in patria mori. audiui etiam postea, quod iam, cum Ostiis essemus, cum quibusdam amicis meis materna fiducia conloquebatur quodam die de contemptu uitae huius et bono mortis, ubi ipse non aderam, illisque stupentibus uirtutem feminae—quoniam tu dederas ei—quaerentibusque, utrum non formidaret tam longe a sua ciuitate corpus relinquere: "nihil" inquit "longe est deo, neque timendum est, ne ille non agnoscat in fine saeculi, unde me resuscitet." ergo die nono aegritudinis suae, quinquagensimo et sexto anno aetatis suae, tricensimo et tertio aetatis meae, anima illa religiosa et pia corpore soluta est.

XII. Premebam oculos eius, et confluebat in praecordia 29
mea maestitudo ingens et transfluebat in lacrimas, ibidemque oculi mei uiolento animi imperio resorbebant fontem suum usque ad siccitatem, et in tali luctamine ualde male mihi erat. tum uero, ubi efflauit extremum, puer Adeodatus exclamauit in planctu atque ab omnibus nobis coercitus tacuit. hoc modo etiam meum quiddam puerile, quod labebatur in fletus, iuuenali uoce, uoce cordis, coercebatur et tacebat. neque enim decere arbitrabamur funus illud questibus lacrimosis gemitibusque celebrare, quia his plerumque solet deplorari quaedam miseria morientium aut quasi omnimoda extinctio. at illa nec misere moriebatur nec omnino moriebatur. hoc et documentis morum eius et fide non ficta rationibusque certis tenebamus.

Quid ergo quod intus mihi grauiter dolebat, nisi ex consue- 30

5 quoniam] quam GHMV *edd.* 16 extremum] + spiritum BPQV *m.*
17 planctum BCFGMPQW *edd.* 19 *alt.* uoce] – BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

XII. *A. suppresses all manifestation of grief, holding it to be unbecoming in a Christian. The sacrament is celebrated at the graveside, and even at the burial A. still suppresses his emotion. But at night when he is alone he can no longer restrain his tears. He commends his weakness to the merciful judgment of his fellow Christians.*

13. **maestitudo**] A word of the same class as 'anxitudo' (§ 5 *sup.*). It is cited from Accius, Plautus, the medical writer Caelius, and late writers like Sulpicius Severus and Palladius. See Rönsch *Itala u. Vulg.* p. 68, whose list is fuller than that of the lexicons.

19. **neque enim decere**] Cf. 1 Thess. iv 12.

24. **fide non ficta**] 1 Tim. i 5.

tudine simul uiuendi dulcissima et carissima repente dirupta uulnus recens? gratulabar quidem testimonio eius, quod in ea ipsa ultima aegritudine obsequiis meis interblandiens appellabat me pium et conmemorabat grandi dilectionis affectu numquam se audisse ex ore meo iaculatum in se durum aut contumeliosum sonum. sed tamen quid tale, deus meus, qui fecisti nos, quid conparabile habebat honor a me delatus illi et seruitus ab illa mihi? quoniam itaque deserebar tam magno eius solacio, sauciabatur anima et quasi dilaniabatur uita, quae una facta erat ex mea et illius.

31 Cohibito ergo a fletu illo puero psalterium arripuit Euodius et cantare coepit psalmum. cui respondebamus omnis domus: misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi, domine. audito autem, quid ageretur, conuenerunt multi fratres ac religiosae feminae, et de more illis, quorum officium erat, funus curantibus, ego in parte, ubi decenter poteram, cum eis, qui me non deserendum esse censebant, quod erat tempori congruum disputabam eoque fomento ueritatis mitigabam cruciatum tibi notum illis ignorantibus et intente audientibus et sine sensu doloris me esse arbitrantibus. at ego in auribus tuis, ubi eorum nullus audiebat, increpabam mollitiam affectus mei et constringebam fluxum maeroris, cedebatque mihi paululum: rursusque impetu suo ferebatur non usque ad eruptionem lacrimarum nec usque ad uultus mutationem, sed ego sciebam, quid corde premerem. et quia mihi uehementer displicebat tantum in me posse haec humana, quae ordine debito et sorte condicionis nostrae accidere necesse est, alio dolore dolebam dolorem meum et duplici tristitia macerabar.

32 Cum ecce corpus elatum est, imus, redimus sine lacrimis.

6 sonum] sermonem BCFPQ. 9 anima] + mea BPQ *m*.

3. **obsequiis meis interblandiens**] *answering some little service of mine with a caress.*
9. **quae una facta erat**] Cf. IV 11.
13. **misericordiam** etc.] Ps. c (ci) 1.
15. **in parte**] *apart.*
27. **dolore dolebam dolorem**] See I 12, note.
29. **elatum est, imus**] Pusey gives a reference to Terence *Andr.*

nam neque in eis precibus, quas tibi fudimus, cum offerretur pro ea sacrificium pretii nostri iam iuxta sepulchrum posito cadauere, priusquam deponeretur, sicut illic fieri solet, nec in eis ergo precibus fleui, sed toto die grauiter in occulto maestus eram et mente turbata rogabam te, ut poteram, quo sanares dolorem meum, nec faciebas,—credo, conmendans memoriae meae uel hoc uno documento omnis consuetudinis uinculum etiam aduersus mentem, quae iam non fallaci uerbo pascitur. uisum etiam mihi est, ut irem lauatum, quod audieram inde balneis nomen inditum, quia Graeci *βαλανεῖον* dixerint, quod anxietatem pellat ex animo. ecce et hoc confiteor misericordiae tuae, pater orfanorum, quoniam laui et talis eram, qualis priusquam lauissem. neque enim exudauit de corde meo maeroris amaritudo. deinde dormiui et uigilaui et non parua ex parte mitigatum inueni dolorem meum atque, ut eram in lecto meo solus, recordatus sum ueridicos uersus Ambrosii tui: tu es enim,

14 uigilaui] euigilaui BGHMOPQW *edd.*

1 i 90 where the same formula is used of a funeral, 'Effertur, imus.'

1. **cum offerretur...iuxta sepulchrum**] A.'s language ('sicut illic fieri solet') implies that while it was the custom at Rome to celebrate the Eucharist at the graveside, it was not so in Africa. Cf. *Dict. Chr. Ant.* art. 'Obsequies': 'Conc. Carth. A.D. 397, xxix, provides that if the mourners are not fasting the commendation of the body is to be celebrated with prayers only. The natural inference is that celebrations at this time were not [there] considered all important.' Monnica's remains rested at Ostia until the year 1430 when Pope Martin V. caused them to be removed to Rome and placed in the church of San Agostino. The pilasters of this church are decorated with scenes from the lives of Augustine and Monnica.

2. **sacrificium pretii nostri**] Cf. *infr.* § 36 'dispensari uictimam sacram.' This language must be interpreted in the light of the general principle which A. enuntiates in *Ep.* xcviii 9 'nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso, et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschae sollemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari? si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt.'

10. *βαλανεῖον*] The implied derivation is from *βάλλω* and *ἀνία* 'grief.' The actual derivation is uncertain.

12. **pater orfanorum**] Ps. lxvii 6 (lxviii 5).

deus, creator omnium
polique rector, uestiens
diem decoro lumine,
noctem sopora gratia,
artus solutos ut quies
reddat laboris usui
mentesque fessas alleuet
luctuque soluat anxios.

33 Atque inde paulatim reducebam in pristinum sensum ancillam tuam conuersationemque eius piam in te et sancte in nos blandam atque morigeram, qua subito destitutus sum, et libuit flere in conspectu tuo de illa et pro illa, de me et pro me. et dimisi lacrimas, quas continebam, ut effluerent quantum uellent, substernens eas cordi meo: et requieuit in eis, quoniam ibi erant aures tuae, non cuiusquam hominis superbe interpretantis ploratum meum. et nunc, domine, confiteor tibi in litteris. legat qui uolet et interpretetur, ut uolet, et si peccatum inuenerit, fleuisse me matrem exigua parte horae, matrem oculis meis interim mortuam, quae me multos annos fleuerat, ut oculis tuis uiuerem, non inrideat, sed potius, si est grandi caritate, pro peccatis meis fleat ipse ad te, patrem omnium fratrum Christi tui.

34 XIII. Ego autem iam sanato corde ab illo uulnere, in quo

4 soporis BFGMQVW, sopore C *o*. gratiae CQ^1 *o*. 18 exiguam partem O.

1. **deus, creator omnium**] Ambrose's evening hymn. See Migne *P. L.* 16. 1409.

9. **reducebam** etc.] 'I recovered my former thoughts about' etc.

14. **substernens eas** etc.] 'strewing them as a bed for my heart,' a curious but expressive metaphor.

18. **exigua parte horae**] The ablative of 'time throughout which' becomes common in post-Augustan writers. Here, in contrast with the regular accusative in the next line, it is perhaps used to emphasize the smallness of the period, as though almost a point of time.

19. **interim**] *for a little space.*

20. **non inrideat**] To the modern reader this confession of human weakness comes as a relief; but when we remember how foreign to A.'s disposition was the stoical repression which he had felt bound to practise, it too has its pathos.

XIII. *A. prays for his mother, and recalls with joy her confidence in Christ's sacrifice. He calls upon*

postea redargui carnales affectus, fundo tibi, deus noster, pro illa famula tua longe aliud lacrimarum genus, quod manat de concusso spiritu consideratione periculorum omnis animae, quae in Adam moritur. quamquam illa in Christo uiuificata etiam nondum a carne resoluta sic uixerit, ut laudetur nomen tuum in fide moribusque eius, non tamen audeo dicere, ex quo eam per baptismum regenerasti, nullum uerbum exisse ab ore eius contra praeceptum tuum. et dictum est a ueritate, filio tuo: si quis dixerit fratri suo: fatue, reus erit gehennae ignis; et uae etiam laudabili uitae hominum, si remota misericordia discutias eam. quia omnino non exquiris delicta uehementer, fiducialiter speramus aliquem apud te locum. quisquis autem tibi enumerat uera merita sua, quid tibi enumerat nisi munera tua? o si cognoscant se homines homines, et qui gloriatur, in domino glorietur!

Ego itaque, laus mea et uita mea, deus cordis mei, sepositis paulisper bonis eius actibus, pro quibus tibi gaudens gratias ago, nunc pro peccatis matris meae deprecor te: exaudi me per medicinam uulnerum nostrorum, quae pependit in ligno et

1 postea] poterat BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* carnalis BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 10 discutias] discutiam S. 11 omnino] uero BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 12 locum]+inuenire indulgentiae BCPQ *m.*

his readers to join with him in fulfilling her last request that she might be 'commemorated at the altar.'

4. **in Adam moritur** etc.] Cf. 1 Cor. xv 22.

7. **per baptismum**] See VIII 3.

ib. **nullum uerbum**] Cf. Mt. xii 36, 37.

9. **si quis dixerit** etc.] Mt. v 22.

ib. **uae etiam...eam**] Cf. Ps. cxlii (cxliii) 2, cxxix (cxxx) 3.

10. **si discutias** etc.] *if Thou shouldest examine it without regard to mercy.* 'Discutiam,' the reading of S, which was adopted by Knöll in his larger edition, might be explained as supposed to be spoken by God, but this is not in accordance with the passages of Scripture to which A. appears to allude here, and the 'm' is easily accounted for as a scribal error, due to homoeoteleuton with 'eam.'

13. **si cognoscant** etc.] Cf. Ps. ix 21 (20).

14. **qui gloriatur**] 1 Cor. i 31, 2 Cor. x 17.

16. **laus mea**] Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 14.

ib. **deus cordis mei**] Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 26.

18. **exaudi me**] Ps. lxviii 14 (lxix 13) etc.

19. **medicinam...quae pependit** etc.] Cf. 'medicina.....uigilaret' § 18 *sup.*

sedens ad dexteram tuam te interpellat pro nobis. scio misericorditer operatam et ex corde dimisisse debita debitoribus suis: dimitte et tu illi debita sua, si qua etiam contraxit per tot annos post aquam salutis. dimitte, domine, dimitte, obsecro; ne intres cum ea in iudicium. superexultet misericordia iudicio, quoniam eloquia tua uera sunt et promisisti misericordiam misericordibus. quod ut essent, tu dedisti eis, qui misereberis, cui misertus eris, et misericordiam praestabis, cui misericors fueris.

6 Et, credo, iam feceris quod te rogo, sed uoluntaria oris mei adproba, domine. namque illa imminente die resolutionis suae non cogitauit suum corpus sumptuose contegi aut condiri aromatis aut monumentum electum concupiuit aut curauit sepulchrum patrium: non ista mandauit nobis, sed tantummodo memoriam sui ad altare tuum fieri desiderauit, cui nullius diei praetermissione seruierat, unde sciret dispensari uictimam sanctam, qua deletum est chirografum, quod erat contrarium

5 superexaltet BCGHMPQ *edd.* 6 iudicium BGPQ *m* (*Vulg.*). 12 condi S. 13 aromatibus BCFGH²MPQ *edd.*

1. **ad dexteram ... interpellat**] Rom. viii 34.

ib. **scio...dimisisse debita** etc.] Cf. Mt. vi 12.

5. **ne intres** etc.] Ps. cxlii (cxliii) 2.

ib. **superexultet** etc.] Ja. ii 13.

6. **promisisti** etc.] Cf. Mt. v 7.

8. **misertus eris ... misericors fueris**] Rom. ix 15. Cf. Ex. xxxiii 19 (Vulg. 'miserebor cuius misereor; et misericordiam praestabo cuius miserebor'). The future-perfects of the Old Lat. lend themselves to A.'s interpretation.

10. **uoluntaria** etc.] Ps. cxviii (cxix) 108 (Vulg. 'uoluntaria oris mei beneplacita fac, Domine').

11. **resolutionis suae**] Cf. 2 Tim. iv 6 'tempus resolutionis meae instat.'

12. **contegi aut condiri**] The infinitives are substantival, 'her mind was not occupied with the thought of costly sepulture or the embalming of her body with spices.'

13. **aromatis**] For the ablative as if from a form 'aromatum' cf. Apul. *Florid.* IV 19 'membra omnia aromatis perspersa.' Cf. 'phantasmatis' III 10.

15. **memoriam sui ad altare**] see above § 27, note.

ib. **nullius diei** etc.] see V 17.

16. **dispensari uictimam sanctam**] see above § 32 ('cum offerretur ...sacrificium') and cf. *c. Faust.* xx 18 'unde iam Christiani peracti eiusdem sacrificii memoriam celebrant, sacrosancta oblatione et participatione corporis et sanguinis Christi,' where 'corporis' and 'sanguinis' are no doubt to be interpreted on the principle set forth in *Ep.* xcviii 9, cited above, p. 266.

17. **chirografum**] Col. ii 14. Ambrose, referring to this passage in *de Virginitate* xix 126, interprets

nobis, qua triumphatus est hostis conputans delicta nostra et quaerens, quod obiciat, et nihil inueniens in illo, in quo uincimus. quis ei refundet innocentem sanguinem? quis ei restituet pretium, quo nos emit, ut nos auferat ei? ad cuius pretii nostri sacramentum ligauit ancilla tua animam suam uinculo fidei. nemo a protectione tua dirumpat eam. non se interponat nec ui nec insidiis leo et draco: neque enim respondebit illa nihil se debere, ne conuincatur et obtineatur ab accusatore callido, sed respondebit dimissa debita sua ab eo, cui nemo reddet quod pro nobis non debens reddidit.

Sit ergo in pace cum uiro, ante quem nulli et post quem nulli nupta est, cui seruiuit fructum tibi afferens cum tolerantia, ut eum quoque lucraretur tibi. et inspira, domine meus, deus meus, inspira seruis tuis, fratribus meis, filiis tuis, dominis meis, quibus et corde et uoce et litteris seruio, ut quotquot hoc legerint, meminerint ad altare tuum Monnicae, famulae tuae,

2 quod] quid BCFGHMOPQ *edd.* 15 hoc] haec BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

'chirografum' as the bond under which we were held by the devil: 'eramus oppignerati malo creditori peccatis; contraximus chirografum culpae, poenam sanguinis debebamus: uenit Dominus Iesus, suum pro nobis obtulit.' It is not clear whether this interpretation is intended in the present passage, but it is not excluded by the use of 'uictima' in the immediate context, since A. combines in § 32 *sup.*, and again below, the ideas 'sacrificium pretii nostri.'

1. **triumphatus**] 'was triumphed over.' Cf. Col. ii 15, 'palam triumphans illos.' See VII 27, note ('et occidit eum etc.').

2. **nihil inueniens**] Cf. Jn xiv 30.

3. **quis ei refundet**] The thought is more fully developed in the following sentence. For the expression cf. Spenser *Hymn of Heavenly Love*:

'Or what can prize that Thy most precious blood?'

ib. **innocentem sanguinem**] Cf. Mt. xxvii 4.

6. **nemo a protectione** etc.] Cf. Jn x 28, 29.

7. **leo et draco**] Ps. xc (xci) 13.

12. **fructum...tolerantia**] Cf. Lk. viii 15 'quod autem in bonam terram, hi sunt qui...uerbum retinent et fructum afferunt in patientia.'

13. **lucraretur**] Cf. 1 Pet. iii 1.

16. **Monnicae**] Here only is she named in the *Confessions*. Inscriptions show that names of the -icus, -ica formation were common in North Africa. These were doubtless introduced by the Greek settlers, who were numerous. It is possible that Monnica's name indicates a Greek strain in her family. References to Monnica elsewhere than in the *Confessions* occur chiefly in the dialogues written at Cassiciacum.

cum Patricio, quondam eius coniuge, per quorum carnem introduxisti me in hanc uitam, quemadmodum nescio. meminerint cum affectu pio parentum meorum in hac luce transitoria et fratrum meorum sub te patre in matre catholica et ciuium meorum in aeterna Hierusalem, cui suspirat peregrinatio populi tui ab exitu usque ad reditum, ut quod a me illa poposcit extremum uberius ei praestetur in multorum orationibus per confessiones quam per orationes meas.

2 hanc uitam BCFGHMOPQW, hac uita S *Knöll.*

In *de Ord.* I 11. 31 and II 1. 1 A. vindicates her right to be present at these debates ('nam et feminae sunt apud ueteres philosophatae, et philosophia tua mihi plurimum placet') and he several times expresses admiration of the natural shrewdness and heaven-taught wisdom of her contributions to the discussion (see especially *de B. Vita* § 10). He repeatedly acknowledges how much he owes her, *e.g. de Ord.* II 20. 52: 'cuius precibus indubitanter credo mihi istam mentem Deum dedisse ut inueniendae ueritati nihil omnino proponam, nihil aliud uelim, nihil cogitem, nihil amem.' In *Ep.* xxxvi 32 and *Ep.* liv 3 A. speaks of her ready acceptance of Ambrose's direction in regard to a matter of Church usage in which there was a divergence in the customs of Africa and of Milan, somewhat similar to that referred to in VI 2 *sup.* A passage which is perhaps the most touching of all A.'s references to the deep affection which united him with his mother occurs in *de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda* xiii 16 'si rebus uiuentium interessent animae mortuorum et ipsae nos quando eas uidemus alloquerentur in somnis; ut de aliis taceam, me ipsum pia mater nulla nocte desereret, quae terra marique secuta est ut mecum uiueret.'

2. **in hanc uitam**] The MS. evidence for the reading 'in hac uita' does not seem sufficient. In *Locut. de Ex.* (v 21) A. censures very decidedly the solecism, 'ut dantis gladium in manibus eius,' the reading of the version which he considered to be usually the best.

ib. **quemadmodum nescio**] Cf. I 7.

4. **et fratrum** etc.] 'Fratrum' and 'ciuium' both refer to Patricius and Monnica who while his parents in this transitory life are also his 'brethren' as children of the 'Catholic mother,' and his fellow-citizens in the heavenly city. The use of 'fratres' to include the feminine (cf. Germ. 'Geschwister' = brothers and sisters) is unusual except in legal style.

5. **suspirat peregrinatio**] Cf. Heb. xi 10, 13, 14. For the bold use of abstract for concrete, cf. VIII 15.

LIBER DECIMUS.

I. Cognoscam te, cognitor meus, cognoscam, sicut et 1
cognitus sum. uirtus animae meae, intra in eam et coapta
tibi, ut habeas et possideas sine macula et ruga. haec est
mea spes, ideo loquor et in ea spe gaudeo, quando sanum
5 gaudeo. cetera uero uitae huius tanto minus flenda, quanto
magis fletur, et tanto magis flenda, quanto minus fletur in eis.
ecce enim ueritatem dilexisti, quoniam qui facit eam, uenit ad
lucem. uolo eam facere in corde meo coram te in confessione,
in stilo autem meo coram multis testibus.

10 II. Et tibi quidem, domine, cuius oculis nuda est abyssus 2

This book has a separate interest of its own. In the earlier books A. is speaking of past years; in this he speaks of the present. We listen to the self-examination and self-judgments of the Bishop of Hippo. It will be observed that, having settled the great question of his relation to God, he now turns to questions of Christian conduct, mindful of the precept of St Paul, 'Take heed unto thyself,' 1 Tim. iv 16.

I. *A. expresses his hope of being finally delivered, through the indwelling power of God, from every spot and blemish of the soul. This hope inspires his highest joy. He desires to record faithfully his progress towards its fulfilment.*

1. **cognoscam, sicut** etc.] 1 Cor. xiii 12.

3. **sine macula et ruga**] Cf. Eph. v 27 'non habentem maculam aut rugam' etc.

4. **ideo loquor**] Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* cxv § 2: 'non enim perfecte credunt qui quod credunt loqui nolunt; ad ipsam enim fidem pertinet etiam illud credere quod dictum est: "qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor eum coram angelis Dei"' (Mt. x 32).

ib. **in ea spe gaudeo**] Cf. Rom. xii 12 'spe gaudentes.'

ib. **sanum**] The adverb is noted as an 'addendum lexicis latinis' in *Archiv für Lat. Lexicog.* 1898, p. 52.

7. **ecce enim** etc.] Ps. l 8 (li 6).

ib. **qui facit**] Jn. iii 21.

II. *To refuse to confess is to hide God from oneself, not oneself from God. This confession is made as in God's sight. The praise of what is good is God's; the blame of what is ill is A.'s own.*

10. **oculis nuda**] Heb. iv 13.

ib. **abyssus humanae conscientiae**] Cf. Ecclus. xlii 18—20 'abyssum et cor hominum inuesti-

humanae conscientiae, quid occultum esset in me, etiamsi nollem confiteri tibi? te enim mihi absconderem, non me tibi. nunc autem quod gemitus meus testis est displicere me mihi, tu refulges et places et amaris et desideraris, ut erubescam de me et abiciam me atque eligam te et nec tibi nec mihi placeam nisi de te. tibi ergo, domine, manifestus sum quicumque sim. et quo fructu tibi confitear, dixi. neque id ago uerbis carnis et uocibus, sed uerbis animae et clamore cogitationis, quem nouit auris tua. cum enim malus sum, nihil est aliud confiteri tibi quam displicere mihi; cum uero pius, nihil est aliud confiteri tibi quam hoc non tribuere mihi, quoniam tu, domine, benedicis iustum, sed prius eum iustificas inpium. confessio itaque mea, deus meus, in conspectu tuo tibi tacite fit et non tacite. tacet enim strepitu, clamat affectu. neque enim dico recti aliquid hominibus, quod non a me tu prius audieris, aut etiam tu aliquid tale audis a me, quod non mihi tu prius dixeris.

7 neque]+enim BPQ *edd.*, neque^{xxxx} (^{enim}*ras.*) O.

gauit...non praeterit illum omnis cogitatus, et non abscondit se ab illo ullus sermo.' Commenting on Ps. xli 8 (xlii 7) A. says: 'si profunditas est abyssus, putamus non cor hominis abyssus est?' Cf. Wordsworth *Excursion*, Prologue:

'Not chaos, not
The darkest pit of lowest Erebus,
Nor aught of blindest vacancy scooped out
By help of dreams, can breed such fear and awe
As fall upon us often when we look
Into our minds, into the mind of man.'

And Tennyson, *Palace of Art*:

'The abysmal deeps of personality.'

7. **dixi**] sc. in the last sentence but one.

12. **iustificas inpium**] Rom. iv 5. A. understands 'iustifico' in the sense of making actually just. Cf. *de Spir. et Lit.* xi 18 (in reference to Rom. i 17) 'quae ideo iustitia Dei dicitur, quod impertiendo eam iustos facit.' He recognises (*ib.* xxvi 45, where, however, he is referring to Rom. ii 13) the possibility of interpreting the word in the sense 'reckon just,' but uniformly adopts the other. See Sanday and Headlam *Romans*, p. 150 (Additional Note on the history of interpretation). Cf. the definition of the Council of Trent, Sess. VI, cap. vii: 'iustificatio...non est sola peccatorum remissio, sed et sanctificatio et renouatio interioris hominis per uoluntariam susceptionem gratiae et donorum: unde homo ex iniusto fit iustus.'

13. **in conspectu tuo**] Cf. Ps. xcv (xcvi) 6 'confessio et pulchritudo in conspectu eius,' with A.'s comment *Enarr. in Ps. ad loc.* 'uis esse pulcher? confitere... foedus eras, confitere, ut sis pulcher; peccator eras; confitere, ut sis iustus.'

III. Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus, ut audiant con- 3
fessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? curiosum genus ad cognoscendam uitam alienam, desidiosum ad corrigendam suam. quid a me quaerunt audire qui sim, qui nolunt a te audire qui sint? et unde sciunt, cum a me ipso de me ipso audiunt, an uerum dicam, quandoquidem nemo scit hominum, quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est? si autem a te audiant de se ipsis, non poterunt dicere: "mentitur dominus." quid est enim a te audire de se nisi cognoscere se? quis porro cognoscit et dicit: "falsum est," nisi ipse mentiatur? sed quia caritas omnia credit, inter eos utique, quos conexos sibimet unum facit, ego quoque, domine, etiam sic tibi confiteor, ut audiant homines, quibus demonstrare non possum, an uera confitear; sed credunt mihi, quorum mihi aures caritas aperit.

Verum tamen tu, medice meus intime, quo fructu ista 4
faciam, eliqua mihi. nam confessiones praeteritorum malorum meorum, quae remisisti et texisti, ut beares me in te, mutans animam meam fide et sacramento tuo, cum leguntur et audiuntur, excitant cor, ne dormiat in desperatione et dicat: "non possum," sed euigilet in amore misericordiae tuae et

III. *His purpose in the confessions regarding his past life has been to encourage others by recording God's goodness in delivering him from sin: he asks himself with what purpose he now records what he is at the time of writing?*

2. **omnes languores meos**] Ps. cii (ciii) 3 'qui sanat omnes languores tuos' (so A. in *Enarr. in Ps.* cii § 5; Vulg. 'infirmitates').

6. **nemo scit** etc.] 1 Cor. ii 11 'quis enim hominum scit quae sint hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est?'

11. **caritas omnia credit**] 1 Cor. xiii 7.

12. **quos conexos sibimet** etc.] Cf. Col. iii 14 'caritatem habete, quod est uinculum perfectionis.'

16. **quo fructu** etc.] 'Rhetoricians forbid a man to speak of himself except on needful occasions ...But a man may do so by way of instruction to others. This reason led Augustine in his *Confessions* to speak of himself; for by the progress of his life, which was from bad to good, and from good to better, and from better to best, he gave example and instruction which could not have been gained otherwise on sure testimony.' Dante *Convito* 1 2.

17. **eliqua**] *make clear*. Usually in the literal sense, applied to liquids: 'clarify.'

18. **remisisti et texisti**] Cf. Ps. xxxi (xxxii) 1.

ib. **beares** etc.] *that thou mightest make me glad in thee.* 'Beo' is not common in earlier prose.

dulcedine gratiae tuae, qua potens est omnis infirmus, qui sibi per ipsam fit conscius infirmitatis suae. et delectat bonos audire praeterita mala eorum, qui iam carent eis, nec ideo delectat, quia mala sunt, sed quia fuerunt et non sunt. quo itaque fructu, domine meus, cui cotidie confitetur conscientia mea spe misericordiae tuae securior quam innocentia sua, quo fructu, quaeso, etiam hominibus coram te confiteor per has litteras adhuc, quis ego sim, non quis fuerim? nam illum fructum uidi et commemoraui. sed quis adhuc sim ecce in ipso tempore confessionum mearum, et multi hoc nosse cupiunt, qui me nouerunt, et non me nouerunt, qui ex me uel de me aliquid audierunt, sed auris eorum non est ad cor meum, ubi ego sum quicumque sum. uolunt ergo audire confitente me, quid ipse intus sim, quo nec oculum nec aurem nec mentem possunt intendere; crediturі tamen uolunt, num- quid cognituri? dicit enim eis caritas, qua boni sunt, non mentiri me de me confitentem, et ipsa in eis credit mihi.

IV. Sed quo fructu id uolunt? an congratulari mihi cupiunt, cum audierint, quantum ad te accedam munere tuo, et orare pro me, cum audierint, quantum retarder pondere meo? indicabo me talibus. non enim paruus est fructus, domine deus meus, ut a multis tibi gratiae agantur de nobis et a multis rogeris pro nobis. amet in me fraternus animus quod amandum doces, et doleat in me quod dolendum doces.

14 confitente] confitentem BFGHMOPQV^{3}W *edd.*

1. **qua potens** etc.] Cf. 2 Cor. xii 10 'cum enim infirmor, tunc potens sum.'

9. **ecce in ipso tempore**] The 'ecce' is intended to add emphasis: 'at this actual present time of writing these confessions.'

10. **multi hoc nosse cupiunt**] A.'s *City of God* was also written at the suggestion of a friend. He intended it to consist of a few letters about the fall of Rome, but his friend Marcellinus persuaded him to extend it into the great work which it afterwards became. See Introd. to English Translation by Dods, p. viii.

11. **ex me uel de me**] *i.e.* those who either knew his writings or knew of him by report.

IV. *He desires to have such readers as will rejoice over his progress, and pray for him when they hear of his failures. His task in life is to serve the brethren, and he writes in the hope that this self-revelation may be profitable to them.*

23. **a multis** etc.] 2 Cor. i 11 (Vulg. 'per multos gratiae agantur pro nobis').

animus ille hoc faciat fraternus, non extraneus, non filiorum alienorum, quorum os locutum est uanitatem, et dextera eorum dextera iniquitatis, sed fraternus ille, qui cum approbat me, gaudet de me, cum autem inprobat me, contristatur pro me, quia siue approbet siue improbet me, diligit me. indicabo me talibus: respirent in bonis meis, suspirent in malis meis. bona mea instituta tua sunt et dona tua, mala mea delicta mea sunt et iudicia tua. respirent in illis et suspirent in his, et hymnus et fletus ascendant in conspectum tuum de fraternis cordibus, turibulis tuis. tu autem, domine, delectatus odore sancti templi tui, miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam tuam propter nomen tuum et nequaquam deserens coepta tua consumma inperfecta mea.

Hic est fructus confessionum mearum, non qualis fuerim, 6 sed qualis sim, ut hoc confitear non tantum coram te secreta exultatione cum tremore et secreto maerore cum spe, sed etiam in auribus credentium filiorum hominum, sociorum gaudii mei et consortium mortalitatis meae, ciuium meorum et mecum peregrinorum, praecedentium et consequentium et comitum uiae meae. hi sunt serui tui, fratres mei, quos filios tuos esse uoluisti dominos meos, quibus iussisti ut seruiam, si uolo tecum de te uiuere. et hoc mihi uerbum tuum parum

20 uiae] uitae BOV.

1. **non filiorum** etc.] Ps. cxliii (cxliv) 7, 8.

7. **delicta ... iudicia**] See VIII 21, note.

8. **hymnus et fletus**] Cf. Petrarch *Epistolae de Rebus Familiaribus* x 3 *Gerardo fratri suo* 'lege ... scatentes lacrymis confessionum libros (Augustini), de quibus quidem ridiculi homines ridere solent, tu in eis solamen et refugium non mediocre reperies.'

10. **turibulis tuis**] Cf. Rev. viii 3 'Et alius angelus uenit...habens turibulum aureum: et data sunt illi incensa multa, ut daret de orationibus sanctorum omnium super altare aureum, quod est ante thronum Dei.'

11. **miserere mei**] Ps. l 3 (li 1).

12. **nequaquam ... coepta tua**] Cf. Phil. i 6 'confidens hoc ipsum, quia qui coepit in uobis opus bonum, perficiet usque in diem Christi Iesu.'

15. **non tantum** etc.] 'Das ist freilich eine seltsame Erzählungsweise, seinen Lebenslauf dem lieben Gott vorerzählen, als wenn er noch nichts davon wüsste, doch liegt darin das Gelübde der Aufrichtigkeit auch vor Menschen.' Karl Hase *Kirchengeschichte* i 524.

16. **exultatione cum tremore**] Ps. ii 11.

22. **et hoc mihi uerbum** etc.] Cf. Jn xiii 1—17.

erat si loquendo praeciperet, nisi et faciendo praeiret. et ego id ago factis et dictis, id ago sub alis tuis nimis cum ingenti periculo, nisi quia sub alis tuis tibi subdita est anima mea et infirmitas mea tibi nota est. paruulus sum, sed uiuit semper pater meus et idoneus est mihi tutor meus; idem ipse est enim, qui genuit me et tuetur me, et tu ipse es omnia bona mea, tu omnipotens, qui mecum es et priusquam tecum sim. indicabo ergo talibus, qualibus iubes ut seruiam, non quis fuerim, sed quis iam sim et quis adhuc sim; sed neque me ipsum diiudico. sic itaque audiar.

7 V. Tu enim, domine, diiudicas me, quia etsi nemo scit hominum, quae sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est, tamen est aliquid hominis, quod nec ipse scit spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est; tu autem, domine, scis eius omnia, qui fecisti eum. ego uero quamuis prae tuo conspectu me despiciam et aestimem me terram et cinerem, tamen aliquid de te scio, quod de me nescio. et certe uidemus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, nondum facie ad faciem; et ideo, quamdiu peregrinor abs te, mihi sum praesentior quam tibi, et tamen te noui nullo modo posse uiolari; ego uero quibus temptationibus resistere ualeam quibusue non ualeam, nescio. et spes est, quia fidelis es, qui nos non sinis temptari supra quam possumus ferre, sed facis cum temptatione etiam exitum, ut possimus sustinere. confitear ergo quid de me sciam, confitear et quid de me nesciam, quoniam et quod de me scio, te

3. **sub alis tuis**] Cf. Ps. xvi (xvii) 8; xxxv 8 (xxxvi 7).

9. **neque me ipsum** etc.] 1 Cor. iv 3.

V. *There is much even in himself that he knows not. Where he is ignorant he will confess his ignorance.*

11. **scit hominum** etc.] 1 Cor. ii 11.

16. **despiciam ... cinerem**] Cf. Job xlii 6 as quoted by A. in *de Ciu. Dei* xxii 29: 'propterea despexi memetipsum...et existimaui me terram et cinerem' (Vulg. 'ago paenitentiam in fauilla et cinere').

17. **uidemus nunc** etc.] 1 Cor. xiii 12.

19. **peregrinor**] Cf. 2 Cor. v 6 'dum sumus in corpore, peregrinamur a Domino.'

22. **fidelis** etc.] 1 Cor. x 13 (Vulg. 'qui non patietur uos temptari supra id quod potestis.' In *Enarr. in Ps.* xciv § 9 A. quotes as here, but in *Enarr. in Ps.* lxi § 20 he has 'permittit...potestis,' so that it is doubtful whether it is a case of loose reminiscence or a different version).

mihi lucente scio, et quod de me nescio, tamdiu nescio, donec fiant tenebrae meae sicut meridies in uultu tuo.

VI. Non dubia, sed certa conscientia, domine, amo te. 8 percussisti cor meum uerbo tuo, et amaui te. sed et caelum et terra et omnia, quae in eis sunt, ecce undique mihi dicunt, ut te amem, nec cessant dicere omnibus, ut sint inexcusabiles. altius autem tu misereberis, cui misertus eris, et misericordiam praestabis, cui misericors fueris: alioquin caelum et terra surdis loquuntur laudes tuas. quid autem amo, cum te amo? non speciem corporis nec decus temporis, non candorem lucis ecce istum amicum oculis, non dulces melodias cantilenarum omnimodarum, non florum et unguentorum et aromatum suauiolentiam, non manna et mella, non membra acceptabilia carnis amplexibus: non haec amo, cum amo deum meum. et tamen amo quandam lucem et quandam uocem et quendam odorem et quendam cibum et quendam amplexum, cum amo deum

1 donec BCFGHMOPQVW, quam diu S. 11 istum] istis BCFGHMOPQW *edd.*

2. **tenebrae** etc.] Isa. lviii 10.

VI. *The beginning of his self-examination. He is confident that he loves God; but what does he love when he loves God? The object of his love is none of the fair things of earth, but something of which all these are symbols. His thoughts interrogate the earth, the air, the heavens and the whole universe, and they answer, 'We are not God, but He made us.' A. pauses to ask why this revelation in nature is not equally clear to all. He replies that men by loving material things have subjected themselves to them 'and subjects cannot judge.'*

4. **percussisti cor**] Cf. IX 3 and XII 1.

6. **inexcusabiles**] Rom. i 20.

7. **misereberis**] Rom. ix 15. See above, IX 35 *fin.*

9. **quid autem amo** etc.] Cf. Giles Fletcher *Christ's Triumph after Death*:

'It is no flaming lustre made of light;
No sweet concent nor well-timed harmony;
Ambrosia for to feast the appetite,
Or flowery odour mixed with spicery;
No sweet embrace nor pleasure bodily;
And yet it is a kind of inward feast,
A harmony that sounds within the breast;
An odour, light, embrace, in which the soul doth rest.'

10. **ecce istum**] The combination of the demonstrative particle with the pronoun a colloquial usage found chiefly in the comedians.

11. **cantilenarum**] In classical writers usually disparagingly; cf. 'an old song' (Cic. *Att.* I 19. 8 'ut crebro mihi...insusurret cantilenam illam suam'). Later, without this shade of meaning, *e.g.* Gell. IX 4. 14 'notissima illa ueterum poetarum ...cantilena.'

meum, lucem, uocem, odorem, cibum, amplexum interioris hominis mei; ubi fulget animae meae, quod non capit locus; et ubi sonat, quod non rapit tempus; et ubi olet, quod non spargit flatus; et ubi sapit, quod non minuit edacitas; et ubi haeret, quod non diuellit satietas. hoc est quod amo, cum deum meum amo.

9 Et quid est hoc? interrogaui terram, et dixit: "non sum"; et quaecumque in eadem sunt, idem confessa sunt. interrogaui mare et abyssos et reptilia animarum uiuarum, et responderunt: "non sumus deus tuus; quaere super nos." interrogaui auras flabiles, et inquit uniuersus aer cum incolis suis: "fallitur Anaximenes; non sum deus." interrogaui caelum, solem, lunam, stellas: "neque nos sumus deus, quem quaeris," inquiunt. et dixi omnibus, quae circumstant fores carnis meae: "dicite mihi de deo meo, quod uos non estis, dicite mihi de illo aliquid." et exclamauerunt uoce magna: "ipse fecit nos." interrogatio mea intentio mea et responsio eorum species eorum. et direxi me ad me et dixi mihi: "tu quis es?" et respondi: "homo." et ecce corpus et anima in me mihi praesto sunt, unum exterius et alterum interius. quid horum est, unde

11 flauiles BS. 12 sum] sumus GO. 14 omnibus] +his BCFHMOPQW*o*, +iis G *m*. 15 dicite] dixistis *mo*.

7. **interrogaui terram**] This is yet another version of the Neo-Platonic discipline, with a scriptural colouring. See Harnack *H. D.* i 352 (E.T.) and cf. Plotinus *Enn.* v 1. 4 'If anyone admires the world of sense, beholding at once its greatness and its beauty and the order of its eternal course...let him mount up to the original pattern and the more real world...and behold also the pure intelligence and the inconceivable wisdom that preside over them.' See the fine passage in Liddon *Some Elements of Religion* Lect. II p. 67, where these words of A. are quoted.

9. **reptilia** etc.] Cf. Gen. i 20 'reptile animae uiuentis.'

12. **Anaximenes**] *Ἀναξιμένης... ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀέρα ἀπεφήνατο, ἐκ γὰρ τούτου τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι...λέγεται δὲ συνωνύμως ἀὴρ καὶ πνεῦμα.* Plut. *de Plac. Phil.* I 3. 6.

15. **quod uos non estis**] 'that which ye are not,' referring of course to 'deo meo,' but neuter because it is the connotation rather than the denotation of the personal name which is in view.

16. **ipse fecit nos**] Ps. xcix (c) 3.

20. **unde**] The use of 'unde' here is probably a development of the instrumental use of 'de,' noted above at v 5, the meaning being 'by means of which.' For another extension of the use of 'unde,' cf. IX 6, and § 37 below.

quaerere debui deum meum, quem iam quaesiueram per corpus a terra usque ad caelum, quousque potui mittere nuntios radios oculorum meorum? sed melius quod interius. ei quippe renuntiabant omnes nuntii corporales praesidenti et iudicanti de responsionibus caeli et terrae et omnium, quae in eis sunt, dicentium: "non sumus deus" et: "ipse fecit nos." homo interior cognouit haec per exterioris ministerium; ego interior cognoui haec, ego, ego animus, per sensum corporis mei. interrogaui mundi molem de deo meo, et respondit mihi: "non ego sum, sed ipse me fecit."

Nonne omnibus, quibus integer sensus est, apparet haec species? cur non omnibus eadem loquitur? animalia pusilla et magna uident eam, sed interrogare nequeunt. non enim praeposita est in eis nuntiantibus sensibus iudex ratio. homines autem possunt interrogare, ut inuisibilia dei per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciant, sed amore subduntur eis et subditi iudicare non possunt. nec respondent ista interrogantibus nisi iudicantibus nec uocem suam mutant, id est speciem suam, si alius tantum uideat, alius autem uidens interroget, ut aliter illi appareat, aliter huic, sed eodem modo utrique apparens illi muta est, huic loquitur: inmo uero omnibus loquitur, sed illi intellegunt, qui eius uocem acceptam foris intus cum ueritate conferunt. ueritas enim dicit mihi:

5 responsionibus] singulis r. *m.* 6 et] sed GM *m.* 8 sensum] sensus BGHM¹PQ *m.* 14 sensibus] sensus S. 16 conspiciantur BPQV *edd.*

2. **nuntios radios oculorum**] Cf. *Serm.* cclxxvii 10. 10 'quod enim uidis, oculi tui radio contingis. si uelis uidere longius, et interponatur aliquod corpus, irruit radius in corpus obiectum, et transire non permittitur ad id quod uidere desideras.' See Siebeck *Geschichte der Psych.* ii 187; Diog. Laërt. VII 157 and cf. VII 16 *sup.* note ('reuerberasti').

13. **non enim praeposita** etc.] Animals have, according to A., the 'interior sensus,' which correlates the data of sense-perception, but not 'ratio' which forms judgments. Cf. VII 23.

15. **inuisibilia dei**] Rom. i 20.

16. **amore subduntur eis**] Cf. Plotinus' saying *Enn.* V 1. 1 that to admire, and take as an object of pursuit, anything of a nature different from one's own is to acknowledge inferiority to it.

23. **intus cum ueritate**] *i.e.* with the standard furnished by the higher mind, which, according to the Neo-Platonic teaching, is ours

"non est deus tuus caelum et terra neque omne corpus." hoc dicit eorum natura. uident: moles est, minor in parte quam in toto. iam tu melior es, tibi dico, anima, quoniam tu uegetas molem corporis tui praebens ei uitam, quod nullum corpus praestat corpori. deus autem tuus etiam tibi uitae uita est.

11 VII. Quid ergo amo, cum deum amo? quis est ille super caput animae meae? per ipsam animam meam ascendam ad illum. transibo uim meam, qua haereo corpori et uitaliter compagem eius repleo. non ea ui reperio deum meum: nam reperiret et equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus, et est eadem uis, qua uiuunt etiam eorum corpora. est alia uis, non solum qua uiuifico sed etiam qua sensifico carnem meam, quam mihi fabricauit dominus, iubens oculo, ut non audiat, et auri, ut non uideat, sed illi, per quem uideam, huic, per quam audiam, et propria singillatim ceteris sensibus sedibus et officiis suis: quae diuersa per eos ago unus ego animus. transibo et istam uim meam; nam et hanc habet equus et mulus: sentiunt etiam ipsi per corpus.

12 VIII. Transibo ergo et istam naturae meae, gradibus

2 uident] uidens CMV, uidenti H *mo* uide en BFPQ. minor]+est BHPQVW, +est et M, moles minor est *mo*. 6 deum]+meum BCFGHMOPQVW *edd*. 10 *tert*. et] quia *mo*. 15 sedibus]+suis BCFGHMOPQVW *edd*. 17 sentiunt]+enim BCFGHMOPQVW *edd*.

but not of us. Cf. Plotinus *Enn.* V 1. 10, 11; V 3. 3. See above VII 14 and 23, with notes there. In *de Ciu. Dei* VIII 7, A. says of the Neo-Platonists: 'lumen autem mentium esse dixerunt ad discenda omnia, eundem ipsum Deum, a quo facta sunt omnia.'

2. **uident**] refers back to 'illi (intellegunt),' the intervening words being regarded as parenthetical.

VII. *He passes from external nature to his own soul and interrogates in turn its various powers. He begins with the lowest, that vital force by which the soul animates the body; God is not found here, for the animals have this and yet they know not God. He passes next to the inner sense which presides over the life of sensation. But God is not found here; for this, too, the animals possess.*

10. **equus et mulus** etc.] Ps. xxxi (xxxii) 9.

11. **est alia uis** etc.] For the gradation of mental life cf. VII 23.

12. **uiuifico...sensifico**] Compounds formed with 'facio' become increasingly frequent in late Latin. 'Viuifico' is first cited from Old Latin versions, in Jn v 21 etc., and 'sensifico' from the present passage.

VIII. *He comes, next, in his progress upward within the soul, to 'memory' (which he uses in a wide sense, almost as equivalent to consciousness), and expatiates upon its various and wonderful powers.*

ascendens ad eum, qui fecit me, et uenio in campos et lata praetoria memoriae, ubi sunt thesauri innumerabilium imaginum de cuiuscemodi rebus sensis inuectarum. ibi reconditum est, quidquid etiam cogitamus, uel augendo uel minuendo uel utcumque uariando ea quae sensus attigerit, et si quid aliud conmendatum et repositum est, quod nondum absorbuit et sepeliuit obliuio. ibi quando sum, posco, ut proferatur quidquid uolo, et quaedam statim prodeunt, quaedam requiruntur diutius et tamquam de abstrusioribus quibusdam receptaculis eruuntur, quaedam cateruatim se proruunt et, dum aliud petitur et quaeritur, prosiliunt in medium quasi dicentia: "ne forte nos sumus?" et abigo ea manu cordis a facie recordationis meae, donec enubiletur quod uolo atque in conspectum prodeat ex abditis. alia faciliter atque inperturbata serie sicut poscuntur suggeruntur et cedunt praecedentia consequentibus et cedendo conduntur, iterum cum uoluero processura. quod totum fit, cum aliquid narro memoriter.

Ubi sunt omnia distincte generatimque seruata, quae suo 13 quaeque aditu ingesta sunt, sicut lux atque omnes colores formaeque corporum per oculos, per aures autem omnia genera sonorum omnesque odores per aditum narium, omnes sapores per oris aditum, a sensu autem totius corporis, quid durum, quid molle, quid calidum frigidumue, lene aut asperum, graue seu leue, siue extrinsecus siue intrinsecus corpori? haec omnia recipit recolenda, cum opus est, et retractanda grandis memoriae recessus et nescio qui secreti atque ineffabiles sinus eius: quae omnia suis quaeque foribus intrant ad eam et reponuntur in ea. nec ipsa tamen intrant, sed rerum sensarum imagines

18 ubi] ibi BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

2. **praetoria**] Cf. 'aula' § 14.
ib. **memoriae**] A.'s treatment of memory here, alike in the importance which he attaches to it and in the subtlety of his analyses, is a notably original feature of his psychology. Other important passages in regard to memory are *de Trin.* XI §§ 11—18, XIV 13—16, XV 39—43; *Ep.* VII; *de Mus.* VI 4—6; *de Quant. Anim.* V 8; *c. Ep. Manich.* XVII.

13. **enubiletur**] 'becomes clear.' Tertullian (*Apol.* XXXV) is the earliest author cited for the word. He uses it in a material sense: 'clarissimis lucernis uestibula enubilabant.'

illic praesto sunt cogitationi reminiscentis eas. quae quomodo fabricatae sint quis dicit, cum appareat, quibus sensibus raptae sint interiusque reconditae? nam et in tenebris atque in silentio dum habito, in memoria mea profero, si uolo, colores, et discerno inter album et nigrum et inter quos alios uolo, nec incurrunt soni atque perturbant quod per oculos haustum considero, cum et ipsi ibi sint et quasi seorsum repositi lateant. nam et ipsos posco, si placet, atque adsunt ilico, et quiescente lingua ac silente gutture canto quantum uolo, imaginesque illae colorum, quae nihilo minus ibi sunt, non se interponunt neque interrumpunt, cum thesaurus alius retractatur, qui influxit ab auribus. ita cetera, quae per sensus ceteros ingesta atque congesta sunt, recordor prout libet et auram liliorum discerno a uiolis nihil olfaciens et mel defruto, lene aspero, nihil tum gustando neque contractando, sed reminiscendo antepono.

14 Intus haec ago, in aula ingenti memoriae meae. ibi enim mihi caelum et terra et mare praesto sunt cum omnibus, quae in eis sentire potui, praeter illa, quae oblitus sum. ibi mihi et ipse occurro meque recolo, quid, quando et ubi egerim, quoque modo, cum agerem, affectus fuerim. ibi sunt omnia, quae siue experta a me siue credita memini. ex eadem copia etiam similitudines rerum uel expertarum uel ex eis, quas expertus sum, creditarum alias atque alias et ipse contexo

1 reminiscenti BCFGHMOPQV *edd.*

10. **non se interponunt** etc.] Siebeck remarks that many of A.'s problems are still problems, *e.g.* the power of memory to classify its contents (*Die Anfänge der neueren Psychologie in der Scholastik*, Fichte's *Zeitschrift für Philos. Krit.* xciii).

13. **auram liliorum discerno** etc.] The olfactory images are usually not nearly so clear as those of the other senses, but A. here and elsewhere shows that his sense-perception and sense-memory were unusually keen. He does not merely mean that he can remember that there is a difference, but that he can in imagination 'sense' the difference, as most people can in imagination compare shades of colour.

18. **praeter illa, quae oblitus sum**] The fulness of sense-experience is not capable of being completely revived in memory, yet even those parts of it which are wanting in the schematic image are recognised when the experience recurs, showing that they have left some trace.

ib. **ibi mihi** etc.] *i.e.* memory does not deal with mere externals but with the experiences of the self as such.

praeteritis atque ex his etiam futuras actiones et euenta et spes, et haec omnia rursus quasi praesentia meditor. "faciam hoc et illud" dico apud me in ipso ingenti sinu animi mei pleno tot et tantarum rerum imaginibus, et hoc aut illud sequitur. "o si esset hoc aut illud!" "auertat deus hoc aut illud!" dico apud me ista et, cum dico, praesto sunt imagines omnium quae dico ex eodem thesauro memoriae, nec omnino aliquid eorum dicerem, si defuissent.

Magna ista uis est memoriae, magna nimis, deus, penetrale amplum et infinitum. quis ad fundum eius peruenit? et uis est haec animi mei atque ad meam naturam pertinet, nec ego ipse capio totum, quod sum. ergo animus ad habendum se ipsum angustus est, ut ubi sit quod sui non capit? numquid extra ipsum ac non in ipso? quomodo ergo non capit? multa mihi super hoc oboritur admiratio, stupor adprehendit me. et eunt homines mirari alta montium et ingentes fluctus maris et latissimos lapsus fluminum et Oceani ambitum et gyros siderum et relinquunt se ipsos nec mirantur, quod haec omnia cum dicerem, non ea uidebam oculis, nec tamen dicerem, nisi montes et fluctus et flumina et sidera, quae uidi, et Oceanum, quem credidi, intus in memoria mea uiderem spatiis tam ingentibus, quasi foris uiderem. nec ea tamen uidendo absorbui, quando uidi oculis, nec ipsa sunt apud me, sed imagines eorum, et noui, quid ex quo sensu corporis inpressum sit mihi.

IX. Sed non ea sola gestat immensa ista capacitas memoriae meae. hic sunt et illa omnia, quae de doctrinis liberalibus

9 deus]+meus BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 13 ut] et CH *mo.*

7. **ex eodem thesauro**] That something more than memory—viz. a modifying and combining activity—goes to the formation of imaginary pictures A. was well aware. Cf. *Ep.* vii, *Nebridio.* Here, the point is that memory is necessarily involved, as contributing the materials for this imaginary reconstruction.

13. **ut ubi sit**] 'so that the question arises where' etc.

18. **relinquunt se ipsos**] Cf. Plotinus *Enn.* V 1. 2 *εἰ δ' ὅτι ἔμψυχον διωκτὸν ἔσται, τί παρεὶς τις ἑαυτὸν ἄλλον διώκει; τὴν δὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ ψυχὴν ἀγάμενος σεαυτὸν ἄγασαι.*

IX. *The same subject continued. The difference between knowledge and the memory-image of sense-impressions.*

percepta nondum exciderunt, quasi remota interiore loco, non loco; nec eorum imagines, sed res ipsas gero. nam quid sit litteratura, quid peritia disputandi, quot genera quaestionum, quidquid horum scio, sic est in memoria mea, ut non retenta imagine rem foris reliquerim, aut sonuerit aut praeterierit, sicut uox inpressa per aures uestigio, quo recoleretur, quasi sonaret, cum iam non sonaret, aut sicut odor dum transit et uanescit in uentos, olfactum afficit, unde traicit in memoriam imaginem sui, quam reminiscendo repetamus, aut sicut cibus, qui certe in uentre iam non sapit et tamen in memoria quasi sapit, aut sicut aliquid, quod corpore tangendo sentitur, quod etiam separatum a nobis imaginatur memoria. istae quippe res non intromittuntur ad eam, sed earum solae imagines mira celeritate capiuntur et miris tamquam cellis reponuntur et mirabiliter recordando proferuntur.

17 X. At uero, cum audio tria genera esse quaestionum, an sit, quid sit, quale sit, sonorum quidem, quibus haec uerba confecta sunt, imagines teneo et eos per auras cum strepitu transisse ac iam non esse scio. res uero ipsas, quae illis significantur sonis, neque ullo sensu corporis attigi neque uspiam uidi praeter animum meum et in memoria recondidi non imagines earum, sed ipsas: quae unde ad me intrauerint dicant, si possunt. nam percurro ianuas omnes carnis meae nec inuenio, qua earum ingressae sint. quippe oculi dicunt: "si coloratae sunt, nos eas nuntiauimus"; aures dicunt: "si sonuerunt, a nobis indicatae sunt"; nares dicunt: "si oluerunt, per nos transierunt"; dicit etiam sensus gustandi: "si sapor non est, nihil me interroges"; tactus dicit: "si corpulentum

5 aut praeterierit] et p. BCFHPQV *edd.* 7 euanescit GHMQ *edd.* 13 eorum S *Knöll.*

1. **interiore loco, non loco**] *in some inner place, which is yet not a place.*

16. **tria genera...quaestionum**] It is implied that this was a regular division current in the rhetorical schools. Cf. the reference in IV 28 *sup.* to Aristotle's *Categories* as being rather outside the ordinary range of study.

X. *The discussion of memory continued. What is it to know, and how do we recognise truth?*

non est, non contrectaui; si non contrectaui, non indicaui." unde et qua haec intrauerunt in memoriam meam? nescio quomodo; nam cum ea didici, non credidi alieno cordi, sed in meo recognoui et uera esse approbaui et conmendaui ei tamquam reponens, unde proferrem, cum uellem. ibi ergo erant et antequam ea didicissem, sed in memoria non erant? ubi ergo aut quare, cum dicerentur, agnoui et dixi: "ita est, uerum est," nisi quia iam erant in memoria, sed tam remota et retrusa quasi in cauis abditioribus, ut nisi admonente aliquo eruerentur, ea fortasse cogitare non possem?

XI. Quocirca inuenimus nihil esse aliud discere ista, 18
quorum non per sensus haurimus imagines, sed sine imaginibus, sicuti sunt, per se ipsa intus cernimus, nisi ea, quae passim atque indisposite memoria continebat, cogitando quasi colligere atque animaduertendo curare, ut tamquam ad manum posita in ipsa memoria, ubi sparsa prius et neglecta latitabant, iam familiari intentioni facile occurrant. et quam multa huius modi gestat memoria mea, quae iam inuenta sunt et, sicut dixi, quasi ad manum posita, quae didicisse et nosse dicimur. quae si modestis temporum interuallis recolere desiuero, ita rursus demerguntur et quasi in remotiora penetralia dilabuntur, ut denuo uelut noua excogitanda sint indidem iterum—neque enim est alia regio eorum—et cogenda rursus, ut sciri possint, id est uelut ex quadam dispersione colligenda, unde dictum est cogitare. nam cogo et cogito sic est, ut ago et agito, facio et factito. uerum tamen sibi animus hoc uerbum proprie uindi-

9 caueis CFHMQ² *edd.* 23 alia BCFGHMOPQVW, aliqua S.

8. **iam erant in memoria**] Here A. inclines to the Platonic doctrine that learning is reminiscence (τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν ἄρα καὶ τὸ μανθάνειν ἀνάμνησις ὅλον ἐστίν. *Meno* 81 D). Later he relinquished this opinion and preferred to say that the mind had a natural affinity for the things of the intelligible world. See *Retract.* I 8. 2; and *de Trin.* XII 15. 24, where he criticises the doctrine of the *Meno*.

XI. *To learn is to revive knowledge which is latent in the mind, to collect and lay ready to hand things which were dispersed in obscure recesses of the memory.*

25. **cogito**] The derivation from 'cogo' is given by Varro *Ling. Lat.* VI 43.

cauit, ut non quod alibi, sed quod in animo colligitur, id est cogitur, cogitari proprie iam dicatur.

XII. Item continet memoria numerorum dimensionumque rationes et leges innumerabiles, quarum nullam corporis sensus inpressit, quia nec ipsae coloratae sunt aut sonant aut olent aut gustatae aut contrectatae sunt. audiui sonos uerborum, quibus significantur, cum de his disseritur, sed illi alii, istae autem aliae sunt. nam illi aliter graece, aliter latine sonant, istae uero nec graecae nec latinae sunt nec aliud eloquiorum genus. uidi lineas fabrorum uel etiam tenuissimas, sicut filum araneae; sed illae aliae sunt, non sunt imagines earum, quas mihi nuntiauit carnis oculus: nouit eas quisquis sine ulla cogitatione qualiscumque corporis intus agnouit eas. sensi etiam numeros omnibus corporis sensibus, quos numeramus; sed illi alii sunt, quibus numeramus, nec imagines istorum sunt et ideo ualde sunt. rideat me ista dicentem, qui non eos uidet, et ego doleam ridentem me.

XIII. Haec omnia memoria teneo et quomodo ea didicerim memoria teneo. multa etiam, quae aduersus haec falsissime disputantur, audiui et memoria teneo; quae tamenetsi falsa

13 intus BCGHMOPQVW, sensus S. 20 tamenetsi] tametsi BCGHMOPQV *edd.*

XII. *Abstract conceptions, such as the ideal line of the geometrician, show that the memory has within it that which is not given to it by the senses.*

10. **lineas fabrorum**] 'Artificers' designs.'

11. **illae**] sc. 'rationes et leges.'

13. **sensi etiam numeros** etc.] The sentence is difficult owing to the hyperbaton ('quos numeramus' refers to 'numeros,' though grammatically it might refer to 'sensibus'), and to the vague reference of 'istorum.' 'I have apprehended the numbers which we name in counting ('quos numeramus'='which we count over') by all the various senses (*e.g.* heard their names, seen the figures etc.), but those by which we (really) count are other than these, nor are they images of the sensible numbers, and therefore they have real existence.' From a passage in *de Mus.* VI 6. 16 sq. it appears that by these ideal numbers A. refers to the innate sense of proportion which causes us to find pleasure in rhythm etc. Both Plato and the Neo-Platonists deal with the doctrine of intelligible numbers, but A.'s treatment is less mystical and more psychological than theirs.

XIII. *We can not only remember the actual things learned, but we can call to remembrance the act of remembering them at various times since we learned them.*

sunt, tamen ea meminisse me non est falsum; et discreuisse me inter illa uera et haec falsa, quae contradicuntur, et hoc memini aliterque nunc uideo cernere me ista, aliter autem memini saepe me discreuisse, cum ea saepe cogitarem. ergo et intellexisse me saepius ista memini, et quod nunc discerno et intellego, recondo in memoria, ut postea me nunc intellexisse meminerim. et meminisse me memini, sicut postea, quod haec reminisci nunc potui, si recordabor, utique per uim memoriae recordabor.

XIV. Affectiones quoque animi mei eadem memoria 21 continet non eo modo, quo eas habet ipse animus, cum patitur eas, sed alio multum diuerso, sicut sese habet uis memoriae. nam et laetatum me fuisse reminiscor non laetus et tristitiam meam praeteritam recordor non tristis et me aliquando timuisse recolo sine timore et pristinae cupiditatis sine cupiditate sum memor. aliquando et e contrario tristitiam meam transactam laetus reminiscor et tristis laetitiam. quod mirandum non est de corpore: aliud enim animus, aliud corpus. itaque si praeteritum dolorem corporis gaudens memini, non ita mirum est. hic uero cum animus sit etiam ipsa memoria—nam et cum

3 cernere] discernere BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* 7 et] ergo et BCGHMOPQ *edd.* 11 eo] illo BCGHMOPQVW *edd.*

XIV. *We are capable of remembering pains and pleasures, and these, not only of the body, but of the mind. Yet to remember sorrow is not necessarily to be sorrowful, nor does the remembrance of joy always make us happy. How is it that there can be joy in the mind when there is sorrow in the memory? Does not the memory belong to the mind? Is the memory, so to speak, the belly of the mind, the contents of which can no longer be tasted? But then to recall an emotion would be like chewing the cud; when we remembered the emotion we should experience it again. This comparison, he says, is not wholly applicable, for we can speak of the emotions without feeling them. Yet what we have in the mind when we speak of them is not the mere sound of the word, but some kind of notion which former experience has impressed upon the mind.*

17. **et tristis laetitiam**] 'Nessun maggior dolore che ricordarsi del tempo felice nella miseria.'

Dante *Inferno* v 120—3.

20. **cum animus sit...ipsa memoria**] The whole difficulty arises from this loose identification of mind and memory under a kind of spatial conception. Memory is no doubt a function of mind, but it is characterised precisely by the reference of its content to the past. The emotional colouring of past experi-

mandamus aliquid, ut memoriter habeatur, dicimus: "uide, ut illud in animo habeas," et cum obliuiscimur, dicimus: "non fuit in animo" et "elapsum est animo," ipsam memoriam uocantes animum—cum ergo ita sit, quid est hoc, quod cum tristitiam meam praeteritam laetus memini, animus habet laetitiam et memoria tristitiam, laetusque est animus ex eo, quod inest ei laetitia, memoria uero ex eo, quod inest ei tristitia, tristis non est? num forte non pertinet ad animum? quis hoc dixerit? nimirum ergo memoria quasi uenter est animi, laetitia uero atque tristitia quasi cibus dulcis et amarus: cum memoriae conmendantur, quasi traiecta in uentrem recondi illic possunt, sapere non possunt. ridiculum est haec illis similia putare, nec tamen sunt omni modo dissimilia.

22 Sed ecce de memoria profero, cum dico quattuor esse perturbationes animi, cupiditatem, laetitiam, metum, tristitiam, et quidquid de his disputare potuero diuidendo singula per species sui cuiusque generis et definiendo, ibi inuenio quid dicam atque inde profero, nec tamen ulla earum perturbatione perturbor, cum eas reminiscendo conmemoro; et antequam recolerentur a me et retractarentur, ibi erant; propterea inde per recordationem potuere depromi. forte ergo sicut de uentre cibus ruminando, sic ista de memoria recordando proferuntur. cur igitur in ore cogitationis non sentitur a disputante, hoc est a reminiscente, laetitiae dulcedo uel amaritudo maestitiae? an in hoc dissimile est, quod non undique simile est? quis

ence is naturally modified by the fact that in the very act of recall it is recognised as not present.

5. **animus habet laetitiam** etc.] The paradox is produced by dropping the determination 'praeteritam' (technically, the fallacy 'a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter'), and using 'habet' ambiguously—with 'animus'=experiences; with 'memoria'=holds.

14. **quattuor ... perturbationes animi**] Cf. Cic. *de Fin.* III 10. 35 'omnesque eae (perturbationes) sunt genere quattuor...aegritudo, formido, libido, quamque Stoici communi nomine corporis et animi ἡδονήν appellant, ego malo laetitiam appellare.' In *Tusc. Disp.* IV 6. 11 he remarks that of these, two have to do with goods present and future ('laetitia, libido'), two with ills present and future ('aegritudo, metus').

25. **an in hoc** etc.] *or is this precisely the point of difference between these processes which are partially alike?*

enim talia uolens loqueretur, si quotiens tristitiam metumue nominamus, totiens maerere uel timere cogeremur? et tamen non ea loqueremur, nisi in memoria nostra non tantum sonos nominum secundum imagines inpressas a sensibus corporis sed etiam rerum ipsarum notiones inueniremus, quas nulla ianua carnis accepimus, sed eas ipse animus per experientiam passionum suarum sentiens memoriae conmendauit aut ipsa sibi haec etiam non conmendata retinuit.

XV. Sed utrum per imagines an non, quis facile dixerit? 23 nomino quippe lapidem, nomino solem, cum res ipsae non adsunt sensibus meis; in memoria sane mea praesto sunt imagines earum. nomino dolorem corporis, nec mihi adest, dum nihil dolet; nisi tamen adesset imago eius in memoria mea, nescirem quid dicerem, nec eum in disputando a uolup- tate discernerem. nomino salutem corporis, cum saluus sum corpore; adest mihi res ipsa; uerum tamen nisi et imago eius esset in memoria mea, nullo modo recordarer, quid huius nominis significaret sonus, nec aegrotantes agnoscerent, salute nominata, quid esset dictum, nisi eadem imago ui memoriae teneretur, quamuis ipsa res abesset a corpore. nomino numeros, quibus numeramus: en assunt in memoria mea non imagines eorum, sed ipsi. nomino imaginem solis, et haec adest in memoria mea; neque enim imaginem imaginis eius, sed ipsam recolo: ipsa mihi reminiscenti praesto est. nomino memoriam et agnosco quod nomino. et ubi agnosco nisi in ipsa memoria? num et ipsa per imaginem suam sibi adest ac non per se ipsam?

16 mihi]+ quidem BCGHMOPQW *edd.* 17 esset] inesset BCGHMOPQV *edd.*

XV. *Exactly how emotions and mental states are recalled, it is hard to say. Is it by an image as in the case of sensible objects, or directly, as in the case of ideas?*

13. **nisi tamen adesset imago]** There is, in fact, in recalling emotional states a tendency to re-experience them more or less faintly. As A. notes above, the tendency would not in a scientific discussion reach the level of consciousness, but as an orator he must often have made use of this tendency in his hearers.

26. **num...per se ipsam]** In inclining to the latter alternative A.'s psychology is less accurate than

24 XVI. Quid, cum obliuionem nomino atque itidem agnosco quod nomino? unde agnosco rem, nisi meminissem? non eundem sonum nominis dico, sed rem, quam significat; quam si oblitus essem, quid ille ualeret sonus, agnoscere utique non ualerem. cum memoriam memini, per se ipsam sibi praesto est ipsa memoria; cum uero memini obliuionem, et memoria praesto est et obliuio, memoria, ex qua meminerim, obliuio, quam meminerim. sed quid est obliuio nisi priuatio memoriae? quomodo ergo adest, ut eam meminerim, quando cum adest meminisse non possum? at si quod meminimus memoria retinemus, obliuionem autem nisi meminissemus, nequaquam possimus audito isto nomine rem, quae illo significatur, agnoscere, memoria retinetur obliuio. adest ergo, ne obliuiscamur, quae cum adest, obliuiscimur. an ex hoc intellegitur non se per

2 agnosco rem S, agnoscerem BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* 12 possemus BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* 14 se per ipsam] per se ipsam BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

usual. It is true that there is an actual exercise of memory in recalling what is meant by 'memory,' but it is not this present act that is 'remembered,' but a generalised concept drawn from the numerous cases in which we have gone through the experience of remembering. It would therefore be more correct to say that memory is remembered 'by its image' (if this were the only alternative—in § 26, below, A. uses the more appropriate term 'notatio') than 'by itself.' The difficulties of the latter theory appear in the next paragraph where he seeks to apply it to 'obliuio.'

XVI. *If mental states were recalled by direct revival, how could we remember the experience of forgetting? The presence of forgetting would mean the absence of memory. But even if mental states are recalled by means of images, how can we suppose that 'oblivion' impressed an image of itself upon the mind, when its characteristic is to wipe out the impressions which it finds there already? A. leaves this difficulty (which turns mainly on an ambiguity in his use of terms) unsolved.*

1. **quid, cum obliuionem** etc.] By analogy, A. seems to imply, the same explanation ought to apply to the remembrance of 'obliuio' as to that of 'memoria'; but in the case of the former the theory that remembrance consists in the complete reinstatement of the experience leads to the paradox that when we remember what 'obliuio' is we are in a state of oblivion. This, he perceives, is a 'reductio ad absurdum' of the theory so far as 'obliuio' is concerned. There is a certain looseness in his use of 'obliuio,' but it does not here vitiate the argument as it does in the next paragraph.

13. **adest ergo...obliuiscimur**] *It is present, or else we should forget it; but its presence means that we do forget.*

ipsam inesse memoriae, cum eam meminimus, sed per imaginem suam, quia, si per se ipsam praesto esset obliuio, non ut meminissemus, sed ut obliuisceremur, efficeret? et hoc quis tandem indagabit? quis conprehendet, quomodo sit?

Ego certe, domine, laboro hic et laboro in me ipso: factus sum mihi terra difficultatis et sudoris nimii. neque enim nunc scrutamur plagas caeli aut siderum interualla demetimur uel terrae libramenta quaerimus: ego sum, qui memini, ego animus. non ita mirum, si a me longe est quidquid ego non sum: quid autem propinquius me ipso mihi? et ecce memoriae meae uis non conprehenditur a me, cum ipsum me non dicam praeter illam. quid enim dicturus sum, quando mihi certum est meminisse me obliuionem? an dicturus sum non esse in memoria mea quod memini? an dicturus sum ad hoc inesse obliuionem in memoria mea, ut non obliuiscar? utrumque absurdissimum est. quid illud tertium? quo pacto dicam imaginem obliuionis teneri memoria mea, non ipsam obliuionem, cum eam memini? quo pacto et hoc dicam, quandoquidem cum inprimitur rei cuiusque imago in memoria, prius necesse est, ut adsit res ipsa, unde illa imago possit inprimi? sic enim Carthaginis memini, sic omnium locorum, quibus interfui, sic facies hominum, quas uidi, et ceterorum sensuum nuntiata, sic ipsius corporis salutem siue dolorem: cum praesto essent ista, cepit ab eis imagines memoria, quas intuerer praesentes et retractarem animo, cum illa et absentia reminiscerer. si ergo per imaginem suam, non per se ipsam in memoria tenetur obliuio, ipsa utique aderat, ut eius imago

6. **terra difficultatis et sudoris**] An allusion, apparently, to Gen. iii 17—19.

7. **scrutamur** etc.] Cicero, *de Diu.* II 13. 30, quotes, in reference to the pride of natural-philosophers, a line of Ennius:

'Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat; caeli scrutantur plagas.'

8. **terrae libramenta**] In *Adnot. in Iob* A. quotes from Job xxviii 25 'uentorum libramenta atque mensuras' where 'libramenta' is apparently used in the sense of 'weight'; and this is probably the meaning here. The most frequent applications of the word are to the 'balancing weights' of a ballista, and to the 'inclination' of an aqueduct.

21. **Carthaginis memini...salutem**] A curious transition from genitive after 'memini' to accusative.

caperetur. cum autem adesset, quomodo imaginem suam in memoria conscribebat, quando id etiam, quod iam notatum inuenit, praesentia sua delet obliuio? et tamen quocumque modo, licet sit modus iste inconprehensibilis et inexplicabilis, ipsam obliuionem meminisse me certus sum, qua id quod meminerimus obruitur.

26 XVII. Magna uis est memoriae, nescio quid horrendum, deus meus, profunda et infinita multiplicitas; et hoc animus est, et hoc ego ipse sum. quid ergo sum, deus meus? quae natura sum? uaria, multimoda uita et inmensa uehementer. ecce in memoriae meae campis et antris et cauernis innumerabilibus atque innumerabiliter plenis innumerabilium rerum generibus siue per imagines, sicut omnium corporum, siue per praesentiam, sicut artium, siue per nescio quas notiones uel notationes, sicut affectionum animi—quas et cum animus non patitur, memoria tenet, cum in animo sit quidquid est in memoria—per haec omnia discurro et uolito hac illac, penetro etiam quantum possum, et finis nusquam: tanta uis est memoriae, tanta uitae uis est in homine uiuente mortaliter! quid igitur agam, tu uera mea uita, deus meus? transibo et hanc uim meam, quae memoria uocatur, transibo eam, ut pertendam ad te, dulce lumen. quid dicis mihi? ego ascendens per animum meum ad te, qui desuper mihi manes, transibo et istam uim meam, quae memoria uocatur, uolens te attingere,

5 ipsam] etiam i. BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 22 ego] ecce e. BCGHMOPQVW *edd.*

1. **quomodo ... conscribebat**] This difficulty is wholly artificial. The state of forgetting, of being unable to recall something which we wish to recall, is a definite mental experience with distinctive sensory and emotional characteristics which 'inscribe themselves on the memory' as clearly as in the case of any other mental state. But A. uses 'obliuio' at one moment to mean this experience, at another in a quasi-personified sense, and the ambiguity produces its natural result of confusion.

XVII. *Wonderful as we have seen the powers of memory to be, in seeking God man must ascend beyond the memory, which is possessed also by the lower animals, but does not give them a knowledge of God.*

14. **siue per...notationes**] This analysis might have shown A. how he remembered 'obliuio'; which is in fact an 'affectio animi' and as such has its 'notatio.'

unde attingi potes, et inhaerere tibi, unde inhaereri tibi potest. habent enim memoriam et pecora et aues, alioquin non cubilia, non nidos suos repeterent, non alia multa, quibus assuescunt; neque enim et assuescere ualerent ullis rebus nisi per memoriam. transibo ergo et memoriam, ut attingam eum, qui separauit me a quadrupedibus et uolatilibus caeli sapientiorem me fecit. transibo et memoriam, ut ubi te inueniam, uere bone, et secura suauitas, ut ubi te inueniam? si praeter memoriam meam te inuenio, inmemor tui sum. et quomodo iam inueniam te, si memor non sum tui?

XVIII. Perdiderat enim mulier drachmam et quaesiuit 27
eam cum lucerna et, nisi memor eius esset, non inueniret eam. cum enim esset inuenta, unde sciret, utrum ipsa esset, si memor eius non esset? multa memini me perdita quaesisse atque inuenisse. inde istuc scio, quia, cum quaererem aliquid eorum et diceretur mihi: "num forte hoc est?" "num forte illud?" tamdiu dicebam: "non est," donec id offerretur quod quaerebam. cuius nisi memor essem, quidquid illud esset, etiamsi mihi offerretur, non inuenirem, quia non agnoscerem. et sem-
per ita fit, cum aliquid perditum quaerimus et inuenimus. uerum tamen si forte aliquid ab oculis perit, non a memoria, ueluti corpus quodlibet uisibile, tenetur intus imago eius, et quaeritur, donec reddatur aspectui. quod cum inuentum fuerit, ex imagine, quae intus est, recognoscitur. nec inuenisse nos

3 non nidos suos *coniec. Knöll*, non nidosue S, nidosue *cet. et edd.* 7 ut ubi HM¹O, ut ibi S, et ubi BCFPQW *edd.* bona BCFGPQV *mo.* 8 secure M. ut ubi HOV, ut ibi S, et ubi BCFPQ *edd.* 12 inuenisset BGPQ.

2. **cubilia ... repeterent**] Cf. Verg. *Georg.* III 316 'atque ipsae [caprae] memores redeunt in tecta.'

5. **separauit ... fecit**] Job xxxv 11 Old Lat.

9. **quomodo...inueniam te, si memor non sum**] This is the problem of the *Meno*. Cf. 80 D *καὶ τίνα τρόπον ζητήσεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοῦθ' ὃ μὴ οἶσθα τὸ παράπαν ὅ τι ἔστι; ποῖον γὰρ ὧν οὐκ οἶσθα προθέμενος ζητήσεις; ἢ εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστ' ἐντυχοις αὐτῷ, πῶς εἴσει, ὅτι τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ σὺ οὐκ ἠπίστω;*

XVIII. *To seek implies the conviction that we can recognise the object of the search when it is found; and that means that there is an image of it in the memory.*

11. **perdiderat drachmam**] Lk xv 8.

dicimus quod perierat, si non agnoscimus, nec agnoscere possumus, si non meminimus: sed hoc perierat quidem oculis, memoria tenebatur.

28 XIX. Quid? cum ipsa memoria perdit aliquid, sicut fit, cum obliuiscimur et quaerimus, ut recordemur, ubi tandem quaerimus nisi in ipsa memoria? et ibi si aliud pro alio forte offeratur, respuimus, donec illud occurrat quod quaerimus. et cum occurrit, dicimus: "hoc est"; quod non diceremus, nisi agnosceremus, nec agnosceremus, nisi meminissemus. certe enim obliti fueramus. an non totum exciderat, sed ex parte, quae tenebatur, pars alia quaerebatur, quia sentiebat se memoria non simul uoluere, quod simul solebat, et quasi detruncata consuetudine claudicans reddi quod deerat flagitabat? tamquam si homo notus siue conspiciatur oculis siue cogitetur et nomen eius obliti requiramus, quidquid aliud occurrerit non conectitur, quia non cum illo cogitari consueuit ideoque respuitur, donec illud adsit, ubi simul adsuefacta notitia non inaequaliter adquiescat. et unde adest nisi ex ipsa memoria? nam et cum ab alio conmoniti recognoscimus, inde adest. non enim quasi nouum credimus, sed recordantes adprobamus hoc esse, quod dictum est. si autem penitus aboleatur ex animo, nec admoniti reminiscimur. neque enim omni modo adhuc obliti sumus quod uel oblitos nos esse meminimus. hoc ergo nec amissum quaerere poterimus, quod omnino obliti fuerimus.

29 XX. Quomodo ergo te quaero, domine? cum enim te,

10 enim] ergo BCFGHOPQVW *edd.* 11 quae] qua BCGHMPQV *edd.*

XIX. *As, when we seek a lost object, we must have a recollection of the object by which to recognise it, so, when we seek something lost from the memory, we must have a partial recollection of it, or else we should not even know that we had forgotten it.*

10. **ex parte, quae tenebatur** etc.] An accurate piece of analysis. An imperfect memory-image is a kind of outline which lacks the filling-in, *e.g.* in the case of a name we may often recall the rhythm of it and the first letter before the actual sounds re-form themselves.

17. **donec...adquiescat**] *Until that name is forthcoming which our impression of the man accepts as its accustomed complement.*

XX. *All men seek a life of blessedness; therefore they must have*

deum meum, quaero, uitam beatam quaero. quaeram te, ut uiuat anima mea. uiuit enim corpus meum de anima mea et uiuit anima mea de te. quomodo ergo quaero uitam beatam? quia non est mihi, donec dicam "sat, est illic," ubi oportet ut dicam. quomodo eam quaero, utrum per recordationem, tamquam eam oblitus sim oblitumque me esse adhuc teneam, an per appetitum discendi incognitam, siue quam numquam scierim, siue quam sic oblitus fuerim, ut me nec oblitum esse meminerim? nonne ipsa est beata uita, quam omnes uolunt et omnino qui nolit nemo est? ubi nouerunt eam, quod sic uolunt eam? ubi uiderunt, ut amarent eam? nimirum habemus eam nescio quomodo. et est alius quidam modus, quo quisque cum habet eam, tunc beatus est, et sunt, qui spe beati sunt. inferiore modo isti habent eam quam illi, qui iam re ipsa beati sunt, sed tamen meliores quam illi, qui nec re nec spe beati sunt. qui tamen etiam ipsi nisi aliquo modo haberent eam, non ita uellent beati esse: quod eos uelle certissimum est. nescio quomodo nouerunt eam ideoque habent eam in nescio qua notitia, de qua satago, utrum in memoria sit, quia, si ibi est, iam beati fuimus aliquando—utrum singillatim omnes, an in illo homine, qui primus peccauit, in quo et omnes mortui sumus et de quo omnes cum miseria nati sumus, non quaero nunc, sed quaero, utrum in memoria sit beata uita. neque enim amaremus eam, nisi nossemus. audiuimus nomen hoc et omnes rem, omnes nos adpetere fatemur; non enim solo sono delectamur. nam hoc cum latine audit Graecus, non delectatur, quia ignorat, quid dictum sit; nos autem delectamur, sicut etiam ille, si graece hoc audierit, quoniam res ipsa

4 "sat, est illic," ubi] "sat est," illic ubi *mo*, "sat, est illic." ubi *Knöll*. 24 audiuimus] audimus BCFG²HMOPQW *edd*. 25 rem] + ipsam – *alt*. omnes BCFGHMOPQVW *mo*. solo sono *coniec. Knöll*, solo S, sono BCFGHMOPQVW *edd*.

some remembrance of having experienced such a life, though how, or where, A. cannot tell.

1. **ut uiuat** etc.] Isa. lv 3.

21. **in quo...mortui sumus**] Cf. 1 Cor. xv 22. See v 16, note ('peccatum originale').

nec graeca nec latina est, cui adipiscendae Graeci Latinique inhiant ceterarumque linguarum homines. nota est igitur omnibus, qui una uoce si interrogari possent, utrum beati esse uellent, sine ulla dubitatione uelle responderent. quod non fieret, nisi res ipsa, cuius hoc nomen est, eorum memoria teneretur.

XXI. Numquid ita, ut memini Carthaginem qui uidi? non; uita enim beata non uidetur oculis, quia non est corpus. numquid sicut meminimus numeros? non; hos enim qui habet in notitia, non adhuc quaerit adipisci, uitam uero beatam habemus in notitia ideoque amamus et tamen adhuc adipisci eam uolumus, ut beati simus. numquid sicut meminimus eloquentiam? non: quamuis et hoc nomine audito recordentur ipsam rem qui etiam nondum sunt eloquentes, multique esse cupiant, unde apparet eam esse in eorum notitia; tamen per corporis sensus alios eloquentes animaduerterunt et delectati sunt et hoc esse desiderant—quamquam nisi ex interiore notitia non delectarentur, neque hoc esse uellent, nisi delectarentur—

7 meminit BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* uidi *coniec. Knöll*, uidit *codd. et edd.* 13 et hoc] enim et h. BCGOPQVW*o*, enim hoc *Hm.*

1. **cui ... Graeci Latinique inhiant**]
'Die Welt wird alt und wird wieder jung,
Doch der Mensch hofft immer Verbesserung.'
Schiller *Hoffnung.*

XXI. *Our remembrance of the blessed life does not consist of a visual image, as in the case of sensible objects, nor is it like our remembrance of scientific knowledge, which is complete in itself and free from any colouring of desire; we so remember it that we desire to attain to it. Nor do we remember the blessed life as we might remember some kind of skill or excellence which we had observed in others; for this we have not observed. Our remembrance of it is more like our remembrance of our own emotions, in which the recalled experience is often in complete contrast to the present mood. Though men seek happiness in different ways, they all alike seek it, and thus imply that they have known it.*

13. **quamuis ... experimur**] A very cumbrous sentence. Its main purpose is to state the point in which the remembrance of eloquence differs from the remembrance of the blessed life, viz. that the former has been observed as present in others while the latter has not. This contrast is stated in the 'tamen' clause and the last clause, while the qualifying 'quamuis' and 'quamquam' clauses state the point of resemblance, viz. that eloquence, like blessedness, is remembered by an inner notion and not by a sensuous image. The latter clause supports the statement by a condensed argument.

beatam uero uitam nullo sensu corporis in aliis experimur. numquid sicut meminimus gaudium? fortasse ita. nam gaudium meum etiam tristis memini sicut uitam beatam miser, neque umquam corporis sensu gaudium meum uel uidi uel audiui uel odoratus sum uel gustaui uel tetigi, sed expertus sum in animo meo, quando laetatus sum, et adhaesit eius notitia memoriae meae, ut id reminisci ualeam aliquando cum aspernatione, aliquando cum desiderio, pro earum rerum diuersitate, de quibus me gauisum esse memini. nam et de turpibus gaudio quodam perfusus sum, quod nunc recordans detestor atque exsecror, aliquando de bonis et honestis, quod desiderans recolo, tametsi forte non assunt, et ideo tristis gaudium pristinum recolo.

Ubi ergo et quando expertus sum uitam meam beatam, ut 31
recorder eam et amem et desiderem? nec ego tantum aut cum paucis, sed beati prorsus omnes esse uolumus. quod nisi certa notitia nossemus, non tam certa uoluntate uellemus. sed quid est hoc? quid? si quaeratur a duobus, utrum militare uelint, fieri possit, ut alter eorum uelle se. alter nolle respondeat: si autem ab eis quaeratur, utrum esse beati uelint, uterque se statim sine dubitatione dicat optare, nec ob aliud ille uelit militare, non ob aliud iste nolit, nisi ut beati sint. num forte quoniam alius hinc, alius inde gaudet? ita se omnes beatos esse uelle consonant, quemadmodum consonarent, si hoc interrogarentur, se uelle gaudere atque ipsum gaudium uitam beatam uocant. quod etsi alius hinc, alius illinc assequitur, unum est tamen, quo peruenire omnes nituntur, ut gaudeant. quae quoniam res est, quam se expertum non esse nemo potest dicere, propterea reperta in memoria recognoscitur, quando beatae uitae nomen auditur.

XXII. Absit, domine, absit a corde serui tui, qui con- 32

18 quid? si] quod, si BCFGHMOPQVW *m*. 21 sine]+ulla BCFGHMOPQVW *edd*.

XXII. *The true life of blessedness is to rejoice in God. But they who seek it elsewhere do so because they are deceived; it is not that their will is turned away from seeking joy.*

fitetur tibi, absit, ut quocumque gaudio gaudeam beatum me putem. est enim gaudium, quod non datur inpiis, sed eis, qui te gratis colunt, quorum gaudium tu ipse es. et ipsa est beata uita, gaudere de te, ad te, propter te: ipsa est et non est altera. qui autem aliam putant esse, aliud sectantur gaudium neque ipsum uerum. ab aliqua tamen imagine gaudii uoluntas eorum non auertitur.

23 XXIII. Non ergo certum est, quod omnes esse beati uolunt, quoniam qui non de te gaudere uolunt, quae sola uita beata est, non utique uitam beatam uolunt? an omnes hoc uolunt, sed quoniam caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum et spiritus aduersus carnem, ut non faciant quod uolunt, cadunt in id quod ualent eoque contenti sunt, quia illud, quod non ualent, non tantum uolunt, quantum sat est, ut ualeant? nam quaero ab omnibus, utrum malint de ueritate quam de falsitate gaudere: tam non dubitant dicere de ueritate se malle, quam non dubitant dicere beatos esse se uelle. beata quippe uita est gaudium de ueritate. hoc est enim gaudium de te, qui ueritas es, deus, inluminatio mea, salus faciei meae, deus meus. hanc uitam beatam omnes uolunt, hanc uitam, quae sola beata est, omnes uolunt, gaudium de ueritate omnes uolunt. multos expertus sum, qui uellent fallere, qui autem falli, neminem. ubi ergo nouerunt hanc uitam beatam, nisi ubi nouerunt etiam ueritatem? amant enim et ipsam, quia falli nolunt, et cum amant beatam uitam, quod non est aliud quam de ueritate gaudium, utique amant etiam ueritatem, nec amarent, nisi esset aliqua notitia eius in memoria eorum. cur ergo non de illa gaudent? cur non beati sunt? quia fortius occupantur in

XXIII. *All men, if asked, would say that they desire to joy in the truth; why then do they seek it in such false ways? Their remembrance of the truth is very faint. Nay, sometimes they even seem to hate the truth because it rebukes them. Yet in a perverted fashion they do homage to truth by trying to believe that the way in which they seek happiness is the true way.*

11. **caro concupiscit** etc.] Gal. v 17.

18. **ueritas es**] Jn xiv 6.

19. **inluminatio mea**] Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 1.

ib. **salus faciei**] Ps. xli 12 (xlii 11) (Vulg. 'salutare uultus mei').

28. **fortius occupantur in aliis**] Cf. *de Lib. Arb.* I 14. 30 'nihil mirum est quod miseri homines non

aliis, quae potius eos faciunt miseros quam illud beatos, quod tenuiter meminerunt. adhuc enim modicum lumen est in hominibus; ambulent, ambulent, ne tenebrae conprehendant.

Cur autem ueritas parit odium et inimicus eis factus est homo tuus uerum praedicans, cum ametur beata uita, quae non est nisi gaudium de ueritate, nisi quia sic amatur ueritas, ut quicumque aliud amant, hoc quod amant uelint esse ueritatem, et quia falli nollent, nolunt conuinci, quod falsi sint? itaque propter eam rem oderunt ueritatem, quam pro ueritate amant. amant eam lucentem, oderunt eam redarguentem. quia enim falli nolunt et fallere uolunt, amant eam, cum se ipsa indicat, et oderunt eam, cum eos ipsos indicat. inde retribuet eis, ut, qui se ab ea manifestari nolunt, et eos nolentes manifestet et eis ipsa non sit manifesta. sic, sic, etiam sic animus humanus, etiam sic caecus et languidus, turpis atque indecens latere uult, se autem ut lateat aliquid non uult. contra illi redditur, ut ipse non lateat ueritatem, ipsum autem ueritas lateat. tamen etiam sic, dum miser est, ueris mauult gaudere quam falsis. beatus ergo erit, si nulla interpellante molestia de ipsa, per quam uera sunt omnia, sola ueritate gaudebit.

XXIV. Ecce quantum spatiatus sum in memoria mea quaerens te, domine, et non te inueni extra eam. neque enim aliquid de te inueni, quod non meminissem ex quo didici te. nam ex quo didici te, non sum oblitus tui. ubi enim inueni

3 ne]+eos BCFO²PQ *edd.* conprehendant]+eos GM. 23 inuenio S *Knöll.*

adipiscuntur quod uolunt, id est beatam uitam; illud enim cui comes est, et sine quo ea nemo dignus est... recte scilicet uiuere, non itidem uolunt.'

2. **adhuc modicum lumen** etc.] Jn xii 35 'adhuc modicum, lumen in uobis est.' (Gk ἔτι μικρὸν χρόνον κ.τ.λ.)

4. **ueritas parit odium**] 'Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit.'

Ter. *Andria* 1 i 41.

5. **homo ... uerum praedicans**] Cf. Jn viii 40.

10. **amant eam** etc.] Cf. Jn v 35 and iii 20.

XXIV. *Since he learned to know God, it is in the memory that he finds Him.*

23. **aliquid...didici te**] God is here identified with truth—see the next sentence but one—and all the truth A. knows, he has learnt; therefore all that he knows, he knows by the aid of memory.

ueritatem, ibi inueni deum meum, ipsam ueritatem, quam ex quo didici, non sum oblitus. itaque ex quo te didici, manes in memoria mea, et illic te inuenio, cum reminiscor tui et delector in te. hae sunt sanctae deliciae meae, quas donasti mihi misericordia tua respiciens paupertatem meam.

6 XXV. Sed ubi manes in memoria mea, domine, ubi illic manes? quale cubile fabricasti tibi? quale sanctuarium aedificasti tibi? tu dedisti hanc dignationem memoriae meae, ut maneas in ea, sed in qua eius parte maneas, hoc considero. transcendi enim partes eius, quas habent et bestiae, cum te recordarer, quia non ibi te inueniebam inter imagines rerum corporalium, et ueni ad partes eius, ubi conmendaui affectiones animi mei, nec illic inueni te. et intraui ad ipsius animi mei sedem, quae illi est in memoria mea—quoniam sui quoque meminit animus—nec ibi tu eras, quia sicut non es imago corporalis nec affectio uiuentis, qualis est, cum laetamur, contristamur, cupimus, metuimus, meminimus, obliuiscimur et quidquid huius modi est, ita nec ipse animus es, quia dominus deus animi tu es, et conmutantur haec omnia, tu autem inconmutabilis manes super omnia et dignatus es habitare in memoria mea ex quo te didici. et quid quaero, quo loco eius habites, quasi uero loca ibi sint? habitas certe in ea, quoniam tui memini ex quo te didici, et in ea inuenio, cum recordor te.

23 ea]+te BCFGHMOPQW *edd.*

1. **deum meum** ... **ueritatem**] See above § 10, note ('intus cum ueritate').

XXV. *Where in the memory God dwells he cannot tell; for he did not find Him in that portion of the memory which contains the images of material things; nor in that which contains the ideas and emotions; nor even in the self-recollection of the mind. But why, he concludes, should he ask in what part of the memory God dwells, as though the memory were a spatial magnitude?*

8. **dignationem**] In ecclesiastical writers the most frequent sense of 'dignatio' is 'favour,' 'condescension,' shown by a superior to an inferior.

16. **uiuentis**] 'of the living subject.'

19. **conmutantur**] Cf. Ps. ci 27 (cii 26).

XXVI. *But where did he first find God in order that he might learn to know Him? The word 'where,' he repeats, is meaningless in this connexion. God is found as a higher mind capable of entering into relations with our minds, ready to hear*

XXVI. Ubi ergo te inueni, ut discerem te? neque enim 37
iam eras in memoria mea, priusquam te discerem. ubi ergo te inueni, ut discerem te, nisi in te supra me? et nusquam locus, et recedimus et accedimus, et nusquam locus. ueritas, ubique praesides omnibus consulentibus te simulque respondes omnibus diuersa consulentibus. liquide tu respondes, sed non liquide omnes audiunt. omnes unde uolunt consulunt, sed non semper quod uolunt audiunt. optimus minister tuus est, qui non magis intuetur hoc a te audire quod ipse uoluerit, sed potius hoc uelle quod a te audierit.

XXVII. Sero te amaui, pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam 38
noua, sero te amaui! et ecce intus eras et ego foris et ibi te quaerebam et in ista formosa, quae fecisti, deformis inruebam. mecum eras, et tecum non eram. ea me tenebant longe a te, quae si in te non essent, non essent. uocasti et clamasti et rupisti surditatem meam, coruscasti, splenduisti et fugasti caecitatem meam, fragrasti, et duxi spiritum et anhelo tibi, gustaui et esurio et sitio, tetigisti me, et exarsi in pacem tuam.

XXVIII. Cum inhaesero tibi ex omni me, nusquam erit 39
mihi dolor et labor, et uiua erit uita mea tota plena te. nunc

5 omnibus]+etiam BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

and to answer those who ask counsel of Him.

3. **in te supra me**] Cf. *de Vera Rel.* xxxi 57 'nec iam illud ambigendum est, incommutabilem naturam, quae supra rationalem animam sit, Deum esse.'

4. **recedimus...nusquam locus**] Cf. Job xxiii 8.

7. **unde**]='de quo.' Cf. IX 6, where, however, it comes more naturally after a preceding 'ibi.'

9. **intuetur...audire**] Cf. Hab. ii 1.

XXVII. *When, at last, he turned to God, he found Him, not among things without, but within. He had been blind and deaf, but God broke through his blindness and deafness and filled him with a longing for God's peace.*

11. **sero te amaui**] See Introd. p. xiii.

15. **uocasti...caecitatem meam**] An unusually elaborate antithetic sentence with parisosis (equal length of the clauses), homoeoptoton (similar inflexion of the contrasted words) and homoeoteleuton (assonance of the endings of the clauses).

18. **exarsi in pacem**] The curious collocation of ideas almost amounts to an oxymoron.

XXVIII. *He desires to be wholly filled with God; but as yet he has not attained to this, and finds that life upon earth is a continual warfare.*

autem quoniam quem tu imples, subleuas eum, quoniam tui plenus nondum sum, oneri mihi sum. contendunt laetitiae meae flendae cum laetandis maeroribus, et ex qua parte stet uictoria nescio. ei mihi, domine, miserere mei! contendunt maerores mei mali cum gaudiis bonis, et ex qua parte stet uictoria nescio. ei mihi, domine, miserere mei! ei mihi! ecce uulnera mea non abscondo: medicus es, aeger sum; misericors es, miser sum. numquid non temptatio est uita humana super terram? quis uelit molestias et difficultates? tolerari iubes ea, non amari. nemo quod tolerat amat, etsi tolerare amat. quamuis enim gaudeat se tolerare, mauult tamen non esse quod toleret. prospera in aduersis desidero, aduersa in prosperis timeo. quis inter haec medius locus, ubi non sit humana uita temptatio? uae prosperitatibus saeculi semel et iterum a timore aduersitatis et a corruptione laetitiae! uae aduersitatibus saeculi semel et iterum et tertio a desiderio prosperitatis, et quia ipsa aduersitas dura est, et ne frangat tolerantiam. numquid non temptatio est uita humana super terram sine ullo interstitio?

XXIX. Et tota spes mea non nisi in magna misericordia tua. da quod iubes et iube quod uis. imperas nobis continentiam. et cum scirem, ait quidam, quia nemo potest esse continens nisi deus det, et hoc ipsum erat sapientiae, scire

2 nondum] non BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 13 prosperis] prospera (?sc. fortuna) S *Knöll.* 20 magna] + ualde BCFGHOPQVW *edd.*

4. **domine** etc.] Ps. xxx 10 (xxxi 9).

18. **temptatio** etc.] Job vii 1 as quoted in *Adnot. in Iob.* Vulg. 'militia est uita hominis' etc.

XXIX. *His hope is wholly in God, who can give the power to perform what He commands. God enjoins abstinence from all things that would distract us from Him; A. prays that he may attain to this virtue.*

21. **da quod iubes** etc.] From this saying the Pelagian controversy took its rise, as A. tells us in *de Dono Perseu.* xx 53: 'quae mea uerba Pelagius Romae, cum a quodam fratre et coepiscopo meo fuissent, eo praesente, commemorata, ferre non potuit, et contradicens aliquanto commotius, paene cum eo qui illa commemoraverat litigauit.' He goes on to point out that his own conversion is an exact illustration of the words.

22. **quia nemo potest** etc.] Cf. Wisd. viii 21.

cuius esset hoc donum. per continentiam quippe colligimur et redigimur in unum, a quo in multa defluximus. minus enim te amat qui tecum aliquid amat, quod non propter te amat. o amor, qui semper ardes et numquam extingueris, caritas, deus meus, accende me! continentiam iubes: da quod iubes et iube quod uis.

XXX. Iubes certe, ut contineam a concupiscentia carnis 41 et concupiscentia oculorum et ambitione saeculi. iussisti a concubitu, et de ipso coniugio melius aliquid, quam concessisti, monuisti. et quoniam dedisti, factum est et antequam dispensator sacramenti tui fierem. sed adhuc uiuunt in memoria mea, de qua multa locutus sum, talium rerum imagines, quas ibi consuetudo mea fixit, et occursantur mihi uigilanti quidem carentes uiribus, in somnis autem non solum usque ad delectationem sed etiam usque ad consensionem factumque simillimum. et tantum ualet imaginis illius inlusio in anima mea in carne mea, ut dormienti falsa uisa persuadeant quod uigilanti uera non possunt. numquid tunc ego non sum, domine deus meus? et tamen tantum interest inter me ipsum et me ipsum intra momentum, quo hinc ad soporem transeo uel huc inde transeo! ubi est tunc ratio, qua talibus suggestionibus resistit uigilans et, si res ipsae ingerantur, inconcussus manet? numquid clauditur cum oculis? numquid sopitur cum sensibus corporis? et unde saepe etiam in somnis

16 illius] – BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 17 in carne] et in c. BCFGHM²PQV *edd.* 21 transeo S, retranseo *cet. et edd.* qua] quae BCHMOPQV²W *edd.* 22 inconcussa *o.* 23 manet] maneo BPQW *m.*

2. **minus ... amat qui tecum** etc.] Cf. *de Trin.* IX 8. 13 'non quod non sit amanda creatura; sed si ad creatorem refertur ille amor, non iam cupiditas, sed caritas erit. tunc enim est cupiditas, cum propter se amatur creatura.'

XXX. *Adopting the threefold division of* 1 *Jn* ii 16, *A. begins his discussion of his temptations with the* '*lust of the flesh.*' *The grievous legacy of former sins.*

7. **a concupiscentia**] 1 Jn ii 16; cf. 1 Pet. ii 11.

9. **et de ipso** etc.] Cf. 1 Cor. vii 1—7, 28.

10. **dispensator sacramenti**] Cf. 1 Cor iv. 1 (Vulg. 'dispensatores mysteriorum Dei'). See IV. 3, note.

resistimus nostrique propositi memores atque in eo castissime permanentes nullum talibus inlecebris adhibemus adsensum? et tamen tantum interest, ut, cum aliter accidit, euigilantes ad conscientiae requiem redeamus ipsaque distantia reperiamus nos non fecisse, quod tamen in nobis quoquo modo factum esse doleamus.

42 Numquid non potens est manus tua, deus omnipotens, sanare omnes languores animae meae atque abundantiore gratia tua lasciuos motus etiam mei soporis extinguere? augebis, domine, magis magisque in me munera tua, ut anima mea sequatur me ad te concupiscentiae uisco expedita, ut non sit rebellis sibi atque ut in somnis etiam non solum non perpetret istas corruptelarum turpitudines per imagines animales usque ad carnis fluxum, sed ne consentiat quidem. nam ut nihil tale uel tantulum libeat, quantulum possit nutu cohiberi etiam in casto dormientis affectu, non tantum in hac uita, sed etiam in hac aetate, non magnum est omnipotenti, qui uales facere supra quam petimus et intellegimus. nunc tamen quid adhuc sim in hoc genere mali mei, dixi bono domino meo exultans cum tremore in eo, quod donasti mihi, et lugens in eo, quod inconsummatus sum, sperans perfecturum te in me misericordias tuas usque ad pacem plenariam, quam tecum habebunt interiora et exteriora mea, cum absorpta fuerit mors in uictoriam.

43 XXXI. Est alia malitia diei, quae utinam sufficiat ei.

8. **sanare...languores**] Ps. cii (ciii) 3.

ib. **abundantiore gratia**] Cf. 1 Tim. i 14.

17. **in hac aetate**] *i.e.* even in the case of one who had so long been under the dominion of evil custom.

ib. **qui uales** etc.] Eph. iii 20 (Vulg. 'qui potens est omnia facere superabundanter quam petimus, aut intellegimus').

19. **exultans cum tremore**] Cf. Ps. ii 11.

20. **in eo, quod donasti mihi**] Either (1) 'in the fact that Thou hast forgiven me' or (2) 'in the measure of attainment which Thou hast granted unto me.' (Cf. § 56 'sicuti donasti me facere.')

23. **absorpta** etc.] 1 Cor. xv 54.

XXXI. *The temptation to excess in eating and drinking. Food should be regarded as medicine, and just so much taken as is necessary to health. Here self-deception is easy.*

25. **malitia diei**] Cf. Mt. vi 34.

reficimus enim cotidianas ruinas corporis edendo et bibendo, priusquam escas et uentrem destruas, cum occideris indigentiam satietate mirifica et corruptibile hoc indueris incorruptione sempiterna. nunc autem suauis est mihi necessitas, et aduersus istam suauitatem pugno, ne capiar, et cotidianum bellum gero, in ieiuniis saepius, in seruitutem redigens corpus meum, et dolores mei uoluptate pelluntur. nam fames et sitis quidam dolores sunt, urunt et sicut febris necant, nisi alimentorum medicina succurrat. quae quoniam praesto est ex consolatione munerum tuorum, in quibus nostrae infirmitati terra et aqua et caelum seruiunt, calamitas deliciae uocantur.

Hoc me docuisti, ut quemadmodum medicamenta sic 44
alimenta sumpturus accedam. sed dum ad quietem satietatis ex indigentiae molestia transeo, in ipso transitu mihi insidiatur laqueus concupiscentiae. ipse enim transitus uoluptas est, et non est alius, qua transeatur quo transire cogit necessitas. et cum salus sit causa edendi ac bibendi, adiungit se tamquam pedisequa periculosa iucunditas et plerumque praeire conatur, ut eius causa fiat, quod salutis causa me facere uel dico uel uolo. nec idem modus utriusque est: nam quod saluti satis est, delectationi parum est, et saepe incertum fit, utrum adhuc necessaria corporis cura subsidium petat an uoluptaria cupiditatis fallacia ministerium suppetat. ad hoc incertum hilarescit

2 indigentiam]+meam BPQV *edd.* 23 uoluptaria] uoluntaria CGM.

2. **priusquam ... destruas**] Cf. 1 Cor. vi 13.

3. **corruptibile hoc** etc.] 1 Cor. xv 53.

6. **in ieiuniis saepius**] Cf. 2 Cor. xi 27.

ib. **in seruitutem**] 1 Cor. ix 27.

11. **calamitas...uocantur**] The verb is attracted to the plural by the intervening 'deliciae,' but 'calamitas' is the real subject. 'Our disability is called delight' (*i.e.* our being subject to appetite, which is really an incipient pain, becomes the occasion of pleasure and is thought of in that light).

19. **plerumque...conatur**] 'Plerumque' has lost its ancient superlative force, and merely means 'often.'

22. **et saepe incertum** etc.] *And it is often doubtful whether a proper prudence is seeking no more than the needful sustenance of the body, or whether, urged by the treacherous love of pleasure, the gratification of greed has begun.*

infelix anima et in eo praeparat excusationis patrocinium gaudens non adparere, quid satis sit moderationi ualetudinis, ut obtentu salutis obumbret negotium uoluptatis. his temptationibus cotidie conor resistere et inuoco dexteram tuam et ad te refero aestus meos, quia consilium mihi de hac re nondum stat.

45 Audio uocem iubentis dei mei: non grauentur corda uestra in crapula et ebrietate. ebrietas longe est a me: misereberis, ne adpropinquet mihi. crapula autem nonnumquam subrepsit seruo tuo: misereberis, ut longe fiat a me. nemo enim potens esse continens, nisi tu des. multa nobis orantibus tribuis, et quidquid boni antequam oraremus accepimus, a te accepimus; et ut hoc postea cognosceremus, a te accepimus. ebriosus numquam fui, sed ebriosos a te factos sobrios ego noui. ergo a te factum est, ut hoc non essent qui numquam fuerunt, a quo factum est, ut hoc non semper essent qui fuerunt, a quo etiam factum est, ut scirent utrique, a quo factum est. audiui aliam uocem tuam: post concupiscentias tuas non eas et a uoluptate tua uetare. audiui et illam ex munere tuo, quam multum amaui: neque si manducauerimus, abundabimus, neque si non manducauerimus, deerit nobis; hoc est dicere: nec illa res me

2 quid BCFGHMOPQVW, quod S *Knöll.* 9 subrepit BCGHMOPQW *edd.* 10 potens] potest BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 18 uoluptate] uoluntate CFV *m* (*Vulg.*) 19 uetare] auertere BCH³PQVW³ (*Vulg.*)

7. **non grauentur** etc.] Lk. xxi 34.

9. **crapula**] 'gluttony.' Cf. *c. Iul. Pel.* IV 14. 73 'nec uinum ebrietas, nec cibum condemnet crapula.' In classical usage 'crapula' (as in Greek *κραιπάλη*) is uniformly connected with drinking, and is probably so intended by the translators in Lk xxi 34. But since it was there conjoined with 'ebrietas' it was natural for interpreters to differentiate the synonyms and make the combined expression cover sins of eating as well as drinking. The Benedictine editors mention in illustration the Rule of their order (regula xxxix, 'de mensura ciborum') which provides that in special circumstances the abbot may increase a monk's portion, but 'remota prae omnibus crapula.'

10. **nemo ... potens** etc.] Cf. Wisd. viii 21.

18. **post concupiscentias** etc.] Ecclus. xviii 30.

20. **neque si manducauerimus** etc.] 1 Cor. viii 8; 'abundabimus,' 'deerit nobis,' are verbally admissible renderings of the *περισσεύομεν*, *ὑστε-*

copiosum faciet nec illa aerumnosum. audiui et alteram: ego enim didici, in quibus sum, sufficiens esse; et abundare noui et penuriam pati noui. omnia possum in eo, qui me confortat. ecce miles castrorum caelestium, non puluis, quod sumus. sed memento, domine, quoniam puluis sumus, et de puluere fecisti hominem, et perierat et inuentus est. nec ille in se potuit, quia idem puluis fuit, quem talia dicentem adflatu tuae inspirationis adamaui: omnia possum, inquit, in eo, qui me confortat. conforta me, ut possim. da quod iubes et iube quod uis. iste se accepisse confitetur et quod gloriatur in domino gloriatur. audiui alium rogantem, ut accipiat: aufer, inquit, a me concupiscentias uentris. unde adparet, sancte deus, te dare, cum fit quod imperas fieri.

Docuisti me, pater bone: omnia munda mundis, sed 46 malum esse homini qui per offensionem manducat; et omnem creaturam tuam bonam esse nihilque abiciendum, quod cum gratiarum actione percipitur; et quia esca nos non conmendat deo, et ut nemo nos iudicet in cibo aut potu; et ut qui manducat, non manducantem non spernat, et qui non manducat, manducantem non iudicet. didici haec, gratias tibi, laudes tibi, deo meo, magistro meo, pulsatori aurium mearum, inlustratori cordis mei: eripe me ab omni temptatione. non

4 miles] milex S *Knöll.* 5 quoniam SV, quia *cet. et edd.*
13 deus]+meus BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

ρούμεθα of the original, but the context makes it clear that the latter are used in a spiritual sense as in A.V., 'are we the better...the worse.'

1. **ego enim didici** etc.] Phil. iv 11 sq. (Vulg. 'scio...et abundare et penuriam pati').

5. **quoniam puluis sumus** etc.] Ps. cii (ciii) 14; Gen. iii 19.

6. **perierat** etc.] Lk. xv 24, 32.

10. **quod gloriatur**] Cf. 1 Cor. i 31.

11. **rogantem ... ut accipiat**] Probably in the sense of 'ita rogantem ut' etc. Cf. Mt. xxi 22.

ib. **aufer** etc.] Ecclus. xxiii 6.

14. **omnia munda** etc.] Tit. i 15. With this A. has combined Rom. xiv 20 'omnia quidem sunt munda, sed malum est homini qui per offendiculum manducat.'

15. **omnem creaturam** etc.] 1 Tim. iv 4.

17. **esca** etc.] 1 Cor. viii 8.

18. **nemo** etc.] Col. ii 16.

ib. **qui manducat**] Rom. xiv 3.

21. **pulsatori ... inlustratori**] Following the perfect 'didici' the 'nomina agentis' are equivalent to relative clauses with aorist—'who didst smite' etc.

ego inmunditiam obsonii timeo, sed inmunditiam cupiditatis. scio Noe omne carnis genus, quod cibo esset usui, manducare permissum, Elian cibo carnis refectum, Ioannem mirabili abstinentia praeditum animalibus, hoc est locustis in escam cedentibus, non fuisse pollutum : et scio Esau lenticulae concupiscentia deceptum et Dauid propter aquae desiderium a se ipso reprehensum et regem nostrum non carne, sed pane temptatum. ideoque et populus in heremo non quia carnes desiderauit, sed quia escae desiderio aduersus dominum murmurauit, meruit inprobari.

47 In his ergo temptationibus positus certo cotidie aduersus concupiscentiam manducandi et bibendi : non enim est quod semel praecidere et ulterius non attingere decernam, sicut de concubitu potui. itaque freni gutturis temperata relaxatione et constrictione tenendi sunt. et quis est, domine, qui non rapiatur aliquantum extra metas necessitatis? quisquis est, magnus est, magnificet nomen tuum. ego autem non sum, quia peccator homo sum. sed et ego magnifico nomen tuum, et interpellat te pro peccatis meis qui uicit saeculum, numerans me inter infirma membra corporis sui, quia et inperfectum eius uiderunt oculi tui, et in libro tuo omnes scribentur.

7 carne...pane] de carne...de pane BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 8 temptatum] esse t. BCPQ *edd.*

1. **obsonii**] (ὀψώνιον) 'viands.'
2. **scio Noe** etc.] Gen. ix 3.
3. **Elian ... refectum**] 1 K. (3 Reg.) xvii 6.
ib. **Ioannem** etc.] Mt. iii 4.
5. **Esau** etc.] Gen. xxv 30—34. Cf. *Serm.* ccvii, ccviii.
6. **Dauid** etc.] (2 Sam.) 2 Reg. xxiii 15—17.
7. **pane temptatum**] Mt. iv 3.
8. **populus ... carnes desiderauit**] Num. xi 4 sq.
14. **freni**] The masculine form is not uncommon for the accusative plural, but in the nominative it is rare.
16. **quisquis est, magnus est**] For the sense of the greatness and difficulty of this attainment, cf. Dante *Purg.* xxiv 151 sq.

'E sentii dir: Beati cui alluma
tanto di grazia, che l' amor del gusto
nel petto lor troppo disir non fuma
esuriendo sempre quanto è giusto.'

18. **peccator homo**] Cf. Lk. v 8.
19. **interpellat**] Rom. viii 34.
ib. **uicit saeculum**] Cf. Jn xvi 33 (Vulg. 'ego uici mundum').
20. **inperfectum eius**] Ps. cxxxviii (cxxxix) 16. A. interprets (*Enarr. in Ps. ad loc.* § 21) as a reference to Christ's imperfect mem-

XXXII. De inlecebra odorum non satago nimis: cum 48
absunt, non requiro, cum assunt, non respuo, paratus eis etiam semper carere. ita mihi uideor; forsitan fallar. sunt enim et istae plangendae tenebrae, in quibus me latet facultas mea, quae in me est, ut animus meus de uiribus suis ipse se interrogans non facile sibi credendum existimet, quia et quod inest plerumque occultum est, nisi experientia manifestetur, et nemo securus esse debet in ista uita, quae tota temptatio nominatur, utrum qui fieri potuit ex deteriore melior, non fiat etiam ex meliore deterior. una spes, una fiducia, una firma promissio misericordia tua.

XXXIII. Voluptates aurium tenacius me inplicauerant et 49
subiugauerant, sed resoluisti et liberasti me. nunc in sonis, quos animant eloquia tua, cum suaui et artificiosa uoce cantantur, fateor, aliquantulum adquiesco, non quidem ut haeream, sed ut surgam, cum uolo. attamen cum ipsis sententiis quibus uiuunt ut admittantur ad me, quaerunt in corde meo nonnullius dignitatis locum, et uix eis praebeo congruentem. aliquando enim plus mihi uideor honoris eis tribuere, quam decet, dum ipsis sanctis dictis religiosius et ardentius sentio moueri animos nostros in flammam pietatis, cum ita cantantur, quam si non ita cantarentur, et omnes affectus spiritus nostri pro sui diuersitate habere proprios modos in uoce atque cantu, quorum

22 sui] suaui BPQ *o*.

bers: 'in libro tuo omnes scribentur: non solum perfecti sed etiam imperfecti. non timeant imperfecti, tantum proficiant... quotidie addant, quotidie accedant; tamen a corpore Domini non recedant.' He instances as an imperfect member: 'Petrum meum (the speaker is Christ) pollicentem et negantem, praesumentem et deficientem: uiderunt tamen eum oculi tui.'

XXXII. *The temptation to excessive delight in sweet odours is not of great strength.*

8. **tota temptatio**] Job vii 1; see above § 39.

XXXIII. *The delights of the ear. A. fears lest in rejoicing in the music to which the psalms are sung he is too much swayed by sensuous pleasure.*

14. **quos animant**] explained by 'quibus uiuunt' below.

20. **moueri animos...in flammam**] Cf. Milton *Il Penseroso*

'There let the pealing organ blow
To the full-voiced choir below
In service high and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies,
And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.'

nescio qua occulta familiaritate excitentur. sed delectatio carnis meae, cui mentem eneruandam non oportet dari, saepe me fallit, dum rationi sensus non ita comitatur, ut patienter sit posterior, sed tantum, quia propter illam meruit admitti, etiam praecurrere ac ducere conatur. ita in his pecco non sentiens et postea sentio.

50 Aliquando autem hanc ipsam fallaciam inmoderatius cauens erro nimia seueritate, sed ualde interdum, ut melos omnes cantilenarum suauium, quibus Dauidicum psalterium frequentatur, ab auribus meis remoueri uelim, atque ipsius ecclesiae, tutiusque mihi uidetur, quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio saepe dictum mihi conmemini, qui tam modico flexu uocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti uicinior esset quam canenti. uerum tamen cum reminiscor lacrimas meas, quas fudi ad cantus ecclesiae in primordiis recuperatae fidei meae, et nunc ipsum quod moueor non cantu, sed rebus quae cantantur, cum liquida uoce et conuenientissima modulatione

6 et] sed BCPQW *m.* 8 omne BCHOPQW *edd.* 15 ecclesiae] +tuae BCGHMPQ *edd.* 16 quod moueor] cum m. BMOQ^2, commoueor CPQ^{1}VW.

1. **sed delectatio. .saepe fallit**] A. recognises clearly the two tendencies which have always divided men's thoughts in regard to worship —the desire for beautiful and appropriate expression, on the one hand; the fear lest aesthetic feeling should usurp the place of devotion, on the other.

4. **sed tantum, quia**] 'Tantum,' 'quia' seem to be loosely used as correlatives = 'inasmuch as,' the intention of the phrase being evidently ironical: 'but just because the sensuous gratification owes its admission to its attendance upon reason, it aims at nothing less than outstripping and taking precedence of its superior.'

8. **ualde interdum**] 'Valde' qualifies 'uelim.'

ib. **melos omnes**] 'Melos' is treated as masculine by Cato, Pacuuius, Accius and Varro (who has the nominative 'melus'); *ap.* Non. III p. 213 M.

12. **tam modico flexu uocis** etc.] Cf. Isidore of Seville *de Eccl. Off.* I 5. 2 (Migne *P. L.* 83. 742) 'Primitiua autem ecclesia ita psallebat, ut modico flexu uocis faceret resonare psallentem, ita ut pronuntianti uicinior esset quam canenti'—a passage, however, which bears traces of being based upon the present. This remark of Aug. is cited by Batiffol *Histoire du Bréviaire romain* p. 6 as the only direct evidence for the practice of Athanasius. As indirect evidence, however, he cites *de Fuga* xxiv καθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, προέτρεπον τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγινώσκειν (to read) ψαλμόν, τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν (respond), 'ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ'.

cantantur, magnam instituti huius utilitatem rursus agnosco. ita fluctuo inter periculum uoluptatis et experimentum salubritatis magisque adducor non quidem inretractabilem sententiam proferens cantandi consuetudinem approbare in ecclesia, ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis adsurgat. tamen cum mihi accidit, ut me amplius cantus quam res, quae canitur, moueat, poenaliter me peccare confiteor et tunc mallem non audire cantantem. ecce ubi sum! flete mecum et pro me flete qui aliquid boni uobiscum intus agitis, unde facta procedunt. nam qui non agitis, non uos haec mouent. tu autem, domine deus meus, exaudi et respice et uide et miserere et sana me, in cuius oculis mihi quaestio factus sum, et ipse est languor meus.

XXXIV. Restat uoluptas oculorum istorum carnis meae, 51 de qua loquor confessiones, quas audiant aures templi tui, aures fraternae ac piae, ut concludamus temptationes concupiscentiae carnis, quae me adhuc pulsant ingemescentem et habitaculum meum, quod de caelo est, superindui cupientem. pulchras formas et uarias, nitidos et amoenos colores amant oculi. non teneant haec animam meam; teneat eam deus,

11 exaudi et] – et BCGHMOPQV *edd.* 15 loquor] loquar BCHOPQW *m.*

9. **qui aliquid boni ... intus agitis**] Either (understanding 'bona' with 'facta' from 'aliquid boni') *whose inner motions* (?in listening to Church music) *are such that good works proceed from them*, or: *who are well affected in that inner man whence works proceed.*

11. **domine deus** etc.] Ps. xii 4 (xiii 3) and vi 3 (2).

13. **ipse est languor meus**] Cf. Ps. cii (ciii) 3. A. means that this moral uncertainty is a source (or an indication) of a weakness which needs healing. Cf. his comment *ad loc.* After the remission of sins, he says, we are still weak—'adhuc in periculis temptationum uersatur, quibusdam suggestionibus delectatur, quibusdam non delectatur, et in eis quibus delectatur aliquando quibusdam consentit, capitur. languor est; "sanat" et "omnes languores tuos."'

XXXIV. *The lust of the eye. The pleasures of the bodily eye are more constantly offered to us than those of the other senses. A.'s joy in light and colour. Light and beauty should point us to their source.*

15. **aures templi tui**] *i.e.* the ears of Thy people who are Thy temple (see 2 Cor. vi 16). For A.'s habit of attaching to a metaphorical conception inappropriate characteristics of the underlying reality cf. III 1 and ref. there.

18. **habitaculum** etc.] 2 Cor. v 2 (Vulg. 'habitationem').

qui fecit haec bona quidem ualde, sed ipse est bonum meum, non haec. tangunt me uigilantem totis diebus, nec requies ab eis datur mihi, sicut datur a uocibus canoris, aliquando ab omnibus, in silentio. ipsa enim regina colorum lux ista perfundens cuncta, quae cernimus, ubiubi per diem fuero, multimodo adlapsu blanditur mihi aliud agenti et ad eam non aduertenti. insinuat autem se ita uehementer, ut si repente subtrahatur, cum desiderio requiratur; et si diu absit, contristat animum.

2 O lux, quam uidebat Tobis, cum clausis istis oculis filium docebat uitae uiam et ei praeibat pede caritatis nusquam errans; aut quam uidebat Isaac praegrauatis et opertis senectute carneis luminibus, cum filios non agnoscendo benedicere, sed benedicendo agnoscere meruit; aut quam uidebat Iacob, cum et ipse prae grandi aetate captus oculis in filiis praesignata futuri populi genera luminoso corde radiauit, et nepotibus suis ex Ioseph diuexas mystice manus, non sicut pater eorum foris

2 tangunt] et t. BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* 6 ad eam] – ad BCGHOPQVW *edd.*

1. **bona...ualde**] Gen. i 31.

10. **o lux...pede caritatis**] The reference is to Tobit iv, in which Tobit, who bears the loss of eyesight with Job-like patience (ii), gives his son injunctions regarding charity, guided, as A. implies, by a divine light within. A. habitually quotes the Apocryphal books of the O.T. as of equal authority with the canonical, and in fact includes them in the canon without any mark of distinction, *de Doct. Christ.* II 8. 13 (as did the Council of Carthage in 397). He was aware that they were not received by the Jews (*de Ciu. Dei* XVIII 36 'Macchabaeorum libri, quos non Iudaei, sed ecclesia pro canonicis habet') and in *c. Gaudent.* I 31. 38 seems to give a special weight to the Law, Prophets and Psalms as received by the Jews and referred to by Christ ('quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet tamquam testibus suis'), in allusion to Lk. xxiv 44.

12. **Isaac**] Gen. xxvii.

14. **sed benedicendo agnoscere**] *i.e.* he gave the appropriate blessing.

ib. **Iacob**] Gen. xlix.

15. **in filiis...radiauit**] *saw, in his sons, with the vision of his enlightened heart, and prophetically characterised, the tribes of the people that was to be.* A. held that it was the rays proceeding from the eye that rendered objects visible; hence 'corde radiare' is to see with the heart. See § 9 *sup.* note ('nuntios radios oculorum') and cf. *de Gen. ad Lit.* I 16. 31 'iactus enim radiorum ex oculis nostris cuiusdam lucis quidem est iactus...sed tamen ea lux quae in sensu uidentis est, tam exigua videtur ut nisi adiuuemur extranea luce, nihil uidere possimus.'

17. **diuexas mystice manus**] See Gen. xlviii 13, 14.

corrigebat, sed sicut ipse intus discernebat, imposuit. ipsa est lux, una est, et unum omnes, qui uident et amant eam. at ista corporalis, de qua loquebar, inlecebrosa ac periculosa dulcedine condit uitam saeculi caecis amatoribus. cum autem et de ipsa laudare te norunt, deus creator omnium, assumunt eam in hymno tuo, non assumuntur ab ea in somno suo: sic esse cupio. resisto seductionibus oculorum, ne inplicentur pedes mei, quibus ingredior uiam tuam, et erigo ad te inuisibiles oculos, ut tu euellas de laqueo pedes meos. tu subinde euelles eos, nam inlaqueantur. tu non cessas euellere, ego autem crebro haereo in ubique sparsis insidiis, quoniam non dormies neque dormitabis, qui custodis Israel.

Quam innumerabilia uariis artibus et opificiis in uestibus, calciamentis, uasis et cuiuscemodi fabricationibus, picturis etiam diuersisque figmentis atque his usum necessarium atque moderatum et piam significationem longe transgredientibus addiderunt homines ad inlecebras oculorum, foras sequentes quod faciunt, intus relinquentes a quo facti sunt et exterminantes quod facti sunt. at ego, deus meus et decus meum, etiam hinc tibi dico hymnum et sacrifico laudem sacrificatori meo, quoniam pulchra traiecta per animas in manus artificiosas

4 cum OS, qui *cet. et edd.* BFOPQVW. 20 sacrificatori] sanctificatori

5. **assumunt eam** etc.] The primary reference is to the fact that 'Deus Creator Omnium' is an evening hymn and praises God for clothing the day 'decoro lumine.' A.'s meaning appears to be that those who praise God not only for the temporal but for the spiritual light ('et de ipsa') are not deprived of the latter during the hours of darkness. The soul of the sleeping believer still enjoys the Light Eternal. Cf. Ambrose, *Enarr. in Ps.* i § 31 'qui legem meditatur, semper in luce est, noctem non habet.'

9. **de laqueo** etc.] Ps. xxiv (xxv) 15.

ib. **subinde**] *repeatedly.*

11. **non dormies**] Ps. cxx (cxxi) 4.

15. **figmentis**] *images.*

18. **exterminantes** etc.] A. plays on the literal and tropical senses of 'extermino.' The artist 'externalises' his thought in material form—'exterminates' his higher self by love for material things.

20. **sacrifico laudem**] Cf. Ps. cxv (cxvi) 17 'tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis.'

ib. **sacrificatori meo**] *to Thee who dost sacrifice for me*—probably with reference to Christ, who is described below § 69 as 'sacerdos et sacrificium.' Many MSS. have 'sanctificatori.'

ab illa pulchritudine ueniunt, quae supra animas est, cui suspirat anima mea die ac nocte. sed pulchritudinum exteriorum operatores et sectatores inde trahunt adprobandi modum, non autem inde trahunt utendi modum. et ibi est et non uident eum, ut non eant longius et fortitudinem suam ad te custodiant nec eam spargant in deliciosas lassitudines. ego autem haec loquens atque discernens etiam istis pulchris gressum innecto, sed tu euelles, domine, euelles tu, quoniam misericordia tua ante oculos meos est. nam ego capior miserabiliter, et tu euelles misericorditer aliquando non sentientem, quia suspensius incideram, aliquando cum dolore, quia iam inhaeseram.

XXXV. Huc accedit alia forma temptationis multiplicius periculosa. praeter enim concupiscentiam carnis, quae inest in delectatione omnium sensuum et uoluptatum, cui seruientes depereunt qui longe se faciunt a te, inest animae per eosdem sensus corporis quaedam non se oblectandi in carne, sed experiendi per carnem, uana et curiosa cupiditas nomine cognitionis et scientiae palliata. quae quoniam in appetitu noscendi

1 supra] super BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* 8 euelles...euelles] euellis... euellis BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* 10 euelles S, euellis *cet. et edd.* suspensus SW.

1. **ab illa pulchritudine ueniunt**] Cf. the quotation from Plotinus *Enn.* VI 9. 4 given above III 10, note ('pulchritudo pulchrorum omnium').

3. **inde trahunt adprobandi modum**] *i.e.* the inner standard by which we recognise beauty is a manifestation of the divine in us. See above § 10 note ('intus cum ueritate') with refs. there.

4. **non uident eum**] Cf. *de Lib. Arb.* II 16. 43 'tamquam enim dorsum ad te ponentes, in carnali opere uelut in umbra sua defiguntur, et tamen etiam ibi quod eos delectat, adhuc habent de circumfulgentia lucis tuae.'

5. **fortitudinem**] Ps. lviii 10 (lix 9).

6. **haec loquens atque discernens**] *though I say these things and recognise their truth.*

7. **gressum innecto**] 'entangle my steps.'

8. **quoniam misericordia** etc.] Ps. xxv (xxvi) 3.

10. **suspensius**] 'lightly,' 'not deeply.'

XXXV. *The 'lust of the eyes' also includes the inordinate or morbid curiosity which makes men eager to behold horrible sights, or induces them to study magical arts. By these baser forms of curiosity A. is not greatly tempted, but he often finds himself distracted from high thoughts by the petty on-goings of the world around him.*

17. **curiosa cupiditas**] See V 4, note ('uolatilia').

est, oculi autem sunt ad noscendum in sensibus principes, concupiscentia oculorum eloquio diuino adpellata est. ad oculos enim uidere proprie pertinet. utimur autem hoc uerbo etiam in ceteris sensibus, cum eos ad cognoscendum intendimus. neque enim dicimus: audi quid rutilet, aut: olefac quam niteat, aut: gusta quam splendeat, aut: palpa quam fulgeat: uideri enim dicuntur haec omnia. dicimus autem non solum: uide quid luceat, quod soli oculi sentire possunt, sed etiam: uide quid sonet, uide quid oleat, uide quid sapiat, uide quam durum sit. ideoque generalis experientia sensuum concupiscentia, sicut dictum est, oculorum uocatur, quia uidendi officium, in quo primatum oculi tenent, etiam ceteri sensus sibi de similitudine usurpant, cum aliquid cognitionis explorant.

Ex hoc autem euidentius discernitur, quid uoluptatis, quid curiositatis agatur per sensus, quod uoluptas pulchra, canora, suauia, sapida, lenia sectatur, curiositas autem etiam his contraria temptandi causa, non ad subeundam molestiam, sed experiendi noscendique libidine. quid autem uoluptatis habet uidere in laniato cadauere quod exhorreas? et tamen sicubi iaceat, concurrunt, ut contristentur, ut palleant. timent etiam, ne in somnis hoc uideant, quasi quisquam eos uigilantes uidere coegerit aut pulchritudinis ulla fama persuaserit. ita et in ceteris sensibus, quae persequi longum est. ex hoc morbo cupiditatis in spectaculis exhibentur quaeque miracula. hinc

1 noscendum] cognoscendum BPQ *edd.* 8 lucet CMOS *Knöll.*

2. **concupiscentia oculorum**] 1 Jn ii 16.

11. **quia uidendi** etc.] 'because the other senses lay claim, by analogy, to the office of seeing, when they investigate any object of knowledge.'

21. **concurrunt, ut contristentur**] In ages of decadence, such as that in which A. lived, morbid curiosity takes the place of honest, healthy curiosity: jaded nerves and *blasé* characters crave for unwholesome stimulants.

ib. **timent etiam** etc.] An example of the remarkable vividness with which A. can reconstruct a psychological situation. He imagines the spectator of the horror gloating over it even while he remarks that he fears it will disturb his dreams.

24. **ex hoc morbo cupiditatis**] *to satisfy this diseased craving.*

25. **miracula**] *monstrous sights.*

ib. **hinc...naturae...est**] *i.e.* external nature. Knöll reads, with S,

ad perscrutanda naturae, quae praeter nos est, operta proceditur, quae scire nihil prodest et nihil aliud quam scire homines cupiunt. hinc etiam, si quid eodem peruersae scientiae fine per artes magicas quaeritur. hinc etiam in ipsa religione deus temptatur, cum signa et prodigia flagitantur non ad aliquam salutem, sed ad solam experientiam desiderata.

In hac tam immensa silua plena insidiarum et periculorum ecce multa praeciderim et a meo corde dispulerim, sicuti donasti me facere, deus salutis meae; attamen quando audeo dicere, cum circumquaque cotidianam uitam nostram tam multa huius generis rerum circumstrepant, quando audeo dicere nulla re tali me intentum fieri ad spectandum et uana cura capiendum? sane me iam theatra non rapiunt, nec curo nosse transitus siderum, nec anima mea umquam responsa quaesiuit umbrarum: omnia sacrilega sacramenta detestor. a te, domine

1 est] non est S *Knöll.* operta] operata GPS *Knöll.* opera BQ^2, operam Q^1.

'quae praeter nos non est.' There is no ground for attributing a profession of subjective idealism to A. ('which has no existence outside of ourselves'), but it is possible to interpret this reading in harmony with A.'s exposition of Rom. viii 19—23, in which he says that, in the words 'the earnest expectation of the creature,' 'the creature' means man, because man is a microcosm summing up in himself the various grades of existence—spiritual, animate and material (*Prop. ex Ep. Rom. Expositio* liii). 'Quae...non est' might thus be interpreted 'which is nothing different from what we have in ourselves.' This reading may have originated from the accidental repetition of 'nos.'

2. **nihil prodest**] In commenting upon Ps. viii 9 (8) A. applies 'qui perambulant semitas maris' to the investigators of natural phenomena, the latter being as evanescent as the 'paths of the sea' which close again as soon as ship or swimmer has passed through them. The use of 'perambulant' instead of 'ambulant' indicates, he says, their pertinacity.

10. **deus salutis** etc.] Ps. xvii 47 (xviii 46).

11. **circumquaque**] sc. 'parte' or 'regione,' 'on every side' (late).

15. **responsa...umbrarum**] *i.e.* necromancy.

16. **sacrilega sacramenta**] *unhallowed rites.* Cf. IV 3, note.

ib. **a te, domine** etc.] It is interesting to observe that A. had felt this temptation. He shows his accustomed keenness of spiritual insight in distinguishing clearly between such a sign as came to his awakened mind at the time of his conversion and the mechanical use of the 'sortes euangelicae,' of which he expresses disapproval in *Ep.* lv 37.

deus meus, cui humilem famulatum ac simplicem debeo, quantis mecum suggestionum machinationibus agit inimicus ut signum aliquod petam! sed obsecro te per regem nostrum et patriam Hierusalem simplicem, castam, ut quemadmodum a me longe est ad ista consensio, ita sit semper longe atque longius. pro salute autem cuiusquam cum te rogo, alius multum differens finis est intentionis meae, et te faciente quod uis das mihi et dabis libenter sequi.

Verum tamen in quam multis minutissimis et contemtibi- 5
libus rebus curiositas cotidie nostra temptetur et quam saepe labamur, quis enumerat? quotiens narrantes inania primo quasi toleramus, ne offendamus infirmos, deinde paulatim libenter aduertimus. canem currentem post leporem iam non specto, cum in circo fit; at uero in agro, si casu transeam, auertit me fortassis et ab aliqua magna cogitatione atque ad se conuertit illa uenatio, non deuiare cogens corpore iumenti, sed cordis inclinatione, et nisi iam mihi demonstrata infirmitate mea cito admoneas aut ex ipsa uisione per aliquam considerationem in te adsurgere aut totum contemnere atque transire, uanus hebesco. quid cum me domi sedentem stellio muscas captans uel aranea retibus suis inruentes inplicans saepe intentum me facit? num quia parua sunt animalia, ideo non

5 ad ista] – ad BGPQ *edd.* 7 facientem BCOPQW *edd.* 21 intentum me S, – me *cet. et edd.*

15. **auertit me**] An interesting touch of self-revelation. It is precisely this interest in things external —not often found in combination with introspective powers such as his—which makes A.'s style so vivid. It was the harvest of eye and ear which provided him with such a wealth of imagery wherewith to illustrate the inner life.

21. **aranea retibus**] A.'s opposition to scientific curiosity was conscientious; his natural instinct was to take a keen interest in natural phenomena. Cf. the references to the gliding of a snake ('coluber... squamarum minutissimis nisibus repit') *de Trin.* XII 11. 16; to the continued wriggling of the severed parts of a snake or worm *de Quant. Anim.* xxxi 62; to the behaviour of victor and vanquished in a cock-fight *de Ord.* I 8. 25; to the nightingale's song *de Vera Rel.* xlii 79 ('quam suaues sonorum pulchritudines uerberatus aer traiciat cantante luscinia'); to the powers of memory in fishes and the skill of birds in building their nests *de Gen. ad Lit.* III 8. 12. See Cunningham *S. Austin*, Excursus A p. 137.

res eadem geritur? pergo inde ad laudandum te, creatorem mirificum atque ordinatorem rerum omnium, sed non inde intentus esse incipio. aliud est cito surgere, aliud est non cadere. et talibus uita mea plena est et una spes mea magna ualde misericordia tua. cum enim huiuscemodi rerum conceptaculum fit cor nostrum et portat copiosae uanitatis cateruas, hinc et orationes nostrae saepe interrumpuntur atque turbantur, et ante conspectum tuum, dum ad aures tuas uocem cordis intendimus, nescio unde inruentibus nugatoriis cogitationibus res tanta praeciditur.

XXXVI. Numquid etiam hoc inter contemnenda deputabimus aut aliquid nos reducet in spem nisi nota misericordia tua, quoniam coepisti mutare nos? et tu scis, quanta ex parte mutaueris, qui me primitus sanas a libidine uindicandi me, ut propitius fias etiam ceteris omnibus iniquitatibus meis et sanes omnes languores meos et redimas de corruptione uitam meam et corones me in miseratione et misericordia et saties in bonis desiderium meum, qui conpressisti a timore tuo superbiam meam et mansuefecisti iugo tuo ceruicem meam. et nunc porto illud, et lene est mihi, quoniam sic promisisti et fecisti; et uere sic erat et nesciebam, quando id subire metuebam.

Sed numquid, domine, qui solus sine tyfo dominaris, quia solus uerus dominus es, qui non habes dominum, numquid hoc quoque tertium temptationis genus cessauit a me aut cessare in hac tota uita potest, timeri et amari uelle ab hominibus, non propter aliud, sed ut inde sit gaudium, quod non est gaudium? misera uita est et foeda iactantia. hinc fit uel maxime non amare te nec caste timere te, ideoque tu superbis resistis,

XXXVI. *The 'pride of life.' The temptation to desire the approval of men constantly besets him.*

14. **ut propitius** etc.] Ps. cii (ciii) 3. Old Lat. as quoted by A. in *Enarr. in Ps.* cii (Vulg. 'qui propitiatur...infirmitates').

18. **a timore**] The prepositional phrase is apparently merely equivalent to an instrumental ablative.

19. **iugo tuo**] Cf. Mt. xi 30.

23. **quia solus uerus dominus** etc.] Cf. Isa. xxxvii 20 'quia tu es dominus solus' and Jn xvii 3 'ut cognoscant te solum Deum uerum.'

29. **superbis resistis**] Jas. iv 6, 1 Pet. v 5, quoting Prov. iii 34 (LXX) where the Vulg. rendering is

humilibus autem das gratiam et intonas super ambitiones saeculi, et contremunt fundamenta montium. itaque nobis, quoniam propter quaedam humanae societatis officia necessarium est amari et timeri ab hominibus, instat aduersarius uerae beatitudinis nostrae ubique spargens in laqueis "euge, euge," ut dum auide colligimus, incaute capiamur et a ueritate gaudium nostrum deponamus atque in hominum fallacia ponamus, libeatque nos amari et timeri non propter te, sed pro te, atque isto modo sui similes factos secum habeat non ad concordiam caritatis, sed ad consortium supplicii, qui statuit sedem suam ponere in aquilone, ut te peruersa et distorta uia imitanti tenebrosi frigidique seruirent. nos autem, domine, pusillus grex tuus ecce sumus, tu nos posside. praetende alas tuas, et fugiamus sub eas. gloria nostra tu esto; propter te amemur et timeamur in nobis. qui laudari uult ab hominibus uituperante te, non defenditur ab hominibus iudicante te nec eripietur damnante te. cum autem non peccator laudatur in desideriis animae suae, nec qui iniqua gerit benedicitur, sed laudatur homo propter aliquod donum, quod dedisti ei, at ille plus gaudet sibi laudari se quam ipsum donum habere, unde laudatur, etiam iste te uituperante laudatur, et melior

6 ueritate S, ueritate tua *cet. et edd.* 15 et timeamur S, et uerbum tuum timeatur *cet. et edd.* 16 defendetur CFGHMOQ *edd.*

'ipse deludet illusores, et mansuetis dabit gratiam.'

1. **intonas ... montium**] Ps. xvii 14 (xviii 13) 'et intonuit de caelo Dominus,' and *v.* 8 'fundamenta montium conturbata sunt.' The latter phrase A. interprets, *ad loc.*, 'et spes superborum quae in hoc saeculo fuerunt, conturbatae sunt.'

9. **habeat**] The subject is 'qui statuit,' and the allusion is to Isa. xiv 13, 14. In *de Gen. ad Lit.* XI 24. 31 A., quoting this passage, says 'quae in figura regis uelut Babylonis in diabolum dicta intelleguntur,' and proceeds to say that they apply also to those who form the 'mystical body' of the devil.

12. **tenebrosi frigidique** etc.] *that they may serve in darkness and cold him who imitates Thee perversely and mistakenly.* Cf. the frozen Ninth Circle in Dante's *Inferno* ('fondo che devora Lucifero,' XXXI 143). Isa. xiv 13—15 underlies Dante's, as well as A.'s, representation.

13. **pusillus grex**] Lk. xii 32.

14. **propter te**] goes with 'in nobis' (hyperbaton).

15. **qui...damnante te**] Trikolon with trisyllabic rhyme.

17. **peccator** etc.] Ps. ix 24 (x 3). (Vulg. 'et iniquus benedicitur.')

iam ille, qui laudauit, quam iste, qui laudatus est. illi enim placuit in homine donum dei, huic amplius placuit donum hominis quam dei.

XXXVII. Temptamur his temptationibus cotidie, domine, sine cessatione temptamur. cotidiana fornax nostra est humana lingua. imperas nobis et in hoc genere continentiam : da quod iubes et iube quod uis. tu nosti de hac re ad te gemitum cordis mei et flumina oculorum meorum. neque enim facile colligo, quam sim ab ista peste mundatior, et multum timeo occulta mea, quae norunt oculi tui, mei autem non. est enim qualiscumque in aliis generibus temptationum mihi facultas explorandi me, in hoc paene nulla est. nam et a uoluptatibus carnis et a curiositate superuacanea cognoscendi uideo quantum assecutus sim posse refrenare animum meum, cum eis rebus careo uel uoluntate uel cum absunt. tunc enim me interrogo, quam magis minusue mihi molestum sit non habere. diuitiae uero, quae ob hoc expetuntur, ut alicui trium istarum cupiditatum uel duabus earum uel omnibus seruiant, si persentiscere non potest animus, utrum eas habens contemnat, possunt et dimitti, ut se probet. laude uero ut careamus atque

13 superuacuanea S *Knöll.*

XXXVII. *In regard to the temptation to desire men's praise he finds it hard to judge of his own motives, for it is not right to avoid the good deeds which bring us praise. He dislikes indiscriminate or extravagant praise. The right principle is to be pleased with praise only as an indication that we have led our neighbour to admire, and to desire to imitate, that which is good. A. does not feel that he has attained to this.*

5. **fornax nostra**] Cf. Prov. xxvii 21 'quomodo probatur...in fornace aurum; sic probatur homo ore laudantis.'

7. **gemitum cordis mei**] Cf. Ps. xxxvii 9 (xxxviii 8) 'rugiebam a gemitu cordis mei.'

9. **timeo occulta mea**] Cf. Ps. xviii 13 (xix 12) 'ab occultis meis munda me.'

13. **superuacanea**] 'idle.'

18. **persentiscere**] 'detect.'

20. **laude uero** etc.] 'but in order to be free from praise and thereby test our ability (to do without it) are we to live ill?' etc. A. loved praise, as all generous natures do. But he knew its dangers and feared them. Yet his self-respect revolted against the conduct adopted by some later ascetics who purposely made themselves disgusting in appearance and manner in order to have contempt and reproaches heaped upon them. His biographer Possidius *Vit.* xxii says that A. was always neat and cleanly in his attire and habits.

in eo experiamur, quid possumus, numquid male uiuendum est et tam perdite atque immaniter, ut nemo nos nouerit, qui non detestetur? quae maior dementia dici aut cogitari potest? at si bonae uitae bonorumque operum comes et solet et debet esse laudatio, tam comitatum eius quam ipsam bonam uitam deseri non oportet. non autem sentio, sine quo esse aut aequo animo aut aegre possim, nisi cum afuerit.

Quid igitur tibi in hoc genere temptationis, domine, con- 61
fiteor? quid, nisi delectari me laudibus? sed amplius ipsa ueritate quam laudibus. nam si mihi proponatur, utrum malim furens aut in omnibus rebus errans ab omnibus hominibus laudari an constans et in ueritate certissimus ab omnibus uituperari, uideo quid eligam. uerum tamen nollem, ut uel augeret mihi gaudium cuiuslibet boni mei suffragatio oris alieni. sed auget, fateor, non solum, sed et uituperatio minuit. et cum ista miseria mea perturbor, subintrat mihi excusatio, quae qualis sit, tu scis, deus; nam me incertum facit. quia enim nobis imperasti non tantum continentiam, id est a quibus rebus amorem cohibeamus, uerum etiam iustitiam, id est quo eum conferamus, nec te tantum uoluisti a nobis uerum etiam proximum diligi, saepe mihi uideor de prouectu aut spe proximi delectari, cum bene intellegentis laude delector, et rursus eius malo contristari, cum eum audio uituperare quod aut ignorat aut bonum est. nam et contristor aliquando laudibus meis, cum uel ea laudantur in me, in quibus mihi ipse displiceo, uel etiam bona minora et leuia pluris aestimantur, quam aestimanda sunt. sed rursus unde scio, an propterea sic afficior, quia nolo de me ipso a me dissentire laudatorem meum, non quia illius utilitate moueor, sed quia eadem bona, quae mihi in me placent, iucundiora mihi sunt, cum et alteri placent?

21 prouectu] profectu *edd.*

18. **non tantum ... iustitiam**] 'Continentia' and 'iustitia' here seem to divide between them the whole sphere of ethics, 'continentia' covering the negative and 'iustitia' the positive side.

20. **nec te ... proximum**] Mt. xxii 37—39. Cf. Deut. vi 5; Lev. xix 18.

21. **de prouectu ... proximi**] *with the progress or promise shown by a neighbour.*

quodam modo enim non ego laudor, cum de me sententia mea non laudatur, quandoquidem aut illa laudantur, quae mihi displicent, aut illa amplius, quae mihi minus placent. ergone de hoc incertus sum mei?

62 Ecce in te, ueritas, uideo non me laudibus meis propter me, sed propter proximi utilitatem moueri oportere. et utrum ita sim, nescio. minus mihi de hac re notus sum ipse quam tu. obsecro te, deus meus, et me ipsum mihi indica, ut confitear oraturis pro me fratribus meis, quod in me saucium conperero. iterum me diligentius interrogem. si utilitate proximi moueor in laudibus meis, cur minus moueor, si quisquam alius iniuste uituperetur quam si ego? cur ea contumelia magis mordeor, quae in me quam quae in alium eadem iniquitate coram me iacitur? an et hoc nescio? etiamne id restat, ut ipse me seducam et uerum non faciam coram te in corde et lingua mea? insaniam istam, domine, longe fac a me, ne oleum peccatoris mihi sit os meum ad inpinguandum caput meum.

63 XXXVIII. Egenus et pauper ego sum et melior in occulto gemitu displicens mihi et quaerens misericordiam tuam, donec reficiatur defectus meus et perficiatur usque in pacem, quam nescit arrogantis oculus. sermo autem ore procedens et facta, quae innotescunt hominibus, habent temptationem periculosis-

7 sim] sit BHPQ *m.* de] in BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 8 tu] tibi CHMQ².

7. **quam tu**] The reading 'tibi' is probably an example of a scribe's correction. A. does not intend the commonplace that God knows us better than we know ourselves, but the paradox that we know God (in some respects) better than we know ourselves. Cf. § 7 *sup.* where he remarks that we can be sure of God's immutability but not of our own stability.

15. **ut ipse me seducam**] Cf. Gal. vi 3 'nam si quis existimat se aliquid esse, cum nihil sit, ipse se seducit.'

ib. **uerum non faciam**] Cf. 1 Jn i 6.

17. **ne oleum peccatoris**] Ps. cxl (cxli) 5. A. interprets, *ad loc.*, 'falsa laus adulatoris, hoc est oleum peccatoris.'

XXXVIII. *There is a subtle temptation to praise ourselves for despising the praises of men.*

19. **egenus et pauper sum**] Ps. cviii (cix) 22.

ib. **et melior** etc.] *i.e.* he is the better for recognising and inwardly lamenting over the fact that he is 'poor' and 'needy.'

simam ab amore laudis, qui ad priuatam quandam excellentiam contrahit emendicata suffragia: temptat et cum a me in me arguitur, eo ipso, quo arguitur; et saepe homo de ipso uanae gloriae contemptu uanius gloriatur ideoque non iam de ipso contemptu gloriae gloriatur: non enim eam contemnit, cum gloriatur.

XXXIX. Intus etiam, intus est aliud in eodem genere 64
temptationis malum, quo inanescunt qui placent sibi de se, quamuis aliis uel non placeant uel displiceant nec placere affectent ceteris. sed sibi placentes multum tibi displicent non tantum de non bonis quasi bonis, uerum etiam de bonis tuis quasi suis, aut etiam sicut de tuis, sed tamquam de meritis suis, aut etiam sicut ex tua gratia, non tamen socialiter gaudentes, sed aliis inuidentes eam. in his omnibus atque in huius modi periculis et laboribus uides tremorem cordis mei, et uulnera mea magis subinde a te sanari quam mihi non infligi sentio.

3 saepe homo] – homo OS *o Knöll.* 5 *alt.* gloriatur] + intus *m.* 6 intus etiam] – intus *m.* 11 de meritis] ex m. CFGHMOQVW *edd.*, et m. BP. 13 atque in] – in BCGHMOPQVW *edd.*

2. **contrahit emendicata suffragia**] *collects its pittance of praise as a beggar sues for alms.* Cf. Young *Night Thoughts* v 4:

'Praise no man e'er deserved who sought nó more.'

ib. **temptat...quo arguitur**] *this love of praise tempts me even when etc....on the very ground that I do rebuke it.*

XXXIX. *Another form of pride is that of the self-satisfaction which is indifferent alike to men's praise or blame.*

12. **non...socialiter gaudentes** etc.] Cf. Dante's argument that there is no room for envy in the spiritual sphere—in earthly things it may be sometimes true that one man's gain is another's loss:

'Ma se l' amor della spera suprema
torcesse in suso il desiderio vostro,
non vi sarebbe al petto quella tema
chè per quanti si dice più lì *nostro*,
tanto possiede più di ben ciascuno,
e più di caritate arde in quel chiostro.'

Purg. XV 52—57.

The expression 'socialiter gaudentes' is doubtless the source of the phrase in the famous Rhythm of Bernard:

'nescio, nescio, quae iubilatio, lux tibi qualis,
quam socialia gaudia, gloria quam specialis.'

15. **et uulnera mea** etc.] *and it is not so much that I have ceased to inflict these wounds upon myself as that they are ever anew healed by Thee.*

XL. Ubi non mecum ambulasti, ueritas, docens quid caueam et quid appetam, cum ad te referrem inferiora uisa mea, quae potui, teque consulerem? lustraui mundum foris sensu, quo potui, et adtendi uitam corporis mei de me sensusque ipsos meos. inde ingressus sum in recessus memoriae meae, multiplices amplitudines plenas miris modis copiarum innumerabilium, et consideraui et expaui et nihil eorum discernere potui sine te et nihil eorum te esse inueni. nec ego ipse inuentor, qui peragraui omnia et distinguere et pro suis quaeque dignitatibus aestimare conatus sum, excipiens alia nuntiantibus sensibus et interrogans, alia mecum conmixta sentiens, ipsosque nuntios dinoscens atque dinumerans iamque in memoriae latis opibus alia pertractans, alia recondens, alia eruens: nec ego ipse, cum haec agerem, id est uis mea, qua id agebam, nec ipsa eras tu, quia lux es tu permanens, quam de omnibus consulebam, an essent, quid essent, quanti

11 nuntiantibus] nutantibus S *Knöll* (*cf.* § 10 *sup.*).

XL. *A. acknowledges the guidance of God in this self-examination. In such inner communion with God he finds great delight. Sometimes it rises to a strange sweetness in the inmost soul, which gives a foretaste of heaven; but in this he is unable to abide.*

2. **ad te...uisa mea**] *i.e.* when he referred the findings of his own humbler intelligence to the higher mind within. Cf. §§ 10 and 37 *sup.*

3. **mundum foris**] *the world without.*

4. **uitam...de me**] *the life with which I vitalise my body.* Cf. § 11 *sup.*

8. **nec ego ipse**] sc. 'eram tu.'

10. **excipiens** etc.] *receiving some things on the report of the senses and interrogating them* (cf. § 9 *sup.*). Knöll follows S in reading 'nutantibus sensibus,' which would mean receiving an uncertain report of some things from the senses. The older editions punctuate differently, viz. 'nuntiantibus sensibus, et interrogans alia mecum commixta sentiens.' (So Pusey, who renders 'questioning about other things which I felt to be mingled with myself.') The reference in 'alia mecum conmixta sentiens' is apparently to the images laid up in the memory, which are known not only as related to things without, but as involving a subjective element; cf. §§ 13, 14.

12. **ipsosque nuntios**] viz. the sense-organs.

13. **in memoriae...opibus...eruens**] *in the vast stores of the memory examining some things carefully, relegating some to the background, dragging forth others to the light.*

14. **nec ego...eras tu**] *not even I when I did these things, that is, the force by which I did them, not even this was Thou* (lit. '...even this Thou wast not').

15. **lux es...permanens**] Cf. 1 Jn i 5; Ja. i 17.

pendenda essent: et audiebam docentem ac iubentem. et saepe istuc facio; hoc me delectat, et ab actionibus necessitatis quantum relaxari possum, ad istam uoluptatem refugio. neque in his omnibus, quae percurro consulens te, inuenio tutum locum animae meae nisi in te, quo colligantur sparsa mea nec a te quicquam recedat ex me. et aliquando intromittis me in affectum multum inusitatum introrsus ad nescio quam dulcedinem, quae si perficiatur in me, nescio quid erit, quod uita ista non erit. sed recido in haec aerumnosis ponderibus et resorbeor solitis et teneor et multum fleo, sed multum teneor. tantum consuetudinis sarcina digna est! hic esse ualeo nec uolo, illic uolo nec ualeo, miser utrubique.

XLI. Ideoque consideraui languores peccatorum meorum 66
in cupiditate triplici et dexteram tuam inuocaui ad salutem meam. uidi enim splendorem tuum corde saucio et repercussus dixi: quis illuc potest? proiectus sum a facie oculorum tuorum. tu es ueritas super omnia praesidens. at ego per auaritiam meam non amittere te uolui, sed uolui tecum possidere mendacium, sicut nemo uult ita falsum dicere, ut nesciat ipse, quid uerum sit. itaque amisi te, quia non dignaris cum mendacio possideri.

XLII. Quem inuenirem, qui me reconciliaret tibi? am- 67

5. **quo colligantur** etc.] *where my scattered affections may be collected so that no portion of me* ('nec quicquam ex me') *may depart from Thee.*

6. **intromittis**...**affectum**...**inusitatum**] An allusion to mystical experiences such as that described in IX 24. Cf. Plotinus *Enn.* IV 8. 1 'often have I been awakened to myself out of the body, and having come to be outside all other things but within myself I have beheld a marvellous light and beauty.' Like A., he proceeds to lament that he so soon falls back from this experience.

11. **consuetudinis sarcina**] 'And custom lie upon thee with a weight
Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life.'
Wordsworth *Intimations of Immortality.*

XLI. *A. recalls how through loving the things of the world he had lost God.*

14. **dexteram tuam**] In *Enarr. in Ps.* xvii (xviii) § 36 A. interprets 'dextera tua' as 'favor gratiae tuae.'

15. **repercussus**] See above VII 16 and 23.

16. **proiectus** ... **tuorum**] Ps. xxx 23 (xxxi 22).

XLII. *The folly of seeking to be reconciled to God through the angels. Those who attempt this by way of magic are deluded by the devil.*

biendum mihi fuit ad angelos? qua prece? quibus sacramentis? multi conantes ad te redire neque per se ipsos ualentes, sicut audio, temptauerunt haec et inciderunt in desiderium curiosarum uisionum et digni habiti sunt inlusionibus. elati enim te quaerebant doctrinae fastu exserentes potius quam tundentes pectora et adduxerunt sibi per similitudinem cordis sui conspirantes et socias superbiae suae potestates aeris huius, a quibus per potentias magicas deciperentur, quaerentes mediatorem, per quem purgarentur, et non erat. diabolus enim erat transfigurans se in angelum lucis. et multum inlexit superbam carnem, quod carneo corpore ipse non esset. erant enim illi mortales et peccatores, tu autem, domine, cui reconciliari uolebant, inmortalis et sine peccato. mediator autem inter deum et homines oportebat ut haberet aliquid simile deo, aliquid simile hominibus, ne in utroque hominibus similis longe esset a deo aut in utroque deo similis longe esset ab hominibus atque ita mediator non esset. fallax itaque ille mediator, quo per secreta iudicia tua superbia meretur inludi, unum cum

12 uolebant S, superbe quaerebant *cet. et edd.* 18 meretur] mereretur BGHMPQ *mo.* indui S *Knöll in ed. mai.*, imbui *ex* inludi *corr.* H.

1. **quibus sacramentis**] *with what rites.* A. is here alluding to the practices of the baser sort of Neo-Platonists, who had recourse to theurgy with the object of inducing mystical experiences. A. frequently identifies the inferior gods of the Neo-Platonist system with the angels, *e.g. de Ciu. Dei* IX 23 and X 26. In the latter passage he speaks of Porphyry as teaching that there were some angels whose function was to reveal divine things to men, and says that Porphyry seems to have weakly accommodated his teaching to those who practised theurgy, although he himself says that the angels are to be 'imitated not invoked.'

5. **exserentes** etc.] *thrusting out their chests instead of beating their breasts.*

6. **et adduxerunt**] *and drew to themselves by an inward affinity, as partners and allies of their pride, the powers of the air.*

7. **aeris huius**] Eph. ii 2.

9. **diabolus enim** etc.] 2 Cor. xi 14 'ipse enim Satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis.'

10. **et multum inlexit** etc.] *and the fact that he* (the devil) *was without a fleshly body was a strong attraction to the pride of fleshly man.* A. did not hold that the devil was strictly incorporeal but that he had an aerial body (*de Gen. ad Lit.* XI 13. 17 'corpus...aerium sicut ipsius diaboli uel daemonum spiritus').

13. **mediator** etc.] Cf. 1 Tim. ii 5.

hominibus habet, id est peccatum, aliud uideri uult habere cum deo, ut, quia carnis mortalitate non tegitur, pro inmortali se ostentet. sed quia stipendium peccati mors est, hoc habet commune cum hominibus, unde simul damnetur in mortem.

XLIII. Verax autem mediator, quem secreta tua miseri- 68
cordia demonstrasti hominibus et misisti, ut eius exemplo etiam ipsam discerent humilitatem, mediator ille dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus, inter mortales peccatores et inmortalem iustum apparuit, mortalis cum hominibus, iustus cum deo, ut, quoniam stipendium iustitiae uita et pax est, per iustitiam coniunctam deo euacuaret mortem iustificatorum inpiorum, quam cum illis uoluit habere conmunem. hic demonstratus est antiquis sanctis, ut ita ipsi per fidem futurae passionis

6 hominibus FS, humilibus BCGHMOPQVW *edd.*

2. **pro inmortali se ostentet**] Commenting on 1 Tim. vi 16 'qui solus habet immortalitatem,' A. points out that God alone has immortality in the highest sense, viz. immutability; *de Trin.* I 1. 2 and *Serm.* lxv 3. 4.

3. **stipendium** etc.] Rom. vi 23. Vulg. 'stipendia peccati mors.'

XLIII. *The only true mediator between God and man is 'the man Christ Jesus,' who shares mortality with men and perfect righteousness with God. God's great love in giving Him to be our priest and sacrifice. A. had purposed after his conversion to retire to the wilderness, but God suffered him not, sending him instead to serve his brethren.*

6. **demonstrasti**] As the sequel shows ('hic demonstratus est antiquis sanctis') this refers to the vision of Christ before He came.

ib. **ut...discerent humilitatem**] On the moral side the main purpose of the Incarnation was, in A.'s teaching, the inculcation of humility; cf. VII 26, where he speaks of the absence of any such teaching as the weak point of the Neo-Platonic doctrine in contrast with Christianity: 'ubi enim erat illa aedificans caritas a fundamento humilitatis, quod est Iesus Christus?' The passage of Scripture to which this teaching especially attaches itself is Phil. ii 6 sq. Cf. VII 14, and see Harnack *H. D.* V 131 (E. T.).

9. **mortalis cum hominibus** etc.] *sharing man's mortality and God's justice.*

10. **stipendium iustitiae**] The phrase is formed on the analogy of 'stipendia peccati' of Rom. vi 23.

11. **euacuaret mortem**] Cf. 2 Tim. i 10, 1 Cor. xv 55. See IV 19.

ib. **iustificatorum** etc.] See § 2 *sup.*

13. **antiquis sanctis** etc.] Cf. *c. Duas Epp. Pelag.* III 4. 11 'huius generis (viz. sons, not servants, referring to Gal. iv 5, 7, 26) fuerunt antiqui omnes iusti...quia ex fide qua nos uiuimus, una eademque uixerunt, incarnationem, passionem, resurrectionemque Christi credentes futuram, quam nos credimus factam.' It is to be observed that at the time of writing the *Confessions* A. had already faced the

eius, sicut nos per fidem praeteritae, salui fierent. in quantum enim homo, in tantum mediator, in quantum autem uerbum, non medius, quia aequalis deo et deus apud deum et simul unus deus.

9 In quantum nos amasti, pater bone, qui filio tuo unico non pepercisti, sed pro nobis inpiis tradidisti eum! quomodo nos amasti, pro quibus ille non rapinam arbitratus esse aequalis tibi factus est subditus usque ad mortem crucis, unus ille in mortuis liber, potestatem habens ponendi animam suam et potestatem habens iterum sumendi eam, pro nobis tibi uictor et uictima, et ideo uictor, quia uictima, pro nobis tibi sacerdos et sacrificium, et ideo sacerdos, quia sacrificium, faciens tibi

5 in quantum] quomodo BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

difficulty regarding the standing of the O.T. saints which was to be often brought forward in the Pelagian controversy.

1. **in quantum enim homo**] A. insists strongly upon this point, *e.g.* *de Ciu. Dei* IX 15 'non enim ob hoc est mediator quia Verbum; maxime quippe immortale et maxime beatum Verbum longe est a mortalibus miseris; sed mediator per quod homo.' In *Serm.* ccxciii § 7 he urges that the alternative is to think of Christ as less than God: 'si diceret (1 Tim. ii 5) unus Deus unus et mediator Dei et hominum Christus Iesus (omitting 'homo' before 'Christus'), tamquam minor Deus intellegeretur...unitatem teneat diuinitas, medietatem suscipiat humanitas.'

3. **aequalis deo**] Phil. ii 6.

5. **qui filio tuo** etc.] Rom. viii 32 ('pro nobis omnibus'—'inpiis' is probably suggested by Rom. v 6 'pro inpiis mortuus est').

7. **non rapinam arbitratus**] Phil. ii 6. Cf. *c. Max.* I 5 'natura quippe illi fuerat Dei aequalitas, non rapina.'

8. **factus est subditus**] Phil. ii 8 (Vulg. 'factus oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis').

ib. **in mortuis liber**] Ps. lxxxvii 6 (lxxxviii 5). Cf. A.'s comment *ad loc.* (§ 5) 'in his uerbis maxime persona Domini apparet. quis enim alius inter mortuos liber, nisi in similitudine carnis peccati inter peccatores solus sine peccato?...hic ergo inter mortuos liber, qui in potestate habebat ponere animam suam et iterum sumere eam.'

9. **potestatem habens**] Jn x 18.

11. **ideo uictor, quia uictima**] For the thought, cf. Heb. ix 28 'sic et Christus semel oblatus est ad multorum exhaurienda peccata; secundo sine peccato apparebit exspectantibus se in salutem.'

ib. **sacerdos et sacrificium**] Cf. Heb. vii 27.

12. **faciens...nos de seruis filios** etc.] *making us sons to Thee instead of bondservants, by Himself being born Thy son* (in His Incarnation) *and serving Thee* (many MSS. have 'us'). The apparently abrupt transition to this thought is effected in A.'s mind by way of the doctrine of the Mystical Union. Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* xxvi (xxvii) 11 2 'sacrificium obtulit Deo non aliud quam seipsum. non enim inueniret praeter se mundissimam rationalem

nos de seruis filios de te nascendo, tibi seruiendo. merito mihi spes ualida in illo est, quod sanabis omnes languores meos per eum, qui sedet ad dexteram tuam et te interpellat pro nobis: alioquin desperarem. multi enim et magni sunt idem languores, multi sunt et magni; sed amplior est medicina tua. potuimus putare uerbum tuum remotum esse a coniunctione hominis et desperare de nobis, nisi caro fieret et habitaret in nobis.

Conterritus peccatis meis et mole miseriae meae agitaueram 70
corde meditatusque fueram fugam in solitudinem, sed prohibuisti me et confortasti me dicens: ideo Christus pro omnibus mortuus est, ut et qui uiuunt iam non sibi uiuant, sed ei qui pro omnibus mortuus est. ecce, domine, iacto in te curam meam, ut uiuam, et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua. tu scis inperitiam meam et infirmitatem meam: doce me et sana me. ille tuus unicus, in quo sunt omnes thesauri

1 tibi S, nobis BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 5 languores]+mei BCFMPQW *edd.* amplior est] ampliores S. 11 confortasti] confirmasti BCFGHMOPQW *edd.* 12 ut et S, ut C, ut BFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 13 omnibus S, ipsis *cet. et edd.* (*Vulg.*).

uictimam, tamquam agnus immaculatus, fuso sanguine suo redimens nos, concorporans nos sibi, faciens nos membra sua, ut in illo et nos Christus essemus.'

1. **merito**] *justly*.

2. **sanabis...languores**] Ps. cii (ciii) 3.

3. **interpellat pro nobis**] Rom. viii 34.

7. **nisi caro** etc.] Cf. Jn i 14.

10. **fugam in solitudinem**] Cf. the case of Basil, of Chrysostom, of Jerome. In that age, when religion took possession of men's hearts, their first idea was to turn their backs upon the world and flee to solitary places. In this passage A. condemns this procedure so far as he himself was concerned. He felt it to be his duty to live, not for self, not even for his religious self, but for others. Cf. H. von Schubert *Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte* p. 132 'hie und da blitzt, namentlich bei den Africanern,—ist es das semitische Blut der alten Punier?—ein ahnendes Verständniss auf für den Weg, an dessen Ende freilich weder Hierarchie noch Mönchthum steht. Augustin allein, ein Geist so reich wie wenige, die über diese Erde gewandert sind, ist in manchen Momenten diesen Weg zu Ende gegangen.'

11. **Christus pro omnibus**] 2 Cor. v 15.

13. **iacto in te** etc.] Cf. 1 Pet. v 7.

14. **considerabo** etc.] Ps. cxviii (cxix) 18.

ib. **tu scis inperitiam**] Cf. Ps. lxviii 6 (lxix 5).

15. **doce me et sana me**] Cf. Ps. xxiv (xxv) 5; vi 3 (2).

16. **in quo sunt**] Col. ii 3.

sapientiae et scientiae absconditi, redemit me sanguine suo. non calumnientur mihi superbi, quoniam cogito pretium meum et manduco et bibo et erogo et pauper cupio saturari ex eo inter illos, qui edunt et saturantur: et laudabunt dominum qui requirunt eum.

3. **erogo**] 'distribute.' Perhaps with a word-play also on the sense 'spend,' in which it goes naturally with 'pretium.' Cf. 1 4, note ('supererogatur').

4. **qui edunt** etc.] Ps. xxi 27 (xxii 26) 'edent pauperes et saturabuntur' etc. Cf. A.'s comment *ad loc.* 'cenam suam dedit, passionem suam dedit: ille saturatur qui imitatur.'

LIBER UNDECIMUS.

I. Numquid, domine, cum tua sit aeternitas, ignoras, quae 1
tibi dico, aut ad tempus uides quod fit in tempore? cur ergo
tibi tot rerum narrationes digero? non utique per me noueris
ea, sed affectum meum excito in te et eorum, qui haec legunt,
5 ut dicamus omnes: magnus dominus et laudabilis ualde. iam
dixi et dicam: amore amoris tui facio istuc. nam et oramus,
et tamen ueritas ait: nouit pater uester quid uobis opus sit,

3 utique]+ut BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 6 istuc] istud CFGMO²W² *edd.*

The relation of the last three books—which are mainly devoted to an exposition of Gen. i—to the remainder of the work is not at first sight obvious. The link of connexion however appears to be this: having described in Book X his religious and moral condition at the time of writing, A. next proceeds to outline what might be called, in modern phraseology, his 'theological position' (cf. § 2 'inardesco...confiteri scientiam et inperitiam meam'). To do so in the form of an exposition of Gen. i was quite in accordance with the customs of the time (cf. Harnack *H.D.* III 247 E.T. 'The cosmological and allied anthropological problems were treated by the Fathers [of the 4th cent.]—who formally used Gen. i—iii as their text—with the whole apparatus of contemporary philosophy...'); and A.'s thoughts, moreover, had doubtless been especially directed to the account of the Creation by the fact that the Manichaeans made it a special object of attack (cf. *de Gen. c. Manich.*). There is thus a certain appropriateness in this conclusion to a work which is quite as much a history of A.'s mental as of his outward life. On the threshold of his exposition of Gen. i, however, he is met by the problem of Time, and with the discussion of this problem Bk XI is mainly occupied.

I. *The purpose of the* Confessions *is not to enlighten God, to whom all things are known, but to awaken devotion in A.'s own heart and in the hearts of his readers, that all may say 'Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised.'*

2. **cur ergo** etc.] Cf. X 2—6 *sup.*

5. **magnus dominus** etc.] Ps. xcv (xcvi) 4. The key-note of the *Confessions*; cf. I 1.

ib. **iam dixi**] Cf. X 2.

7. **nouit pater uester** etc.] Mt. vi 8.

priusquam petatis ab eo. affectum ergo nostrum patefacimus in te confitendo tibi miserias nostras et misericordias tuas super nos, ut liberes nos omnino, quoniam coepisti, ut desinamus esse miseri in nobis et beatificemur in te, quoniam uocasti nos, ut simus pauperes spiritu et mites et lugentes et esurientes ac sitientes iustitiam et misericordes et mundicordes et pacifici. ecce narraui tibi multa, quae potui et quae uolui, quoniam tu prior uoluisti, ut confiterer tibi, domino deo meo, quoniam bonus es, quoniam in saeculum misericordia tua.

2 II. Quando autem sufficio lingua calami enuntiare omnia hortamenta tua et omnes terrores tuos et consolationes et gubernationes, quibus me perduxisti praedicare uerbum et sacramentum tuum dispensare populo tuo? et si sufficio haec enuntiare ex ordine, caro mihi ualent stillae temporum. et

2. **misericordias...super nos**] Cf. Ps. xxxii (xxxiii) 22.

5. **pauperes spiritu** etc.] Cf. Mt. v 3—9.

8. **domino...quoniam** etc.] Ps. cxvii 1.

II. *He will not attempt to tell at length how he was led by the Divine guidance to become a preacher of the word and 'a steward of the mysteries of God'; but he will confess what he has learned of the Scriptures, and how far he still remains ignorant. He prays that he may be aided therein by Jesus Christ, the Divine Word and the Mediator between God and man.*

10. **lingua calami**] Perhaps suggested by the converse metaphor in Ps. xliv 2 (xlv 1). For the form of the phrase cf. v 1 'de manu linguae.'

12. **perduxisti praedicare uerbum**] A. was now (since 397) Bishop of Hippo. After the death of his mother (IX 28) he returned to Thagaste, sold his property, and, gathering some friends round him, lived what was virtually a monastic life for some three years. Then, while visiting an acquaintance at Hippo, whom he hoped to induce to join him, he was almost forcibly ordained presbyter to assist the Bishop Valerius, who was an aged man and laboured under the disadvantage of being unable to preach in Latin, Greek being his native tongue. Some six years later A. was made coadjutor bishop to the now infirm Valerius, who died the following year, 396. (Possidius *Vit. Aug.* iii—viii, Aug. *Epp.* xxi *ad Valerium*, cxxvi 7 *ad Albinam.* A. dwells on his reluctance to be ordained in *Serm.* cccIv 2.)

13. **sacramentum...dispensare**] Cf. 1 Cor. iv 1, and note on 'sacramentum' in IV 3 *sup.*

14. **caro...ualent**] For the ablative of price with 'ualeo' cf. Ulp. *Dig.* XIX 1. 13 'quasi minimo ualeret hereditas.'

ib. **stillae temporum**] The expression is suggested by the use of the water-clock (clepsydra), in which lapse of time was measured by the stealing away of a given quantity of water (κλέπτειν, ὕδωρ). Cf. the expression 'the sands of time,' from the use of the hour-glass.

olim inardesco meditari in lege tua et in ea tibi confiteri scientiam et inperitiam meam, primordia inluminationis tuae et reliquias tenebrarum mearum, quousque deuoretur a fortitudine infirmitas. et nolo in aliud horae diffluant, quas inuenio liberas a necessitatibus reficiendi corporis et intentionis animi et seruitutis, quam debemus hominibus et quam non debemus et tamen reddimus.

Domine deus meus, intende orationi meae, et misericordia 3
tua exaudiat desiderium meum, quoniam non mihi soli aestuat sed usui uult esse fraternae caritati: et uides in corde meo quia sic est. sacrificem tibi famulatum cogitationis et linguae meae, et da quod offeram tibi. inops enim et pauper sum, tu dives in omnes inuocantes te, qui securus curam nostri geris. circumcide ab omni temeritate omnique mendacio interiora et exteriora mea, labia mea. sint castae deliciae meae scripturae tuae, nec fallar in eis nec fallam ex eis. domine, adtende et miserere, domine deus meus, lux caecorum et uirtus infirmorum statimque lux uidentium et uirtus fortium, adtende animam meam et audi clamantem de profundo. nam nisi assint et in profundo aures tuae, quo ibimus? quo clamabimus? tuus est

15 *pr.* mea] – BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

1. **inardesco meditari in lege tua**] In this phrase A. makes the transition to the subject of the last three books, the exposition of Gen. i.

2. **inperitiam meam**] repeats the confession of x 70.

3. **deuoretur infirmitas**] The phrase seems to be modelled on 1 Cor. xv 54 or 2 Cor. v 4.

6. **quam non debemus**] *i.e.* the settling of unnecessary quarrels etc. See the passage from *de Op. Monach.* § 37 quoted at VI 15 in note on 'causarum examinator.'

8. **intende** etc.] Ps. lx 2 (lxi 1).

9. **exaudiat desiderium**] Cf. Ps. x 17 'desiderium pauperum exaudiuit dominus.'

11. **famulatum**] Here evidently = service; usually, a state of servitude; cf. Cic. *de Amicit.* xix 70 'qui aliquamdiu propter ignorationem stirpis . . in famulatu fuerunt.'

12. **inops...et pauper sum**] Ps. lxxxv (lxxxvi) 1.

13. **dues in omnes**] Rom. x 12. *ib.* **securus curam**] Figura etymologica.

14. **circumcide...labia**] Cf. Ex. vi 12.

18. **statimque**] 'Statim' here probably means 'constantly,' 'unfailingly,' as in Ter. *Phorm.* v 3. 6: 'nam ex eis praediis talenta argenti bina statim capiebat.'

19. **clamantem de profundo**] Cf. Ps. cxxix (cxxx) 1.

20. **tuus est dies** etc.] Ps. lxxiii (lxxiv) 16.

dies et tua est nox: ad nutum tuum momenta transuolant. largire inde spatium meditationibus nostris in abdita legis tuae neque aduersus pulsantes claudas eam. neque enim frustra scribi uoluisti tot paginarum opaca secreta, aut non habent illae siluae ceruos suos recipientes se in eas et resumentes, ambulantes et pascentes, recumbentes et ruminantes. o domine, perfice me et reuela mihi eas. ecce uox tua gaudium meum, uox tua super affluentiam uoluptatum. da quod amo: amo enim. et hoc tu dedisti. ne dona tua deseras nec herbam tuam spernas sitientem. confitear tibi quidquid inuenero in libris tuis et audiam uocem laudis et te bibam et considerem mirabilia de lege tua ab usque principio, in quo fecisti caelum et terram, usque ad regnum tecum perpetuum sanctae ciuitatis tuae.

4 Domine, miserere mei et exaudi desiderium meum. puto enim, quod non sit de terra, non de auro et argento et lapidibus aut decoris uestibus aut honoribus et potestatibus aut uoluptatibus carnis, neque de necessariis corpori et huic uitae peregrinationis nostrae, quae omnia nobis adponuntur

8 super affluentiam] s. affluentiam C^1S, s. affluentia GH, superfluentiam W, superfluentium BFPQ, superaffluentium M. 18 corporis BGM^{1}PQV.

2. **abdita legis tuae**] 'the hidden things of Thy law,' *i.e.* of the Scriptures.

3. **aduersus pulsantes**] Cf. Mt. vii 7. 'Eam,' sc. 'legem tuam.'

5. **ceruos suos**] Alluding to Ps. xxviii (xxix) 9 'uox domini perficientis ceruos.' A. interprets (*ad loc.*) 'ceruos' as those who resist temptation, as the hart was fabled to be invulnerable to snake-bites, and proceeds (referring to the following words 'et reuelabit siluas'): 'et tunc eis reuelabit opacitates diuinorum librorum, et umbracula mysteriorum, ubi cum libertate pascantur.'

7. **perfice...reuela**] Ps. xxviii 9 Old Lat. See previous note.

ib. **uox tua...uoluptatum**] *Behold, Thy voice is a joy to me, Thy voice is a joy greater than abundance of pleasures.* Cf. Ps. cxviii (cxix) 72 'bonum mihi lex oris tui, super milia auri et argenti.' In the present passage the Scriptures are described as 'uox tua' in order to continue the allusion to Ps. xxviii (xxix) 9.

11. **audiam uocem laudis**] Ps. xxv (xxvi) 7.

ib. **considerem...de lege tua**] Ps. cxviii (cxix) 18.

12. **ab usque principio** etc.] A. intends to treat of the whole range of the Divine dispensations. See note at beginning of this book.

15. **miserere...exaudi**] Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 7.

19. **omnia...adponuntur**] Mt. vi 33 (Vulg. 'adiicientur').

quaerentibus regnum et iustitiam tuam. uide, deus meus, unde sit desiderium meum. narrauerunt mihi iniusti delectationes, sed non sicut lex tua, domine. ecce unde est desiderium meum. uide, pater, aspice et uide et adproba, et placeat in conspectu misericordiae tuae inuenire me gratiam ante te, ut aperiantur pulsanti mihi interiora sermonum tuorum. obsecro per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, uirum dexterae tuae, filium hominis, quem confirmasti tibi mediatorem tuum et nostrum, per quem nos quaesisti non quaerentes te, quaesisti autem, ut quaereremus te, uerbum tuum, per quod fecisti omnia, in quibus et me, unicum tuum, per quem uocasti in adoptionem populum credentium, in quo et me: per eum te obsecro, qui sedet ad dexteram tuam et te interpellat pro nobis, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi. ipsos quaero in libris tuis. Moyses de illo scripsit: hoc ipse ait, hoc ueritas ait.

III. Audiam et intellegam, quomodo in principio fecisti caelum et terram. scripsit hoc Moyses, scripsit et abiit, transiit hinc a te ad te neque nunc ante me est. nam si esset, tenerem eum et rogarem eum et per te obsecrarem, ut mihi ista panderet, et praeberem aures corporis mei sonis erumpentibus ex ore eius, et si hebraea uoce loqueretur, frustra pulsaret sensum meum nec inde mentem meam quicquam tangeret; si autem latine, scirem quid diceret. sed unde scirem, an uerum diceret? quod si et hoc scirem,

2 delectationes] fabulationes V (*Vulg.*).

2. **narrauerunt...delectationes**] Ps. cxviii (cxix) 85. See viii 27 note.

5. **inuenire...gratiam**] Cf. Ex. xxxiii 13.

7. **uirum dexterae tuae** etc.] Ps. lxxix 18 (lxxx 17).

8. **mediatorem**] Cf. x 68.

10. **uerbum tuum** etc.] Cf. Jn i 3.

13. **ad dexteram** etc.] Rom. viii 34.

14. **in quo sunt** etc.] Col. ii 3.

15. **Moyses de illo**] Cf. Jn v 46. Moses is mentioned because of what follows.

III. *He beseeches God to reveal to him the meaning of the words of Moses: 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.'*

19. **a te ad te**] As the sinner flees 'a te placido ad te iratum' (IV 14), so the saint passes from God his saviour to God his rewarder.

num ab illo scirem? intus utique mihi, intus in domicilio cogitationis nec hebraea nec graeca nec latina nec barbara ueritas sine oris et linguae organis, sine strepitu syllabarum diceret: "uerum dicit" et ego statim certus confidenter illi homini tuo dicerem: "uerum dicis." quum ergo illum interrogare non possim, te, quo plenus uera dixit, ueritas, rogo, te, deus meus, rogo, parce peccatis meis, et qui illi seruo tuo dedisti haec dicere, da et mihi haec intellegere.

6 IV. Ecce sunt caelum et terra; clamant, quod facta sint; mutantur enim atque uariantur. quidquid autem factum non est et tamen est, non est in eo quicquam, quod ante non erat: quod est mutari atque uariari. clamant etiam, quod se ipsa non fecerint: "ideo sumus, quia facta sumus; non ergo eramus, antequam essemus, ut fieri possemus a nobis." et uox dicentium est ipsa euidentia. tu ergo, domine, fecisti ea, qui pulcher es: pulchra sunt enim; qui bonus es: bona sunt enim; qui es: sunt enim. nec ita pulchra sunt nec ita bona sunt nec ita sunt, sicut tu conditor eorum, quo conparato nec pulchra sunt nec bona sunt nec sunt. scimus haec, gratias tibi, et scientia nostra scientiae tuae conparata ignorantia est.

7 V. Quomodo autem fecisti caelum et terram, et quae machina tam grandis operationis tuae? non enim sicut homo artifex formans corpus de corpore arbitratu animae ualentis imponere utcumque speciem, quam cernit in semet ipsa interno

18 conditor] cognitor O. quo conparato] cui comparata H^2Q^2 *mo.*

1. **intus...ueritas...diceret**] See X 10, note ('intus cum ueritate').

7. **parce peccatis meis**] Job xiv 16.

IV. *The heaven and the earth proclaim that they were created, for changes pass over them, and that which is mutable cannot be eternal. They proclaim also the character of their creator.*

10. **quidquid ... uariari**] *But whatsoever has not been made, and yet is, has nothing in it which was not in it before, that is to say, does not change or vary.* Lit. 'which (viz. to have something in it which was not in it before) is to change and vary.'

14. **et uox...euidentia**] 'and their very appearance is the voice with which they speak.' Cf. Pascal *Pensées sur la Religion* xvi 67 'La nature a des perfections, pour montrer qu'elle est l'image de Dieu; et des défauts, pour montrer qu'elle n'en est que l'image.'

V. *The mystery of Creation. It is not like the work of a human artificer, for he has his material ready to his hand.*

oculo—et unde hoc ualeret, nisi quia tu fecisti eam?—et imponit speciem iam exsistenti et habenti, ut esset, ueluti terrae aut lapidi aut ligno aut auro aut id genus rerum cuilibet. et unde ista essent, nisi tu instituisses ea? tu fabro corpus, tu animam membris imperitantem fecisti, tu materiam, unde facit aliquid, tu ingenium, quo artem capiat et uideat intus quid faciat foris, tu sensum corporis, quo interprete traiciat ab animo ad materiam id quod facit, et renuntiet animo quid factum sit, ut ille intus consulat praesidentem sibi ueritatem, an bene factum sit. te laudant haec omnia creatorem omnium. sed tu quomodo facis ea? quomodo fecisti, deus, caelum et terram? non utique in caelo neque in terra fecisti caelum et terram neque in aere aut in aquis, quoniam et haec pertinent ad caelum et terram, neque in uniuerso mundo fecisti uniuersum mundum, quia non erat, ubi fieret, antequam fieret ut esset. nec manu tenebas aliquid, unde faceres caelum et terram: nam unde tibi hoc, quod tu non feceras, unde aliquid faceres? quid enim est, nisi quia tu es? ergo dixisti et facta sunt atque in uerbo tuo fecisti ea.

VI. Sed quomodo dixisti? numquid illo modo, quo facta 8
est uox de nube dicens: hic est filius meus dilectus? illa enim uox acta atque transacta est, coepta et finita. sonuerunt syllabae atque transierunt, secunda post primam, tertia post secundam atque inde ex ordine, donec ultima post ceteras

5 animam] animum BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

2. **et habenti, ut esset**] *and is in possession of being.*

3. **id genus rerum**] 'id genus' is often used where we should expect 'eius generis'; cf. Cic. *ad Att.* XIII 12 'orationes aut aliquid id genus scribere.'

6. **quo artem capiat**] A. frequently uses 'ars' in the sense of the constructive imagination. Cf. *de Gen. cont. Manich.* I 8. 13 'sed quod uidet artifex intus in arte, hoc foris probat in opere.'

9. **praesidentem sibi ueritatem**] The criterion, or inner standard of judgment, in which A. recognised a Divine revelation. See X 10, 37, 66.

19. **dixisti et facta sunt** etc.] Ps. xxxii (xxxiii) 9 'ipse dixit et facta sunt'; cf. *ib. v.* 6 'verbo Domini caeli firmati sunt.'

VI. *How are we to understand the saying that by the word of God was the world made?*

21. **hic est filius** etc.] Mt. iii 17.

silentiumque post ultimam. unde claret atque eminet, quod creaturae motus expressit eam seruiens aeternae uoluntati tuae ipse temporalis. et haec ad tempus facta uerba tua nuntiauit auris exterior menti prudenti, cuius auris interior posita est ad aeternum uerbum tuum. at illa conparauit haec uerba temporaliter sonantia cum aeterno in silentio uerbo tuo et dixit: aliud est longe, longe aliud est. haec longe infra me sunt; nec sunt, quia fugiunt et praetereunt: uerbum autem dei mei supra me manet in aeternum. si ergo uerbis sonantibus et praetereuntibus dixisti, ut fieret caelum et terra, atque ita fecisti caelum et terram, erat iam creatura corporalis ante caelum et terram, cuius motibus temporalibus temporaliter uox illa percurreret. nullum autem corpus ante caelum et terram, aut si erat, id certe sine transitoria uoce feceras, unde transitoriam uocem faceres, qua diceres ut fieret caelum et terra. quidquid enim illud esset, unde talis uox fieret, nisi abs te factum esset, omnino non esset. ut ergo fieret corpus, unde ista uerba fierent, quo uerbo a te dictum est?

9 VII. Vocas itaque nos ad intellegendum uerbum, deum apud te deum, quod sempiterne dicitur et eo sempiterne dicuntur omnia. neque enim finitur, quod dicebatur, et dicitur aliud, ut possint dici omnia, sed simul ac sempiterne omnia: alioquin iam tempus et mutatio et non uera aeternitas nec uera inmortalitas. hoc noui, deus meus, et gratias ago. noui, confiteor tibi, domine deus, mecumque nouit et bene-

7 aliud est longe] – longe BCFHPQVW *mo.* 25 deus] – BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

2. **creaturae motus expressit eam**] Alluding probably to the part played by the air in the transmission of sound, which was understood by ancient natural philosophy. Cf. Diog. Laërt. VII 158 *ἀκούειν δὲ τοῦ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε φωνοῦντος καὶ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἀέρος πληττομένου σφαιροειδῶς, εἶτα κυματουμένου καὶ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσπίπτοντος, ὡς κυματοῦται τὸ ἐν τῇ δεξαμενῇ ὕδωρ κατὰ κύκλους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμβληθέντος λίθου.*

8. **uerbum autem** etc.] Cf. Isa. xl 8 'uerbum autem domini nostri manet in aeternum.'

VII. *The Word by which the world was created was the Word Who is coeternal with God.*

19. **deum apud te deum**] Jn i 1.

20. **eo**] The sense of the metaphor in 'eo' (*i.e.* 'uerbo') is strong enough to prevent the use of 'ab' with it.

dicit te quisquis ingratus non est certae ueritati. nouimus enim, domine, nouimus, quoniam in quantum quidque non est quod erat et est quod non erat, in tantum moritur et oritur. non ergo quicquam uerbi tui cedit atque succedit, quoniam uere inmortale atque aeternum est. et ideo uerbo tibi coaeterno simul et sempiterne dicis omnia, quae dicis, et fit, quidquid dicis ut fiat; nec aliter quam dicendo facis: nec tamen simul et sempiterna fiunt omnia, quae dicendo facis.

VIII. Cur, quaeso, domine deus meus? utcumque uideo, sed quomodo id eloquar nescio, nisi quia omne, quod esse incipit et esse desinit, tunc esse incipit et tunc desinit, quando debuisse incipere uel desinere in aeterna ratione cognoscitur, ubi nec incipit aliquid nec desinit. ipsum est uerbum tuum, quod et principium est, quia et loquitur nobis. sic in euangelio per carnem ait, et hoc insonuit foris auribus hominum, ut crederetur et intus quaereretur et inueniretur in aeterna ueritate, ubi omnes discipulos bonus et solus magister docet. ibi audio uocem tuam, domine, dicentis mihi, quoniam ille

2 enim] – BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

VIII. *The Eternal Reason by whom the world was made is the same Who tells us in the Gospel that He is the 'beginning,' and Who also, as the 'principle' of truth, imparts to our minds the power of recognising it.*

9. **utcumque uideo**] *I understand in some measure.*

14. **principium est, quia et loquitur** etc.] Jn viii 25, Vulg. (Gk τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν). A. perceived the difficulty which the accusative τὴν ἀρχήν places in the way of his interpretation, but disposed of it by assuming an ellipsis of some word meaning 'believe': 'tamquam diceret "Principium me credite",' *Tract. in Ioan.* XXXVIII 11. (The rendering of our versions is by no means certain. Westcott in his commentary on St John inclines to take it 'How is it that I even speak to you at all?') Founding on this passage, A. understands the 'in principio' of Gen. i 1 as meaning 'in Christ.' Ambrose, *Hexaëmeron* I 4. 15, gives this among other possible meanings, quoting Jn viii 25 in the form 'initium quod et loquor uobis' and commenting 'in hoc ergo principio, id est, in Christo, fecit Deus caelum et terram.'

17. **bonus et solus magister**] Cf. Mt. xix 16, xxiii 8.

18. **ibi audio** etc.] *there I hear Thy voice saying to me that he who teaches us (intelligibly) really speaks to us, but that he who does not teach us, even if he speaks, does not speak to us.* Commenting on Jn viii 25 in *Tract. in Ioan.* XXXVIII 11 A. says that Christ taught men, made them understand the truth, by coming among them. The eternal Word would have been unintelligible to them, but He condescended to

loquitur nobis, qui docet nos; qui autem non docet nos, etiam si loquitur, non nobis loquitur. quis porro nos docet nisi stabilis ueritas? quia et per creaturam mutabilem cum admonemur, ad ueritatem stabilem ducimur, ubi uere discimus, cum stamus et audimus eum et gaudio gaudemus propter uocem sponsi, reddentes nos, unde sumus. et ideo principium, quia nisi maneret, cum erraremus, non esset quo rediremus. cum autem redimus ab errore, cognoscendo utique redimus; ut autem cognoscamus, docet nos, quia principium est et loquitur nobis.

11 IX. In hoc principio fecisti, deus, caelum et terram, in uerbo tuo, in filio tuo, in uirtute tua, in sapientia tua, in ueritate tua miro modo dicens et miro modo faciens. quis conprehendet? quis enarrabit? quid est illud, quod interlucet mihi et percutit cor meum sine laesione? et inhorresco et inardesco: inhorresco, in quantum dissimilis ei sum, inardesco, in quantum similis ei sum. sapientia, sapientia ipsa est, quae interlucet mihi, discindens nubilum meum, quod me rursus cooperit deficientem ab ea caligine atque aggere poenarum mearum, quoniam sic infirmatus est in egestate uigor meus, ut non sufferam bonum meum, donec tu, domine, qui propitius factus es omnibus iniquitatibus meis, etiam sanes omnes

11 fecisti, deus *coniec. o Knöll*, fecit deus SV, deus fecisti *cet. m.*

their weakness: 'ergo, inquit, credite me esse principium, quia, ut credatis, non solum sum, sed et loquor uobis.'

5. **cum stamus** etc.] Cf. Jn iii 29.

6. **reddentes nos** etc.] 'restoring ourselves to Him from whom we came,' *i.e.* by taking Christ as the soul's bridegroom we return to Him from whom our life is derived, since in Him all things were made. 'Reddentis nos,' the reading of the MS. O, gives a sense less appropriate to the context. Cf. below, 'cum redimus' etc.

ib. **et ideo principium** etc.] A. plays on the secondary sense of principium—'principle,' 'regulative standard.'

7. **quia nisi maneret** etc.] See above IV 31 *fin.*

IX. *The Eternal Wisdom strikes the heart with dread, and also kindles it; for man is both like, and unlike, to God.*

19. **ab**] Causal, 'fainting by reason of' etc.

20. **infirmatus** etc.] Ps. xxx (xxxi) 11 (Vulg. 'infirmata est in paupertate uirtus mea').

21. **qui propitius** etc.] Ps. cii (ciii) 3—5.

languores meos, quia et redimes de corruptione uitam meam et coronabis me in miseratione et misericordia et satiabis in bonis desiderium meum, quoniam renouabitur iuuentus mea sicut aquilae. spe enim salui facti sumus et promissa tua per patientiam expectamus. audiat te intus sermocinantem qui potest; ego fidenter ex oraculo tuo clamabo: quam magnificata sunt opera tua, domine, omnia in sapientia fecisti! et illa principium, et in eo principio fecisti caelum et terram.

X. Nonne ecce pleni sunt uetustatis suae qui nobis dicunt: 12
quid faciebat deus, antequam faceret caelum et terram? si enim uacabat, inquiunt, et non operabatur aliquid, cur non sic semper et deinceps, quemadmodum retro semper cessauit ab opere? si enim ullus motus in deo nouus extitit et uoluntas noua, ut creaturam conderet, quam numquam ante condiderat, quomodo iam uera aeternitas, ubi oritur uoluntas, quae non erat? neque enim uoluntas dei creatura est, sed ante creaturam, quia non crearetur aliquid, nisi creatoris uoluntas praecederet. ad ipsam ergo dei substantiam pertinet uoluntas eius. quod si exortum est aliquid in dei substantia, quod prius non erat, non ueraciter dicitur aeterna illa substantia; si autem dei uoluntas sempiterna erat, ut esset creatura, cur non sempiterna et creatura?

XI. Qui haec dicunt, nondum te intellegunt, o sapientia 13
dei, lux mentium, nondum intellegunt, quomodo fiant, quae per te atque in te fiunt, et conantur aeterna sapere, sed adhuc in praeteritis et futuris rerum motibus cor eorum uolitat et adhuc uanum est. quis tenebit illud et figet illud, ut paululum stet et paululum rapiat splendorem semper stantis aeternitatis et

4. **spe enim**] Rom. viii 24.
ib. **per patientiam** etc.] Rom. viii 25.
6. **quam magnificata** etc.] Ps. ciii (civ) 24.
8. **illa principium**] Cf. Prov. iv 7.
X. *A. censures those who ask the impertinent question 'What was God doing before He made heaven and earth?'*
9. **uetustatis suae**] In *Serm.* cclxvii 2 (referring to the parable of the new wine in old bottles) A. says 'carnalitas uetustas est.'
XI. *Those who speak thus have no comprehension of things eternal.*
23. **sapientia dei**] Cf. 1 Cor. i 24.
26. **cor eorum...uanum est**] Ps. v 10 (9).
27. **illud**] sc. the heart.

conparet cum temporibus numquam stantibus et uideat esse inconparabilem et uideat longum tempus nisi ex multis praetereuntibus motibus, qui simul extendi non possunt, longum non fieri; non autem praeterire quicquam in aeterno, sed totum esse praesens; nullum uero tempus totum esse praesens: et uideat omne praeteritum propelli ex futuro et omne futurum ex praeterito consequi et omne praeteritum ac futurum ab eo, quod semper est praesens, creari et excurrere? quis tenebit cor hominis, ut stet et uideat, quomodo stans dictet futura et praeterita tempora nec futura nec praeterita aeternitas? num- quid manus mea ualet hoc aut manus oris mei per loquellas agit tam grandem rem?

14 XII. Ecce respondeo dicenti: "quid faciebat deus, antequam faceret caelum et terram?" respondeo non illud, quod quidam respondisse perhibetur ioculariter eludens quaestionis uiolentiam: "alta," inquit, "scrutantibus gehennas parabat." aliud est uidere, aliud ridere. haec non respondeo. libentius enim responderim: "nescio," quod nescio, quam illud, unde irridetur qui alta interrogauit et laudatur qui falsa respondit. sed dico te, deus noster, omnis creaturae creatorem et, si caeli et terrae nomine omnis creatura intellegitur, audenter dico: antequam faceret deus caelum et terram, non faciebat aliquid. si enim faciebat, quid nisi creaturam faciebat? et utinam sic sciam, quidquid utiliter scire cupio, quemadmodum scio, quod nulla fiebat creatura, antequam fieret ulla creatura.

5 XIII. At si cuiusquam uolatilis sensus uagatur per imagines retro temporum et te, deum omnipotentem et omnicreantem

27 omnia creantem et omnia tenentem GH.

4. **non autem praeterire** etc.] *whereas in eternity nothing passes, but all is present.*

6. **omne praeteritum** etc.] *that all the past is thrust out by the future, and all the future follows on the past.*

9. **quomodo stans dictet ... aeternitas**] See passage from *de Musica* quoted at I 10 ('ex illo acceperunt' etc.).

XII. *A. will not answer such men according to their folly, but will simply say that before God made heaven and earth He made nothing.*

XIII. *God is the Author and Creator of all ages; before He began the work of creation, time was not.*

27. **retro temporum**] Cf. III 8 'ex ..supra temporibus.'

ib. **omnicreantem**] This appears

et omnitenentem, caeli et terrae artificem, ab opere tanto, antequam id faceres, per innumerabilia saecula cessasse miratur, euigilet atque adtendat, quia falsa miratur. nam unde poterant innumerabilia saecula praeterire, quae ipse non feceras, cum sis omnium saeculorum auctor et conditor? aut quae tempora fuissent, quae abs te condita non essent? aut quomodo praeterirent, si numquam fuissent? cum ergo sis operator omnium temporum, si fuit aliquod tempus, antequam faceres caelum et terram, cur dicitur, quod ab opere cessabas? id ipsum enim tempus tu feceras, nec praeterire potuerunt tempora, antequam faceres tempora. si autem ante caelum et terram nullum erat tempus, cur quaeritur, quid tunc faciebas? non enim erat tunc, ubi non erat tempus.

Nec tu tempore tempora praecedis: alioquin non omnia 16
tempora praecederes. sed praecedis omnia praeterita celsitudine semper praesentis aeternitatis, et superas omnia futura, quia illa futura sunt, et cum uenerint, praeterita erunt; tu autem idem ipse es, et anni tui non deficient. anni tui nec eunt nec ueniunt: isti autem nostri eunt et ueniunt, ut omnes ueniant. anni tui omnes simul stant, quoniam stant, nec euntes a uenientibus excluduntur, quia non transeunt: isti autem nostri omnes erunt, cum omnes non erunt. anni tui dies unus, et dies tuus non cotidie, sed hodie, quia hodiernus tuus non cedit crastino; neque enim succedit hesterno. hodiernus tuus aeternitas: ideo coaeternum genuisti, cui dixisti: ego hodie genui te. omnia tempora tu fecisti et ante omnia tempora tu es, nec aliquo tempore non erat tempus.

15 omnia]+tempora BCFMPQ.
19 autem] enim BCFGHMOPQVW *o.*
18 deficiunt HOV *mo.*
eunt] et eunt BFPQ *edd.*

to be the first occurrence of the compound.

5. **omnium saeculorum auctor**] Cf. Heb. i 2 'per quem fecit et saecula' (*αἰῶνας*).

7. **operator**] 'maker,' a late word.

12. **non enim erat tunc**] *for there was no 'then' when there was no time.*

17. **tu autem idem** etc.] Ps. ci 28 (cii 27).

22. **anni tui dies unus**] Cf. 2 Pet. iii 8 'unus dies apud dominum sicut mille anni, et mille anni sicut dies unus.'

25. **ego hodie**] Ps. ii 7.

26. **nec aliquo tempore** etc.]

17 XIV. Nullo ergo tempore non feceras aliquid, quia ipsum tempus tu feceras. et nulla tempora tibi coaeterna sunt, quia tu permanes; at illa si permanerent, non essent tempora. quid est enim tempus? quis hoc facile breuiterque explicauerit? quis hoc ad uerbum de illo proferendum uel cogitatione conprehenderit? quid autem familiarius et notius in loquendo conmemoramus quam tempus? et intellegimus utique, cum id loquimur, intellegimus etiam, cum alio loquente id audimus. quid est ergo tempus? si nemo ex me quaerat, scio; si quaerenti explicare uelim, nescio: fidenter tamen dico scire me, quod, si nihil praeteriret, non esset praeteritum tempus, et si nihil adueniret, non esset futurum tempus, et si nihil esset, non esset praesens tempus. duo ergo illa tempora, praeteritum et futurum, quomodo sunt, quando et praeteritum iam non est et futurum nondum est? praesens autem si semper esset praesens nec in praeteritum transiret, non iam esset tempus, sed aeternitas. si ergo praesens, ut tempus sit, ideo fit, quia in praeteritum transit, quomodo et hoc esse dicimus, cui causa, ut sit, illa est, quia non erit; ut scilicet non uere dicamus tempus esse, nisi quia tendit non esse?

18 XV. Et tamen dicimus longum tempus et breue tempus neque hoc nisi de praeterito aut futuro dicimus. praeteritum

nor when time was not was there any time. To use a phrase familiar in connexion with the Nicene controversy, A. could have said 'there was when time was not,' but not 'there was a time when time was not.'

XIV. *In answer to the question 'What is time?' A. replies that if no one asks him he knows what it is, but when he is asked he cannot put the answer into words.*

5. **quis...conprehenderit**] *Who can understand it, even by an effort of thought, sufficiently clearly to express himself concerning it?*

9. **si nemo ex me quaerat, scio** etc.] A. here sums up in an epigrammatic phrase what Plotinus spends a paragraph in saying with less clearness (*Enn.* III 7. 1 *init.*).

10. **fidenter tamen dico scire**] A. now enters on the analysis by which he designs to prove the subjectivity of time.

17. **si ergo praesens** etc.] *If, then, the very condition of the present's being 'time' is that it passes away into the past, how can we assert the existence of that which has its being only on condition of not being in the future—so that in truth we assert the present to be time, only because it tends to not-being?*

XV. *What is the meaning of the phrases 'a long time,' 'a short time.'*

22. **praeteritum tempus** etc.] *For example we call a hundred years ago a long time past, and a*

tempus longum uerbi gratia uocamus ante centum annos, futurum itidem longum post centum annos, breue autem praeteritum sic, ut puta dicamus ante decem dies, et breue futurum post decem dies. sed quo pacto longum est aut breue, quod non est? praeteritum enim iam non est et futurum nondum est. non itaque dicamus: longum est, sed dicamus de praeterito: longum fuit, et de futuro: longum erit. domine meus, lux mea, nonne et hic ueritas tua deridebit hominem? quod enim longum fuit praeteritum tempus, cum iam esset praeteritum, longum fuit, an ante, cum adhuc praesens esset? tunc enim poterat esse longum, quando erat, quod esset longum: praeteritum uero iam non erat; unde nec longum esse poterat, quod omnino non erat. non ergo dicamus: longum fuit praeteritum tempus; neque enim inueniemus, quid fuerit longum, quando ex quo praeteritum est, non est, sed dicamus: "longum fuit illud praesens tempus," quia cum praesens esset, longum erat. nondum enim praeterierat, ut non esset, et ideo erat, quod longum esse posset; postea uero quam praeteriit, simul et longum esse destitit, quod esse destitit.

Videamus ergo, anima humana, utrum praesens tempus possit esse longum: datum enim tibi est sentire moras atque metiri. quid respondebis mihi? an centum anni praesentes longum tempus est? uide prius, utrum possint praesentes esse centum anni. si enim primus eorum annus agitur, ipse praesens

3 dicimus BCFGHMPQ *edd.*
an (– ante) BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

10 an ante *coniec. Knöll*, ante S,

20 o anima BGMPQ *edd.*

hundred years hence a long time future; a short time past we call—suppose we say—ten days, and a short time future ten days hence.

8. **lux mea**] Cf. Ps. xxvi(xxvii) 1; Micah vii 8.

ib. **nonne...ueritas...deridebit**] A. means that the explanation which has just been suggested is absurd.

ib. **quod enim longum** etc.] *For this long time—was it long when it was already past, or previously, when it was still present? For when present it might be long, when there was something to be long; but when past it was now no more, hence it could not be long when it was not at all.*

13. **non ergo dicamus** etc.] *Let us not say therefore that a past time was long; for we shall find that there is in past time nothing capable of being long, seeing that once it is past it is no more.*

21. **datum...tibi...sentire moras**] A hint of the ultimate solution.

est, nonaginta uero et nouem futuri sunt, et ideo nondum sunt: si autem secundus annus agitur, iam unus est praeteritus, alter praesens, ceteri futuri. atque ita mediorum quemlibet centenarii huius numeri annum praesentem posuerimus: ante illum praeteriti erunt, post illum futuri. quocirca centum anni praesentes esse non poterunt. uide saltem, utrum qui agitur unus ipse sit praesens. et eius enim si primus agitur mensis, futuri sunt ceteri, si secundus, iam et primus praeteriit et reliqui nondum sunt. ergo nec annus, qui agitur, totus est praesens, et si non totus est praesens, non annus est praesens. duodecim enim menses annus est, quorum quilibet unus mensis, qui agitur, ipse praesens est, ceteri aut praeteriti aut futuri. quamquam neque mensis, qui agitur, praesens est, sed unus dies: si primus, futuris ceteris, si nouissimus, praeteritis ceteris, si mediorum quilibet, inter praeteritos et futuros.

Ecce praesens tempus, quod solum inueniebamus longum appellandum, uix ad unius diei spatium contractum est. sed discutiamus etiam ipsum, quia nec unus dies totus est praesens. nocturnis enim et diurnis horis omnibus uiginti quattuor expletur, quarum prima ceteras futuras habet, nouissima praeteritas, aliqua uero interiectarum ante se praeteritas, post se futuras. et ipsa una hora fugitiuis particulis agitur: quidquid eius auolauit, praeteritum est, quidquid ei restat, futurum. si quid intellegitur temporis, quod in nullas iam uel minutissimas momentorum partes diuidi possit, id solum est, quod praesens dicatur; quod tamen ita raptim a futuro in praeteritum transuolat, ut nulla morula extendatur. nam si extenditur, diuiditur in praeteritum et futurum: praesens autem nullum habet spatium. ubi est ergo tempus, quod longum dicamus? an futurum? non quidem dicimus: longum est, quia nondum est quod longum sit, sed dicimus: longum

12 *pr.* aut] autem FHV *edd.* 23 ei] eius M *m.*

24. **quod in nullas iam...minutissimas partes** etc.] A 'time-atom,' so to speak.

27. **morula**] This diminutive is cited only from A.

erit. quando igitur erit? si enim et tunc adhuc futurum erit, non erit longum, quia quid sit longum nondum erit: si autem tunc erit longum, cum ex futuro, quod nondum est, esse iam coeperit et praesens factum erit, ut possit esse quod longum sit, iam superioribus uocibus clamat praesens tempus longum se esse non posse.

XVI. Et tamen, domine, sentimus interualla temporum et 21
conparamus sibimet et dicimus alia longiora et alia breuiora. metimur etiam, quanto sit longius aut breuius illud tempus quam illud et respondemus duplum esse hoc uel triplum, illud autem simplum aut tantum hoc esse quantum illud. sed praetereuntia metimur tempora, cum sentiendo metimur; praeterita uero, quae iam non sunt, aut futura, quae nondum sunt, quis metiri potest, nisi forte audebit quis dicere metiri posse quod non est? cum ergo praeterit tempus, sentiri et metiri potest, cum autem praeterierit, quoniam non est, non potest.

XVII. Quaero, pater, non adfirmo: deus meus, praeside 23
mihi et rege me. quisnam est, qui dicat mihi non esse tria tempora, sicut pueri didicimus puerosque docuimus, praeteritum, praesens et futurum, sed tantum praesens, quoniam illa duo non sunt? an et ipsa sunt, sed ex aliquo procedit occulto, cum ex futuro fit praesens, et in aliquod recedit occultum, cum ex praesenti fit praeteritum? nam ubi ea uiderunt qui futura cecinerunt, si nondum sunt? neque enim potest uideri id quod non est. et qui narrant praeterita, non utique uera narrarent, si animo illa non cernerent: quae si nulla essent, cerni omnino non possent. sunt ergo et futura et praeterita.

1 et – GHO. tunc]+cum BGHOPQ *edd.* 2 quid] quod *mo.*

XVI. *Who can measure past and future time, seeing they are not here to measure?*

8. **conparamus sibimet**] 'Sibimet' for 'inter se' is curious.

XVII. *Have things that are past, and things that are future, a real existence?*

17. **praeside**] Cf. § 7 *sup.*

18. **rege me**] Cf. Ps. xxii (xxiii) 1. *ib.* **tria tempora**] 'three tenses or times.'

24. **cecinerunt**] 'predicted' (from the practice of giving oracles in verse; cf. *Aen.* v 524 'seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina uates').

3 XVIII. Sine me, domine, amplius quaerere, spes mea; non conturbetur intentio mea. si enim sunt futura et praeterita, uolo scire, ubi sint. quod si nondum ualeo, scio tamen, ubicumque sunt, non ibi ea futura esse aut praeterita, sed praesentia. nam et si ibi futura sunt, nondum ibi sunt, si et ibi praeterita sunt, iam non ibi sunt. ubicumque ergo sunt, quaecumque sunt, non sunt nisi praesentia. quamquam praeterita cum uera narrantur, ex memoria proferuntur non res ipsae, quae praeterierunt, sed uerba concepta ex imaginibus earum, quae in animo uelut uestigia per sensus praetereundo fixerunt. pueritia quippe mea, quae iam non est, in tempore praeterito est, quod iam non est; imaginem uero eius, cum eam recolo et narro, in praesenti tempore intueor, quia est adhuc in memoria mea. utrum similis sit causa etiam praedicendorum futurorum, ut rerum, quae nondum sunt, iam existentes praesentiantur imagines, confiteor, deus meus, nescio. illud sane scio, nos plerumque praemeditari futuras actiones nostras eamque praemeditationem esse praesentem, actionem autem, quam praemeditamur, nondum esse, quia futura est; quam cum aggressi fuerimus et quod praemeditabamur agere coeperimus, tunc erit illa actio, quia tunc non futura, sed praesens erit.

4 Quoquo modo se itaque habeat arcana praesensio futurorum, uideri nisi quod est non potest. quod autem iam est, non futurum sed praesens est. cum ergo uideri dicuntur futura, non ipsa, quae nondum sunt, id est quae futura sunt, sed eorum causae uel signa forsitan uidentur, quae iam sunt: ideo non futura, sed praesentia sunt iam uidentibus, ex quibus

22 erit] est *mo.*

XVIII. *Can future things be foreseen by means of images, in the same way as the past is recalled, or only by a process of inference from things present?*

1. **spes mea**] Ps. lxx (lxxi) 5.

10. **quae in animo**] 'quae' refers to 'earum (rerum),' not to 'uerba,' as Pusey takes it.

15. **futurorum...praesentiantur imagines**] Here A. suggests a 'mystical' method of prediction; in the next paragraph a 'rational' method of inferring the future from the present. He guards himself (§ 25) from asserting which was the method of the O.T. prophets.

futura praedicantur animo concepta. quae rursus conceptiones iam sunt, et eas praesentes apud se intuentur qui illa praedicunt. loquatur mihi aliquod exemplum tanta rerum numerositas. intueor auroram: oriturum solem praenuntio. quod intueor, praesens est, quod praenuntio, futurum: non sol futurus, qui iam est, sed ortus eius, qui nondum est: tamen etiam ortum ipsum nisi animo imaginarer, sicut modo cum id loquor, non eum possem praedicere. sed nec illa aurora, quam in caelo uideo, solis ortus est, quamuis eum praecedat, nec illa imaginatio in animo meo: quae duo praesentia cernuntur, ut futurus ille ante dicatur. futura ergo nondum sunt, et si nondum sunt, non sunt, et si non sunt, uideri omnino non possunt; sed praedici possunt ex praesentibus, quae iam sunt et uidentur.

XIX. Tu itaque, regnator creaturae tuae, quis est modus, quo doces animas ea quae futura sunt? docuisti enim prophetas tuos. quisnam ille modus est, quo doces futura, cui futurorum quicquam non est? uel potius de futuris doces praesentia? nam quod non est, nec doceri utique potest. nimis longe est modus iste ab acie mea; inualuit: ex me non potero ad illum, potero autem ex te, cum dederis tu, dulce lumen occultorum oculorum meorum.

18 futurorum] futurum BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 20 non BCFGHMOPQVW, nec S *Knöll.*

3. **loquatur...numerositas**] *Let the abundance of such circumstances furnish me with some example.*

XIX. *A. begs God to enlighten him as to how things to come were made known to the prophets.*

17. **cui...non est**] *to one for whom anything which is future is non-existent* (as is the case with man in contradistinction to God, to whom all things are eternally present).

20. **inualuit: ex me non potero** etc.] Ps. cxxxviii (cxxxix) 6. Knöll reads 'inualuit ex me, nec potero.' The version of the Psalms which A. uses in his exposition runs 'mirificata est scientia tua ex me; inualuit: non potero ad illam,' and he remarks that we should understand a second 'ex me' after 'non potero.' It seems probable, therefore, that in the present passage he has deliberately changed the order, the object being no doubt to make the parallel with 'potero ex te' exact. This being so, we should put a colon at 'inualuit' and read 'ex me non potero ad illum, potero autem ex te' (chiasmus). 'Non' is the reading of almost all MSS.; see the textual note.

22. **lumen...oculorum meorum**] Ps. xxxvii 11 (xxxviii 10). For

XX. Quod autem nunc liquet et claret, nec futura sunt nec praeterita, nec proprie dicitur: tempora sunt tria, praeteritum, praesens et futurum, sed fortasse proprie diceretur: tempora sunt tria, praesens de praeteritis, praesens de praesentibus, praesens de futuris. sunt enim haec in anima tria quaedam et alibi ea non uideo, praesens de praeteritis memoria, praesens de praesentibus contuitus, praesens de futuris expectatio. si haec permittimur dicere, tria tempora uideo fateorque, tria sunt. dicatur etiam: tempora sunt tria, praeteritum, praesens et futurum, sicut abutitur consuetudo; dicatur. ecce non curo nec resisto nec reprehendo, dum tamen intellegatur quod dicitur, neque id, quod futurum est, esse iam, neque id, quod praeteritum est. pauca sunt enim, quae proprie loquimur, plura non proprie, sed agnoscitur quid uelimus.

XXI. Dixi ergo paulo ante, quod praetereuntia tempora metimur, ut possimus dicere duplum esse hoc temporis ad illud simplum aut tantum hoc quantum illud et si quid aliud de partibus temporum possumus renuntiare metiendo. quocirca, ut dicebam, praetereuntia metimur tempora, et si quis mihi dicat: "unde scis?" respondeam: scio, quia metimur, nec metiri quae non sunt possumus, et non sunt praeterita uel futura. praesens uero tempus quomodo metimur, quando non habet spatium? metitur ergo cum praeterit, cum autem praeterierit, non metitur; quid enim metiatur, non erit. sed unde et qua et quo praeterit, cum metitur? unde nisi ex futuro? qua nisi per praesens? quo nisi in praeteritum? ex illo ergo,

'occultorum oculorum' cf. *Tract. in Ioan.* XIII 3 'est alius oculus, est interior oculus...isti oculi in intellegentia sunt, isti oculi in mente sunt.'

XX. *Neither the past nor the future has real existence, except as present to memory or expectation.*

1. **quod autem** etc.] 'Quod' is used as an anticipatory subject, 'What is now clear and distinct is that neither past things nor future things have any existence' etc.

7. **contuitus**] Only the ablative singular seems to be found elsewhere.

XXI. *How do we measure time, seeing that the past and future are non-existent, and the present has no extension?* (cf. § 20 sup.).

20. **scio, quia metimur** etc.] *I know, because we do measure them, and it is impossible for us to measure that which is non-existent, and things past and things future are non-existent.*

23. **metitur ... cum praeterit**] 'Metitur' suddenly becomes passive.

quod nondum est, per illud, quod spatio caret, in illud, quod iam non est. quid autem metimur nisi tempus in aliquo spatio? neque enim dicimus simpla et dupla et tripla et aequalia et si quid hoc modo in tempore dicimus nisi spatia temporum. in quo ergo spatio metimur tempus praeteriens? utrum in futuro, unde praeterit? sed quod nondum est, non metimur. an in praesenti, qua praeterit? sed nullum spatium non metimur. an in praeterito, quo praeterit? sed quod iam non est, non metimur.

XXII. Exarsit animus meus nosse istuc inplicatissimum aenigma. noli claudere, domine deus meus, bone pater, per Christum obsecro, noli claudere desiderio meo ista et usitata et abdita, quominus in ea penetret et dilucescant allucente misericordia tua, domine. quem percontabor de his? et cui fructuosius confitebor inperitiam meam nisi tibi, cui non sunt molesta studia mea flammantia uehementer in scripturas tuas? da quod amo: amo enim, et hoc tu dedisti. da, pater, qui uere nosti data bona dare filiis tuis; da, quoniam suscepi cognoscere et labor est ante me, donec aperias. per Christum obsecro, in nomine eius sancti sanctorum nemo mihi obstrepat.

4 spatia] inter spatia BFPQ. 7 metitur BFPQ. 9 metitur C.

7. **nullum spatium non metimur**] *where there is no space we cannot measure.* The ideal present is a 'point of time.'

XXII. *A. beseeches God with exceeding earnestness to reveal to him the solution of this most difficult problem.*

10. **istuc inplicatissimum aenigma**] For the various answers that have been given to this 'most intricate enigma' see R. Eisler *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*, 'Zeit'; Baldwin *Dictionary of Philosophy, etc.*, 'Time.' With regard to A.'s own contribution to the problem, Professor H. N. Gardiner writes 'His distinction is that he first definitely presents the subjectivistic view of time as existing only in the present regard of a comparing consciousness. How this view is consistent with the recognition of an objective temporal order of events he does not show...(As compared with Plotinus) the novelty of this view consists in transferring the reference of time from the world-soul to the human soul' (Baldwin's *Dict.* p. 700 b).

12. **et usitata et abdita**] *familiar yet mysterious.*

18. **data bona** etc.] Mt. vii 11.

ib. **suscepi cognoscere**] Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 16. So Old Lat. as quoted by A. *ad loc.* (Vulg. 'existimabam ut cognoscerem haec, labor est ante me').

20. **obstrepat**] Cf. below § 36.

et ego credidi, propter quod et loquor. haec est spes mea; ad hanc uiuo, ut contempler delectationem domini. ecce ueteres posuisti dies meos et transeunt, et quomodo, nescio. et dicimus tempus et tempus, tempora et tempora: "quamdiu dixit hoc ille," "quamdiu fecit hoc ille" et: "quam longo tempore illud non uidi" et: "duplum temporis habet haec syllaba ad illam simplam breuem." dicimus haec et audiuimus haec et intellegimur et intellegimus. manifestissima et usitatissima sunt, et eadem rursus nimis latent et noua est inuentio eorum.

29 XXIII. Audiui a quodam homine docto, quod solis et lunae ac siderum motus ipsa sint tempora, et non adnui. cur enim non potius omnium corporum motus sint tempora? an uero, si cessarent caeli lumina et moueretur rota figuli, non esset tempus, quo metiremur eos gyros et diceremus aut aequalibus morulis agi, aut si alias tardius, alias uelocius moueretur, alios magis diuturnos esse, alios minus? aut cum haec diceremus, non et nos in tempore loqueremur aut essent in uerbis nostris aliae longae syllabae, aliae breues, nisi quia illae longiore tempore sonuissent, istae breuiore? deus, dona hominibus uidere in paruo communes notitias rerum paruarum

7 audimus BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* 11 non] nil H *mo.* 16 haec] hoc BCFHPQW *edd.*

1. **credidi** etc.] Ps. cxv (cxvi) 10.

2. **ut contempler** etc.] Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 4 (Vulg. 'ut uideam uoluptatem Domini').

ib. **ecce ueteres posuisti**] Ps. xxxviii 6 (xxxix 5). So Old Lat., where Vulg. 'mensurabiles.' The Old Latin follows LXX παλαιάς, which is probably a corruption of παλαιστὰς 'hand-breadths,' the correct rendering of the Hebrew.

XXIII. *A. cannot assent to the opinion, once stated to him by a learned man, that the motions of the sun, moon, and stars constitute time. Why not, equally, the motion of all bodies? But neither can he assent to this.*

10. **solis.....motus ipsa sunt tempora**] Dicta to this effect are quoted from Eratosthenes and Hestiaeus of Perinthus. See Stobaeus *Ecl. Phys.* I 8. 40.

11. **cur...non omnium corporum motus**] The movements of the sun and moon have, of course, a special practical interest for us, but the argument here combated is that these actually constitute time.

13. **an uero, si cessarent**] Plotinus uses a similar argument *Enn.* III 7. 8 (al. 7) κίνησις μὲν ἂν καὶ παύσαιτο καὶ διαλείποι, χρόνος δ' οὔ.

ib. **non esset tempus** etc.] *Would there be no time, by which to measure those revolutions?*

20. **communes notitias rerum** etc.] *The conceptions common to small things and great.*

atque magnarum. sunt sidera et luminaria caeli in signis et in temporibus et in diebus et in annis. sunt uero; sed nec ego dixerim circuitum illius ligneolae rotae diem esse, nec tamen ideo tempus non esse ille dixerit.

Ego scire cupio uim naturamque temporis, quo metimur 30 corporum motus et dicimus illum motum uerbi gratia tempore duplo esse diuturniorem quam istum. nam quaero, quoniam dies dicitur non tantum mora solis super terram, secundum quod aliud est dies, aliud nox, sed etiam totius eius circuitus ab oriente usque orientem, secundum quod dicimus: "tot dies transierunt"—cum suis enim noctibus dicuntur tot dies, nec extra reputantur spatia noctium—quoniam ergo dies expletur motu solis atque circuitu ab oriente usque ad orientem, quaero, utrum motus ipse sit dies an mora ipsa, quanta peragitur, an utrumque. si enim primum dies esset, dies ergo esset, etiamsi tanto spatio temporis sol cursum illum peregisset, quantum est horae unius. si secundum, non ergo esset dies, si ab ortu solis usque in ortum alterum tam breuis mora esset, quam est horae unius, sed uiciens et quater circumiret sol, ut expleret diem. si utrumque, nec ille appellaretur dies, si horae spatio sol totum suum gyrum circumiret, nec ille, si sole cessante tantum temporis praeteriret, quanto peragere sol totum ambitum de mane in mane adsolet. non itaque nunc quaeram, quid sit illud, quod uocatur dies, sed quid sit tempus, quo metientes solis circuitum diceremus eum dimidio spatio tem-

10 usque]+ad BCFGHPQV *edd.*

1. **in signis** etc.] Gen. i 14. A. quotes in this form ('in signis' etc.) in *de Genesi Imperfectus Liber* xii 36, but in *de Gen. ad Lit.* II 13. 26 he has 'in signa' etc. as Vulg. (The former work is ascribed to 393, the latter was begun in 401 but not finished till 415.)

3. **ligneolae**] A curious diminutive, the idea of smallness which belongs to the substantive being expressed by the adjective, 'little wooden wheel.' The word is used by Cicero, *Ep. Q. Fr.* III 7.

7. **nam quaero** etc.] This digression assumes, no doubt rightly, that the theory referred to is suggested by the fact that the (apparent) revolution of the sun furnishes a natural unit for the measurement of time. (Hence the somewhat abrupt introduction of 'dies.') A. replies that it is natural, but in no sense absolute, and has moreover nothing to do with the metaphysical question of the nature of time.

poris peractum minus quam solet, si tanto spatio temporis peractus esset, quanto peraguntur horae duodecim, et utrumque tempus conparantes diceremus illud simplum, hoc duplum, etiamsi aliquando illo simplo, aliquando isto duplo sol ab oriente usque orientem circumiret. nemo ergo mihi dicat caelestium corporum motus esse tempora, quia et cuiusdam uoto cum sol stetisset, ut uictoriosum proelium perageret, sol stabat, sed tempus ibat. per suum quippe spatium temporis, quod ei sufficeret, illa pugna gesta atque finita est. uideo igitur quandam esse distentionem. sed uideo? an uidere mihi uideor? tu demonstrabis, lux, ueritas.

31 XXIV. Iubes ut adprobem, si quis dicat tempus esse motum corporis? non iubes. nam corpus nullum nisi in tempore moueri audio: tu dicis. ipsum autem corporis motum tempus esse non audio: non tu dicis. cum enim mouetur corpus, tempore metior, quamdiu moueatur, ex quo moueri incipit, donec desinat. et si non uidi, ex quo coepit, et perseuerat moueri, ut non uideam cum desinit, non ualeo metiri, nisi forte ex quo uidere incipio, donec desinam. quod si diu uideo, tantummodo longum tempus esse renuntio, non autem quantum sit, quia et quantum cum dicimus, conlatione dicimus, uelut: "tantum hoc, quantum illud" aut: "duplum hoc ad illud" et si quid aliud isto modo. si autem notare potuerimus locorum spatia, unde et quo ueniat corpus, quod mouetur, uel partes eius, si tamquam in torno mouetur, possumus dicere, quantum sit temporis, ex quo ab illo loco usque ad illum locum motus corporis uel partis eius effectus est. cum itaque aliud sit motus corporis, aliud, quo metimur quamdiu sit, quis non sentiat, quid horum potius tempus dicendum sit? nam si et

5 usque]+ad BCFGHPQV *edd.* 9 igitur S, +tempus BCFGHMOPQW *edd.*

6. **cuiusdam uoto sol stetisset**] Cf. Josh. x 12 sq.

10. **distentionem**] Here and in § 33 *infr.* 'distentio' seems to mean simply 'extension.' For a more specialised sense, see § 39 *infr.*

XXIV. *He gives proofs for his view that time is not the motion of a body.*

15. **audio**] A. appeals to the inner voice: cf. X 10.

25. **tamquam in torno**] 'As though in a lathe,' *i.e.* on its axis.

uarie corpus aliquando mouetur, aliquando stat, non solum motum eius, sed etiam statum tempore metimur et dicimus: "tantum stetit, quantum motum est" aut: "duplo uel triplo stetit ad id quod motum est" et si quid aliud nostra dimensio siue conprehenderit siue existimauerit, ut dici solet, plus minus. non ergo tempus corporis motus.

XXV. Et confiteor tibi, domine, ignorare me adhuc, quid 31 sit tempus, et rursus confiteor tibi, domine, scire me in tempore ista dicere et diu me iam loqui de tempore atque ipsum diu non esse diu nisi mora temporis. quomodo igitur hoc scio, quando quid sit tempus nescio? an forte nescio, quemadmodum dicam quod scio? ei mihi, qui nescio saltem quid nesciam! ecce, deus meus, coram te, quia non mentior: sicut loquor, ita est cor meum. tu inluminabis lucernam meam, domine, deus meus, inluminabis tenebras meas.

XXVI. Nonne tibi confitetur anima mea confessione 32 ueridica metiri me tempora? ita, domine deus meus, metior et quid metiar nescio. metior motum corporis tempore. item ipsum tempus nonne metior? an uero corporis motum metirer, quamdiu sit et quamdiu hinc illuc perueniat, nisi tempus, in quo mouetur, metirer? ipsum ergo tempus unde metior? an tempore breuiore metimur longius sicut spatio cubiti spatium transtri? sic enim uidemus spatio breuis syllabae metiri

14 inluminabis] inlumina BMPQW. 17 ita domine S, itane BCFGHMOPQV *edd.* 19 nonne OSV, non BCFGHMPQW *edd.* 23 uidemur BCFHMOPQVW *edd.*

4. **nostra dimensio**] 'our measurement' (abstract, the act of measuring).

5. **siue conprehenderit** etc.] *either ascertained or, as we say, roughly* ('plus, minus') *estimated.*

XXV. *He confesses that he knows not what time is, but beseeches God to lighten his darkness.*

11. **an forte nescio** etc.] *Or perchance do I not know how to express what I know?*

13. **ecce...coram te** etc.] Gal. i 20.

14. **lucernam meam** etc.] Ps. xvii 29 (xviii 28).

XXVI. *He discourses at length on the manner in which he is wont to measure time. He begins to suspect that it is in the mind that we measure it.*

23. **transtri**] 'a beam.' The context almost implies that it is used as a definite measure of length, perhaps equivalent to 'pertica' (decempeda) a perch.

spatium longae syllabae atque id duplum dicere. ita metimur spatia carminum spatiis uersuum et spatia uersuum spatiis pedum et spatia pedum spatiis syllabarum et spatia longarum spatiis breuium, non in paginis—nam eo modo loca metimur, non tempora—sed cum uoces pronuntiando transeunt et dicimus: "longum carmen est, nam tot uersibus contexitur; longi uersus, nam tot pedibus constant; longi pedes, nam tot syllabis tenduntur; longa syllaba est, nam dupla est ad breuem." sed neque ita conprehenditur certa mensura temporis, quandoquidem fieri potest, ut ampliore spatio temporis personet uersus breuior, si productius pronuntietur, quam longior, si correptius. ita carmen, ita pes, ita syllaba. inde mihi uisum est nihil esse aliud tempus quam distentionem: sed cuius rei, nescio, et mirum, si non ipsius animi. quid enim metior, obsecro, deus meus, et dico aut indefinite: "longius est hoc tempus quam illud" aut etiam definite: "duplum est hoc ad illud?" tempus metior, scio; sed non metior futurum, quia nondum est, non metior praesens, quia nullo spatio tenditur, non metior praeteritum, quia iam non est. quid ergo metior? an praetereuntia tempora, non praeterita? sic enim dixeram.

34 XXVII. Insiste, anime meus, et adtende fortiter: deus adiutor noster; ipse fecit nos, et non nos. adtende, ubi

22 non nos] non ipsi n. BCHMO²PQV (*Vulg.*) *edd.*

9. **neque ita...certa mensura**] since, in fact, these measures are proportional, not absolute.

14. **mirum, si non ipsius animi**] The riddle is out! Cf. Plotinus *Enn.* III 7. 11 (al. 10) δεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔξωθεν τῆς ψυχῆς λαμβάνειν τὸν χρόνον, where the reference, however, is primarily to the Cosmic Soul.

20. **sic enim dixeram**] See §§ 21, 27.

XXVII. *He works out this theory by means of an illustration. If we repeat, first a short syllable and then a long one, and compare the length of the two, it is obvious that the second is not present until the first has ceased to be. But, further, even one of them is not wholly present at once—its beginning and ending are not present together, and in the moment of ending it is no more. What we really compare are our memory-images of the two sounds. Therefore time is measured within the mind.*

21. **deus...noster**] Ps. lxi 9 (lxii 8).

22. **ipse...nos**] Ps. xcix (c) 3.

ib. **ubi albescit ueritas**] Throughout the foregoing passage A. has used his literary art to make the reader feel the labour and anxiety of his search; now, with this admirable metaphor, he makes him share the joy of discovery. 'Mark where

albescit ueritas. ecce puta uox corporis incipit sonare et sonat et adhuc sonat et ecce desinit, iamque silentium est, et uox illa praeterita est et non est iam uox. futura erat, antequam sonaret, et non poterat metiri, quia nondum erat, et nunc non potest, quia iam non est. tunc ergo poterat, cum sonabat, quia tunc erat, quae metiri posset. sed et tunc non stabat; ibat enim et praeteriebat. an ideo magis poterat? praeteriens enim tendebatur in aliquod spatium temporis, quo metiri posset, quoniam praesens nullum habet spatium. si ergo tunc poterat, ecce puta altera coepit sonare et adhuc sonat continuato tenore sine ulla distinctione: metiamur eam, dum sonat; cum enim sonare cessauerit, iam praeterita erit et non erit, quae possit metiri. metiamur plane et dicamus, quanta sit. sed adhuc sonat nec metiri potest nisi ab initio sui, quo sonare coepit, usque ad finem, quo desinit. ipsum quippe interuallum metimur ab aliquo initio usque ad aliquem finem. quapropter uox, quae numquam finita est, metiri non potest, ut dicatur, quam longa uel breuis sit, nec dici aut aequalis alicui aut ad aliquam simpla uel dupla uel quid aliud. cum autem finita fuerit, iam non erit. quo pacto igitur metiri poterit? et metimur tamen tempora, nec ea, quae nondum sunt, nec ea, quae iam non sunt, nec ea, quae nulla mora extenduntur, nec ea, quae terminos non habent. nec futura ergo nec praeterita nec praesentia nec praetereuntia tempora metimur et metimur tamen tempora.

1 albescet S. 7 praeteribat BCFGMOQVW *edd.* 17 nunquam] nondum BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

truth brightens to the dawn.' The 'lonely word' is Vergilian in its suggestiveness.

5. **tunc ergo poterat**] This is an assumption which is to be subsequently disproved.

7. **an ideo magis poterat?**] *could it then be measured* (*while it sounded*) *any more than before or after?*

8. **tendebatur in**] *it was extended over.*

10. **ecce puta altera...sonat**] The illustration of a sound which has commenced and is still sounding, and cannot therefore be measured because there is no *terminus ad quem*, reminds us that the very same was the case with that past sound of which we are speaking. So long as it was present it could not be measured, only when it was finished—and so had ceased to be. So again we reach an *impasse*.

35 "Deus creator omnium": uersus iste octo syllabarum breuibus et longis alternat syllabis: quattuor itaque breues, prima, tertia, quinta, septima, simplae sunt ad quattuor longas, secundam, quartam, sextam, octauam. hae singulae ad illas singulas duplum habent temporis; pronuntio et renuntio, et ita est, quantum sentitur sensu manifesto. quantum sensus manifestus est, breui syllaba longam metior eamque sentio habere bis tantum. sed cum altera post alteram sonat, si prior breuis, longa posterior, quomodo tenebo breuem et quomodo eam longae metiens applicabo, ut inueniam, quod bis tantum habeat, quandoquidem longa sonare non incipit, nisi breuis sonare destiterit? ipsamque longam num praesentem metior, quando nisi finitam non metior? eius enim finitio praeteritio est. quid ergo est, quod metior? ubi est qua metior breuis? ubi est longa quam metior? ambae sonuerunt, auolauerunt, praeterierunt, iam non sunt: et ego metior fidenterque respondeo, quantum exercitato sensu fiditur, illam simplam esse, illam duplam, in spatio scilicet temporis. neque hoc possum, nisi quia praeterierunt et finitae sunt. non ergo ipsas, quae iam non sunt, sed aliquid in memoria mea metior, quod infixum manet.

36 In te, anime meus, tempora mea metior. noli mihi obstrepere, quod est: noli tibi obstrepere turbis affectionum tuarum. in te, inquam, tempora metior. affectionem, quam

13 enim] autem BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* 22 mea] – BCGHMOPQVW *edd.*

1. **Deus creator omnium**] The first line of the evening hymn of Ambrose. See IX 32.

5. **renuntio**] *report on it.*

6. **quantum...manifesto**] *so far as clear sense-perception can inform us.*

ib. **quantum sensus manifestus est**] *so far as the pronouncement of sense-perception is clear.*

8. **sed cum altera post alteram sonat** etc.] The analysis brings out clearly that only the memory-images of the sounds can be directly compared.

22. **noli mihi obstrepere, quod est**] 'interrupt me not by clamouring that time has objective existence.' The punctuation 'noli mihi obstrepere, quod est noli tibi obstrepere,' gives the simpler meaning 'interrupt me not—that is, interrupt not thyself.'

24. **affectionem**] 'impression' is, perhaps, the best rendering here. The psychological technicality 'modification of consciousness' would accurately represent the meaning.

res praetereuntes in te faciunt et, cum illae praeterierint, manet, ipsam metior praesentem, non ea quae praeterierunt, ut fieret; ipsam metior, cum tempora metior. ergo aut ipsa sunt tempora, aut non tempora metior. quid cum metimur silentia et dicimus illud silentium tantum tenuisse temporis, quantum illa uox tenuit, nonne cogitationem tendimus ad mensuram uocis, quasi sonaret, ut aliquid de interuallis silentiorum in spatio temporis renuntiare possimus? nam et uoce atque ore cessante peragimus cogitando carmina et uersus et quemque sermonem motionumque dimensiones quaslibet, et de spatiis temporum, quantum illud ad illud sit, renuntiamus non aliter, ac si ea sonando diceremus. si uoluerit aliquis edere longiusculam uocem et constituerit praemeditando, quam longa futura sit, egit utique iste spatium temporis in silentio memoriaeque conmendans coepit edere illam uocem, quae sonat, donec ad propositum terminum perducatur: immo sonuit et sonabit; nam quod eius iam peractum est, utique sonuit, quod autem restat, sonabit atque ita peragitur, dum praesens intentio futurum in praeteritum traicit diminutione futuri crescente praeterito, donec consumptione futuri sit totum praeteritum.

XXVIII. Sed quomodo minuitur aut consumitur futurum, 37
quod nondum est, aut quomodo crescit praeteritum, quod iam non est, nisi quia in animo, qui illud agit, tria sunt? nam et expectat et adtendit et meminit, ut id quod expectat per id quod adtendit transeat in id quod meminerit. quis igitur

3. **ergo aut ipsa** etc.] *Therefore, either time is this, or what I measure is not time.*

6. **nonne cogitationem**] *do we not continue the effort of attention which we directed to the measurement of the note, as though it were continuing to sound, in order that we may be able to report on (the length of) the intervals of silence in the whole space of time with which we are dealing?* From what follows A.'s meaning appears to be not merely that the sensation of expectant attention gives us something to measure, but that we go on fitting imaginary notes into the interval of silence until it is ended.

19. **intentio**] *attention.*

XXVIII. *Similarly we form a mental image of a future experience and can measure that. We draw our conceptions of present, past and future from the mental experiences of attention, memory and expectation.*

negat futura nondum esse? sed tamen iam est in animo expectatio futurorum. et quis negat praeterita iam non esse? sed tamen est adhuc in animo memoria praeteritorum. et quis negat praesens tempus carere spatio, quia in puncto praeterit? sed tamen perdurat attentio, per quam pergat abesse quod aderit. non igitur longum tempus futurum, quod non est, sed longum futurum longa expectatio futuri est, neque longum praeteritum tempus, quod non est, sed longum praeteritum longa memoria praeteriti est.

38 Dicturus sum canticum, quod noui: antequam incipiam, in totum expectatio mea tenditur, cum autem coepero, quantum ex illa in praeteritum decerpsero, tenditur et memoria mea, atque distenditur uita huius actionis meae in memoriam propter quod dixi et in expectationem propter quod dicturus sum: praesens tamen adest attentio mea, per quam traicitur quod erat futurum, ut fiat praeteritum. quod quanto magis agitur et agitur, tanto breuiata expectatione prolongatur memoria, donec tota expectatio consumatur, quum tota illa actio finita transierit in memoriam. et quod in toto cantico, hoc in singulis particulis eius fit atque in singulis syllabis eius, hoc in actione longiore, cuius forte particula est illud canticum, hoc in tota uita hominis, cuius partes sunt omnes actiones hominis, hoc in toto saeculo filiorum hominum, cuius partes sunt omnes uitae hominum.

39 XXIX. Sed quoniam melior est misericordia tua super

12 illo BPQW *o.* et] in BPQW *edd.* 15 traiciatur BCGHPQ *edd.* trahiciatur M.

6. **non igitur** etc.] *It is not, therefore, a future time which is long, for it is not at all, but a long future period is an expectation of the future which represents it as long.* It is to be noted that A. is not speaking of a distant point in the past or future but of past or future periods conceived or remembered as of long duration.

13. **distenditur**] *is extended both ways: into memory etc.*

ib. **huius actionis**] sc. the repetition of the poem.

XXIX. *Far other than this temporal life with its mutability and distraction is God's eternity. A. prays that through the Son of Man, the Mediator, he may be enabled to forget what is behind and follow on for the prize of his heavenly calling, the enjoyment of serene blessedness in God.*

25. **quoniam melior est** etc.] Ps.

uitas, ecce distentio est uita mea, et me suscepit dextera tua in domino meo, mediatore filio hominis inter te unum et nos multos, in multis per multa, ut per eum adprehendam, in quo et adprehensus sum, et a ueteribus diebus colligar sequens unum: praeterita oblitus, non in ea quae futura et transitura sunt, sed in ea quae ante sunt, non distentus, sed extentus, non secundum distentionem, sed secundum intentionem sequor, ad palmam supernae uocationis, ubi audiam uocem laudis et contempler delectationem tuam nec uenientem nec praeteruntem. nunc uero anni mei in gemitibus, et tu, solacium meum, domine, pater meus, aeternus es; at ego in tempora

lxii 4 (lxiii 3). A. finds in the plural 'uitas' (which is due to a misunderstanding by the translators of the Heb. idiom) an allusion to that imperfection which is implied by distraction and want of unity: 'multae sunt uitae humanae, sed Deus unam uitam promittit,' *Enarr. in Ps.* lxii § 12.

1. **ecce distentio** etc.] There is perhaps an allusion here to Eccl. viii 16 'ut...intellegerem distentionem quae uersatur in terra: est homo' etc.; but in any case the sentence below 'non distentus sed extentus' etc. shows that 'distentio,' 'distentus' are here used in an ethical sense = 'distraction,' 'distracted.' The link which connects this idea with the discussion of time is the Neo-Platonic teaching, according to which the unrest of the Cosmic Soul, which generates time, is regarded as a declension from the serene immutability of the First Principle. 'Distentio' thus corresponds to διάστασις in such a passage as Plotin. *Enn.* III 7. 11 διάστασις οὖν ζωῆς χρόνον εἶχε...εἰ οὖν χρόνον τις λέγοι ψυχῆς ἐν κινήσει μεταβατικῇ ἐξ ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλον βίον ('manifestation of life,' 'action') ζωὴν εἶναι, ἆρ' ἂν δοκοῖ τι λέγειν; It is possible that we ought to regard 'distentio' (? distensio) meaning extension, and 'distentio' meaning distraction, as different words, the former coming from 'distendo' and the latter from 'distineo.'

ib. **et me suscepit** etc.] Ps. xvii 36 (xviii 35).

3. **in multis per multa**] These words probably qualify 'multos' and mean 'drawn many ways by many interests'; cf. II 1 'frustatim discissus' and IX 10 'multiplicari terrenis bonis.'

ib. **adprehendam...uocationis**] Cf. Phil. iii 12—14.

5. **non in ea** etc.] We may render 'reaching out to those things which are first, not drawn this way and that by things which are future and things which are about to pass away, not with distracted attention but with concentration of mind.' 'Secundum intentionem' is from the Old Latin of Phil. iii 14 (κατὰ σκοπόν). In Serm. cclv 6 commenting on this passage A. says: 'unum nos extendat, ne multa distendant et abrumpant ab uno.' He also notes there that he takes 'unum' as the object of 'sequor'; this he here makes explicit by the anticipatory participial clause 'sequens unum.'

8. **audiam uocem laudis**] Ps. xxv (xxvi) 7.

9. **contempler delectationem**] Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 4.

10. **anni mei** etc.] Ps. xxx 11 (xxxi 10).

dissilui, quorum ordinem nescio, et tumultuosis uarietatibus dilaniantur cogitationes meae, intima uiscera animae meae, donec in te confluam purgatus et liquidus igne amoris tui.

40 XXX. Et stabo atque solidabor in te, in forma mea, ueritate tua, nec patiar quaestiones hominum, qui poenali morbo plus sitiunt, quam capiunt, et dicunt: "quid faciebat deus, antequam faceret caelum et terram?" aut "quid ei uenit in mentem, ut aliquid faceret, cum antea numquam aliquid fecerit?" da illis, domine, bene cogitare, quid dicant, et inuenire, quia non dicitur numquam, ubi non est tempus. qui ergo dicitur numquam fecisse, quid aliud dicitur nisi nullo tempore fecisse? uideant itaque nullum tempus esse posse sine creatura et desinant istam uanitatem loqui. extendantur etiam in ea, quae ante sunt, et intellegant te ante omnia tempora aeternum creatorem omnium temporum neque ulla tempora tibi esse coaeterna nec ullam creaturam, etiamsi est aliqua supra tempora.

41 XXXI. Domine deus meus, quis ille sinus est alti secreti

11 qui] quid Q, quod *mo*.

1. **dissilui**] 'Dissilio' is used in II 9 (see note 'a firmamento') in the sense of 'leap down,' and this is apparently the meaning here, the expression being still coloured by Neo-Platonic ideas and referring to the descent of the soul into human life. It is possible however that it is used in the sense of 'flew asunder,' repeating in a stronger form the metaphor of 'distentus,' but the tense is rather against this; cf. 'dilaniantur' in the next line.

3. **liquidus**] 'molten'—perhaps with the further suggestion of 'running clear.'

XXX. *He prays that he may stand steadfast in the truth.*

4. **et stabo...in forma mea** etc.] *and I shall stand and grow firm in Thy truth, which is to mould me* (continues the metaphor of 'liquidus' and 'purgatus').

12. **nullum tempus...sine creatura**] Cf. *de Ciu. Dei* XI 6 'quis non uideat quod tempora non fuissent, nisi creatura fieret, quae aliquid aliqua motione mutaret; cuius motionis et mutationis, cum aliud atque aliud, quae simul esse non possunt, cedit atque succedit, in breuioribus uel productioribus morarum interuallis tempus sequeretur?'

13. **uanitatem loqui**] Ps. cxliii (cxliv) 8.

14. **in ea, quae ante sunt**] Phil. iii 13.

16. **etiamsi est aliqua supra tempora**] In *de Ciu. Dei* XII 16 (Dombart; Bened. 15) A. discusses the question whether angels were created 'ante omnia tempora,' but decides that, since they are mutable creatures, time came into existence with them.

XXXI. *He confesses that his*

tui et quam longe inde me proiecerunt consequentia delictorum meorum? sana oculos meos, et congaudeam luci tuae. certe si est tam grandi scientia et praescientia pollens animus, cui cuncta praeterita et futura ita nota sint, sicut mihi unum canticum notissimum, nimium mirabilis est animus iste atque ad horrorem stupendus, quippe quem ita non lateat quidquid peractum et quidquid reliquum saeculorum est, quemadmodum me non latet cantantem illud canticum, quid et quantum eius abierit ab exordio, quid et quantum restet ad finem. sed absit, ut tu, conditor uniuersitatis, conditor animarum et corporum, absit, ut ita noueris omnia futura et praeterita. longe tu, longe mirabilius longeque secretius. neque enim sicut nota cantantis notumue canticum audientis expectatione uocum futurarum et memoria praeteritarum uariatur affectus sensusque distenditur, ita tibi aliquid accidit inconmutabiliter aeterno, hoc est uere aeterno, creatori mentium. sicut ergo nosti in principio caelum et terram sine uarietate notitiae tuae, ita fecisti in principio caelum et terram sine distinctione actionis tuae. qui intellegit, confiteatur tibi, et qui non intellegit, confiteatur tibi. o quam excelsus es, et humiles corde sunt domus tua! tu enim erigis elisos, et non cadunt quorum celsitudo tu es.

7 reliquum CGHMOQ^{a}VW, relicum S, relictum BPQ^{1}. 18 distinctione] distentione CHOV *mo*.

transgressions have made it hard for him to understand the Divine mysteries and prays that his eyes may be enlightened.

12. **neque enim...tibi aliquid accidit**] In *Enarr. in Ps.* cv § 35, commenting on the use of the word 'paenituit' (*v.* 45) in reference to God, A. explains that the appearance of change in the successive moments of the Divine action is due to man's limited insight, 'quasi repentina uoluntate facere dicitur quod ordinatis rerum causis consilii sui secretissimi immutabilitate disposuit, qua suis quaeque temporibus agnita, et praesentia facit, et futura iam fecit.'

17. **in principio** etc.] Gen. i 1.

20. **humiles corde...domus tua**] Cf. Isa. lvii 15 'et sanctum nomen eius in excelso et in sancto habitans, et cum contrito et humili spiritu.'

ib. **erigis elisos**] Ps. cxlv (cxlvi) 8.

LIBER DUODECIMUS.

1 I. Multa satagit cor meum, domine, in hac inopia uitae meae pulsatum uerbis sanctae scripturae tuae, et ideo plerumque in sermone copiosa est egestas humanae intellegentiae, quia plus loquitur inquisitio quam inuentio et longior est petitio quam inpetratio et operosior est manus pulsans quam sumens. tenemus promissum: quis corrumpet illud? si deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? petite, et accipietis; quaerite, et inuenietis; pulsate, et aperietur uobis. omnis enim, qui petit, accipit et quaerens inueniet et pulsanti aperietur. promissa tua sunt, et quis falli timeat, cum promittit ueritas?

2 II. Confitetur altitudini tuae humilitas linguae meae,

9 quaerens] qui quaerit HM (*Vulg.*). inuenit CHMO *mo.*

Returning from the digression upon the nature of Time in book XI, A. begins the systematic exposition of Gen. i. In book XII he is mainly occupied in setting forth a series of interpretations of verses 1 and 2; and, towards the close, the possibility of this diversity of interpretation suggests to him some reflexions upon hermeneutics.

I. *A. is perplexed by the difficulties which arise in the study of the Scriptures, but he will go forward, on the faith of the promise 'Ask and ye shall receive.'*

1. **multa satagit** etc.] *In this poverty-stricken life of mine my heart, smitten by the words of Thy sacred Scriptures, is much exercised thereon.*

3. **copiosa...egestas**] Oxymoron.

6. **corrumpet**] *shall destroy.* A rather curious word to use with 'promissum.'

ib. **si deus pro nobis** etc.] Rom. viii 31.

7. **petite, et accipietis**] Jn xvi 24 (Mt. vii 7 'petite et dabitur uobis').

ib. **quaerite** etc.] Mt. vii 7, 8.

II. *'God made the heaven and the earth.' Does 'heaven' here mean the visible heaven, or 'the heaven of heavens,' which is the Lord's? In comparison with this, the visible heaven is so humble a thing that it might well be included under the term 'earth.'*

11. **altitudini tuae**] For the phrase cf. Ps. xi 9 'secundum altitudinem tuam.'

quoniam tu fecisti caelum et terram, hoc caelum, quod uideo, terramque, quam calco, unde est haec terra, quam porto. tu fecisti. sed ubi est caelum caeli, domine, de quo audiuimus in uoce psalmi: caelum caeli domino: terram autem dedit filiis hominum? ubi es, caelum, quod non cernimus, cui terra est hoc omne, quod cernimus? hoc enim totum corporeum, non ubique totum, ita cepit speciem pulchram in nouissimis, cuius fundus est terra nostra, sed ad illud caelum caeli etiam terrae nostrae caelum terra est. et hoc utrumque magnum corpus non absurde terra est ad illud nescio quale caelum, quod domino est, non filiis hominum.

III. Et nimirum haec terra erat inuisibilis et inconposita et nescio qua profunditas abyssi, super quam non erat lux, quia nulla species erat illi: unde iussisti, ut scriberetur, quod

5 es] est BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* HV *mo.* non] nos S. 7 cepit] accepit

2. **haec terra, quam porto**] sc. the body. Cf. IX 28 'amborum coniugum terra.'

4. **caelum caeli domino** etc.] Ps. cxiii (cxv) 16 (LXX ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ. Heb.='the heavens are the heavens of the Lord,' in contrast with 'but the earth hath he given' etc.). A. understood by the 'caelum caeli' a supersensible heaven, a world of unfallen intelligences. Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* cxiii (cxiv, cxv) Serm. ii § 11: 'erexit et sublimauit quorundam sanctorum mentes in tantum ut nulli hominum sed ipsi Deo suo docibiles fierent: in cuius caeli comparatione quidquid carneis oculis cernitur terra dicenda est.'

5. **ubi es** etc.] *Where art thou, O invisible heaven, in relation to which all the visible is but 'earth'?*

7. **non ubique totum**] *which is not wholly everywhere* (as God is: see I 3, VI 4).

9. **utrumque magnum corpus**] viz. the visible heavens and earth.

III. *The earth was invisible and unorganised, a kind of abyss lying in darkness. This darkness was not anything positive, but merely the absence of light.*

12. **inuisibilis et inconposita**] Gen. i 2 Old Lat., =LXX ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος (Vulg.: 'inanis et uacua'). A. does not seem to find any difficulty in the curious 'inuisibilis.' In conformity with his remark in X 54 that 'to see' is often applied to the action of the other senses ('see how it sounds' etc.) he understands it as meaning 'incognizable by the senses,' a necessary characteristic of that which is absolutely formless (§ 5 *infr.* 'quid uideatur et quid sentiatur in inuisibili et inconposita non est'). It was otherwise explained by Basil, *Hexaëm.* II 4, who pointed out that the earth was invisible because covered with water, and above the water was darkness; an explanation in which he is followed by Ambrose, *Hexaëm.* I 7. 26.

tenebrae erant super abyssum; quid aliud quam lucis absentia? ubi enim lux esset, si esset, nisi super esset eminendo et inlustrando? ubi ergo lux nondum erat, quid erat adesse tenebras nisi abesse lucem? super itaque erant tenebrae, quia super lux aberat, sicut sonus ubi non est, silentium est. et quid est esse ibi silentium nisi sonum ibi non esse? nonne tu, domine, docuisti hanc animam, quae tibi confitetur? nonne tu, domine, docuisti me, quod priusquam istam informem materiam formares atque distingueres, non erat aliquid, non color, non figura, non corpus, non spiritus? non tamen omnino nihil: erat quaedam informitas sine ulla specie.

4 IV. Quid ergo uocaretur, quo etiam sensu tardioribus utcumque insinuaretur, nisi usitato aliquo uocabulo? quid autem in omnibus mundi partibus reperiri potest propinquius informitati omnimodae quam terra et abyssus? minus enim speciosa sunt pro suo gradu infimo quam cetera superiora perlucida et luculenta omnia. cur ergo non accipiam informitatem materiae, quam sine specie feceras, unde speciosum mundum faceres, ita conmode hominibus intimatam, ut ap-
5 pellaretur terra inuisibilis et inconposita, ut, cum in ea quaerit

1. **tenebrae** etc.] Gen. i 2.

ib. **quid aliud quam lucis absentia**] Not, as the Manichaeans taught, a 'kingdom of darkness.' Cf. Basil *Hexaëm.* II 5 'But, reason asks, was darkness created with the world? Is it older than light? Why, in spite of its inferiority, has it precedence of it? Darkness, we reply, did not exist in essence; it is a condition produced in the air by the withholding of light.'

7. **docuisti**] Ps. lxx (lxxi) 17.

8. **informem materiam**] In *de Gen. Imperf.* iii 10 A. quotes Wisd. xi 18 in the form 'qui fecisti mundum de informi materia.' By this A. understands the earth as it was at the first creation, not a pre-existent material. He did not hold, however, that the earth continued for a time in this formless state—the acts of creating the formless matter and of moulding it into form were synchronous, as the utterance of sound and the moulding it into syllables are synchronous in articulate speech. See below, § 40, and *de Gen. ad Lit.* I 15. 29.

9. **distingueres**] Cf. VII 7, note ('distinctam').

IV. *It seems as if these words 'invisible and unorganised' were used to suggest, so far as it is possible to do in familiar language, the formless matter from which the world was to be formed.*

V. *The vague and negative character of these words is intended to show us that we must be content with a vague conception of this formless matter.*

cogitatio, quid sensus attingat, et dicit sibi: "non est intellegibilis forma sicut uita, sicut iustitia, quia materies est corporum, neque sensibilis, quoniam quid uideatur et quid sentiatur in inuisibili et inconposita non est," dum sibi haec dicit humana cogitatio, conetur eam uel nosse ignorando uel ignorare noscendo?

VI. Ego uero, domine, si totum confitear tibi ore meo et calamo meo, quidquid de ista materia docuisti me, cuius antea nomen audiens et non intellegens narrantibus mihi eis, qui non intellegerent, eam cum speciebus innumeris et uariis cogitabam et ideo non eam cogitabam; foedas et horribiles formas perturbatis ordinibus uoluebat animus, sed formas tamen, et informe appellabam non quod careret forma, sed quod talem haberet, ut, si appareret, insolitum et incongruum auersaretur sensus meus et conturbaretur infirmitas hominis; uerum autem illud quod cogitabam non priuatione omnis formae, sed comparatione formosiorum erat informe, et suadebat uera ratio, ut omnis formae qualescumque reliquias omnino detraherem, si

3 *pr.* quid] quod M *mo.* *alt.* quid] quid M, quod *mo.*

1. **quid sensus attingat**] 'sensus' apparently means 'thought' here (cf. VI 19), as in the following lines other aspects of reality besides that which is 'sensibilis' are included in its purview.

5. **uel nosse ignorando** etc.] *i.e.* its nature is such that the effort at a clear conception defeats itself; we must be content with a vague notion. Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* II 4. 10: *τοῦτο νοεῖ ἀμυδρῶς ἀμυδρὸν καὶ σκοτεινῶς σκοτεινὸν, καὶ νοεῖ οὐ νοοῦσα.*

VI. *Formerly he had thought of this formless matter not as really formless but as of strange uncouth form. Later he perceived that the transitions of mutable things from one form to another implied an underlying substance, in which form was not inherent but which was capable of receiving all forms.*

9. **narrantibus ... qui non intellegerent**] It is not quite clear what teachers this refers to—probably the Christians among whom his boyhood was passed. Until he met Ambrose he does not seem ever to have come in contact with any Christian of much education or mental grasp.

17. **et suadebat uera ratio**] A. was aided in forming this conception by his Neo-Platonic studies. The doctrine of Plotinus was based partly upon Plato, partly upon Aristotle, the large development given to the metaphysical side of the doctrine (as distinct from the quasi-ethical Platonic side) being chiefly drawn from the latter. See Bouillet *Les Ennéades de Plotin* i 196, 206, 211.

18. **omnis formae qualescumque reliquias**] *the last vestiges of form.*

uellem prorsus informe cogitare et non poteram; citius enim non esse censebam, quod omni forma priuaretur, quam cogitabam quiddam inter formam et nihil, nec formatum nec nihil, informe prope nihil; et cessauit mens mea interrogare hinc spiritum meum plenum imaginibus formatorum corporum et eas pro arbitrio mutantem atque uariantem, et intendi in ipsa corpora eorumque mutabilitatem altius inspexi, qua desinunt esse quod fuerant et incipiunt esse quod non erant, eundemque transitum de forma in formam per informe quiddam fieri suspicatus sum, non per omnino nihil: sed nosse cupiebam, non suspicari:—et si totum tibi confiteatur uox et stilus meus, quidquid de ista quaestione enodasti mihi, quis legentium capere durabit? nec ideo tamen cessabit cor meum tibi dare honorem et canticum laudis de his, quae dictare non sufficit. mutabilitas enim rerum mutabilium ipsa capax est formarum omnium, in quas mutantur res mutabiles. et haec quid est? numquid animus? numquid corpus? numquid species animi uel corporis? si dici posset: "nihil aliquid" et: "est non est," hoc eam dicerem; et tamen iam utcumque erat, ut species caperet istas uisibiles et conpositas.

7 VII. Et unde utcumque erat, ut species caperet istas uisibiles et conpositas, et unde utcumque erat, nisi esset abs

21 ut species...utcumque erat S, – BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* I 8. 9 τὸ παράπαν ἀφαιροῦντες πᾶν εἶδος, ᾧ μὴ τοῦτο πάρεστι, λέγομεν εἶναι ὕλην.

3. **quiddam inter formam** etc.] *Something between form and non-existence, neither formed nor yet non-existent, formless and all but non-existent.*

9. **transitum...fieri**] Similarly Plotinus *Enn.* II 4. 2 says γινομένοις μὲν ὕλης δεῖ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων ἕτερα ποιουμένοις. It is, he adds, our experience of these changes which suggests the conception of matter. Cf. Aristotle *Met.* VIII 1 ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς ἀντικειμέναις μεταβολαῖς ἐστί τι τὸ ὑποκείμενον ταῖς μεταβολαῖς.

15. **capax...formarum omnium**] Plotinus *Enn.* II 4. 1 advances as a widely accepted definition of matter: τὴν λεγομένην ὕλην ὑποκείμενόν τι καὶ ὑποδοχὴν εἰδῶν...εἶναι. Cf. Plato *Tim.* 51 a ἀόρατον εἰδός τι καὶ ἄμορφον πανδεχές.

18. **nihil aliquid** etc.] 'a nothing-something' and 'not-being being.' Cf. Plotin. *Enn.* III 6. 7 μὴ ὂν δ' ἂν εἰκότως λέγοιτο.

19. **et tamen iam** etc.] *and yet it must have had some kind of being, to be capable of taking the visible and complex forms we know.*

VII. *Heaven and earth were created by God out of nothing; they*

te, a quo sunt omnia, in quantumcumque sunt? sed tanto a te longius, quanto dissimilius: neque enim locis. itaque tu, domine, qui non es alias aliud et alias aliter, sed id ipsum et id ipsum et id ipsum, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus omnipotens, in principio, quod est de te, in sapientia tua, quae nata est de substantia tua, fecisti aliquid et de nihilo. fecisti enim caelum et terram non de te: nam esset aequale unigenito tuo ac per hoc et tibi, et nullo modo iustum esset, ut aequale tibi esset, quod de te non esset. et aliud praeter te non erat, unde faceres ea, deus, una trinitas et trina unitas: et ideo de nihilo fecisti caelum et terram, magnum quiddam et paruum quiddam, quoniam omnipotens et bonus es ad facienda omnia bona, magnum caelum et paruam terram. tu eras et aliud nihil, unde fecisti caelum et terram, duo quaedam, unum prope te, alterum prope nihil, unum, quo superior tu esses, alterum, quo inferius nihil esset.

VIII. Sed illud caelum caeli tibi, domine; terra autem, 8
quam dedisti filiis hominum cernendam atque tangendam, non erat talis, qualem nunc cernimus et tangimus. inuisibilis enim erat et inconposita, et abyssus erat, super quam non erat lux, aut tenebrae erant super abyssum, id est magis quam in

4 et id ipsum] – GMS *Knöll in ed. mai.*

were not an emanation from His being.

1. **tanto a te longius** etc.] Cf. VII 16 note ('in regione dissimilitudinis').

3. **id ipsum**] See IX 11.

4. **sanctus...omnipotens**] Rev. iv 8; cf. Isa. vi 3.

5. **in principio**] Cf. XI 10.

7. **non de te**] *not of Thy substance.* Against the Manichaeans who taught that the light-elements in the world were part of God; also perhaps with allusion to the emanation-system of the Neo-Platonists, a portion of their doctrine which A., of course, did not accept. The argument, it will be noticed, moves in a 'vicious circle': it is not 'de te' for then it would be equal to Thee, and that would not be right, because it is not 'de te.'

VIII. *The heaven in this first verse of Genesis means the heaven of heavens, God's dwelling place, and the earth means the formless matter out of which the material universe was formed.*

17. **caelum caeli**] Ps. cxiii (cxv) 16.

21. **id est magis quam**] This A. gives as an alternative interpretation, the word 'super' being understood not locally but = 'magis quam'—the darkness was more profound than in the abyss, viz. the ocean.

abysso. ista quippe abyssus aquarum iam uisibilium etiam in profundis suis habet speciei suae lucem utcumque sensibilem piscibus et repentibus in suo fundo animantibus: illud autem totum prope nihil erat, quoniam adhuc omnino informe erat; iam tamen erat, quod formari poterat. tu enim, domine, fecisti mundum de materia informi, quam fecisti de nulla re paene nullam rem, unde faceres magna, quae miramur filii hominum. ualde hoc mirabile, caelum corporeum, quod firmamentum inter aquam et aquam secundo die post conditionem lucis dixisti: fiat, et sic est factum. quod firmamentum uocasti caelum, sed caelum terrae huius et maris, quae fecisti tertio die dando speciem uisibilem informi materiae, quam fecisti ante omnem diem. iam enim feceras et caelum ante omnem diem, sed caelum caeli huius, quia in principio feceras caelum et terram. terra autem ipsa, quam feceras, informis materies erat, quia inuisibilis erat et inconposita et tenebrae super abyssum: de qua terra inuisibili et inconposita, de qua informitate, de quo paene nihilo faceres haec omnia, quibus iste mutabilis mundus constat et non constat, in quo ipsa mutabilitas apparet, in qua sentiri et dinumerari possunt tempora, quia rerum mutationibus fiunt tempora, dum uariantur et uertuntur species, quarum materies praedicta est terra inuisibilis.

9 IX. Ideoque spiritus, doctor famuli tui, cum te com-

8 hoc mirabile] enim m. hoc BCF²GHMOPQVW *edd.*

6. **fecisti...informi**] Wisd. xi 18.

8. **ualde hoc mirabile**] 'Mirabile' is predicative: *truly wonderful is this, the corporeal heaven.*

ib. **quod firmamentum**] A loosely used anticipatory accusative = 'de quo firmamento.'

9. **post conditionem lucis**] *after the creation of light.* See III 10, note.

13. **iam enim feceras et caelum**] *Thou hadst also made a heaven before the beginning of days, but that was this heaven's heaven* (*i.e.* was as exalted above the visible heaven as that is above the earth).

19. **constat et non constat**] *consists yet without consistency* (stability).

20. **mutabilitas...tempora**] See XI 40.

IX. *No 'day' is mentioned for this first creation because time was not yet. Time only begins with the mutable creation, and the heaven of heavens is above mutability, while the formless material is below it.*

memorat fecisse in principio caelum et terram, tacet de temporibus, silet de diebus. nimirum enim caelum caeli, quod in principio fecisti, creatura est aliqua intellectualis; quamquam nequaquam tibi, trinitati, coaeterna, particeps tamen aeternitatis tuae, ualde mutabilitatem suam prae dulcedine felicissimae contemplationis tuae cohibet et sine ullo lapsu ex quo facta est inhaerendo tibi excedit omnem uolubilem uicissitudinem temporum. ista uero informitas, terra inuisibilis et inconposita, nec ipsa in diebus numerata est. ubi enim nulla species, nullus ordo, nec uenit quicquam et praeterit, et ubi hoc non fit, non sunt utique dies nec uicissitudo spatiorum temporalium.

X. O ueritas, lumen cordis mei, non tenebrae meae l[1] loquantur mihi. defluxi ad ista et obscuratus sum, sed hinc, etiam hinc adamaui te. erraui et recordatus sum tui. audiui uocem tuam post me, ut redirem, et uix audiui propter tumultus inpacatorum. et nunc ecce redeo aestuans et anhelans ad fontem tuum. nemo me prohibeat: hunc bibam et hunc uiuam. non ego uita mea sim: male uixi ex me, mors mihi fui: in te reuiuesco. tu me alloquere, tu mihi sermocinare. credidi libris tuis, et uerba eorum arcana ualde.

8 terrae BCHMOPQW^3. nec BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 9 inconpositae CFHM. 11 *pr.* et S, 19 hunc] hinc H*m*, tunc BCFPQV *o*.

3. **creatura ... intellectualis ... inhaerendo**] The reference is to the angels, but the language is Neo-Platonic. Cf. *de Ciu. Dei* IX 23, where A. remarks on the affinity between the Christian conception of angels and the Neo-Platonist teaching regarding the 'inferior gods.' 'Si enim sic inmortales, ut tamen a summo Deo factos, et si non per seipsos, sed ei, a quo facti sunt, adhaerendo beatos esse dicunt: hoc dicunt quod dicimus, quolibet eos nomine appellent.' Cf. *ibid.* XII 25 'angeli autem quos illi deos libentius appellant.'

X. *A. prays for the light of truth; and draws encouragement from the remembrance of how God spoke to him through the Scriptures at the time of his conversion.*

14. **defluxi ad ista**] *I fell away to those material things.* For 'defluo' see II 18, note.

ib. **sed hinc**] sc. from the condition to which he fell.

15. **audiui uocem post me**] Isa. XXX 21.

17. **inpacatorum**] 'hostile to peace'—possibly with allusion to Ps. CXIX 7 ('cum his qui oderunt pacem'), where A. says 'qui sunt qui oderunt pacem? qui conscindunt ueritatem,' *i.e.* heretics; and here, in particular, the Manichaeans.

11 XI. Iam dixisti mihi, domine, uoce forti in aurem interiorem, quia tu aeternus es, solus habens inmortalitatem, quoniam ex nulla specie motuue mutaris nec temporibus uariatur uoluntas tua, quia non est inmortalis uoluntas, quae alia et alia est. hoc in conspectu tuo claret mihi et magis magisque clarescat, oro te, atque in ea manifestatione persistam sobrius sub alis tuis. item dixisti mihi, domine, uoce forti in aurem interiorem, quod omnes naturas atque substantias, quae non sunt quod tu es et tamen sunt, tu fecisti: hoc solum a te non est, quod non est, motusque uoluntatis a te, qui es, ad id quod minus est, quia talis motus delictum atque peccatum est, et quod nullius peccatum aut tibi nocet aut perturbat ordinem imperii tui uel in primo uel in imo. hoc in conspectu tuo claret mihi et magis magisque clarescat, oro te, atque in ea manifestatione persistam sobrius sub alis tuis.

12 Item dixisti mihi uoce forti in aurem interiorem, quod nec illa creatura tibi coaeterna est, cuius uoluptas tu solus es teque perseuerantissima castitate hauriens mutabilitatem suam nusquam et numquam exserit, et, te sibi semper praesente, ad quem toto affectu se tenet, non habens futurum quod expectet nec in praeteritum traiciens quod meminerit, nulla uice uariatur nec in tempora ulla distenditur. o beata, si qua ista est, inhaerendo beatitudini tuae, beata sempiterno inhabitatore te

† uoluptas

18 uoluptas] uoluntas BHPQV *m*, uoluntas F.

XI. *A. developes at length the thought enuntiated in chapter* IX.

2. **solus** etc.] 1 Tim. vi 16 'qui solus habet inmortalitatem.'

3. **specie motuue**] κίνησις is defined by Plotinus as a kind of form, namely an active form (εἶδος ἐνεργητικόν) in contra-distinction to a passive form, or state; *Enn.* VI 3. 22. There can be a change from one state of 'being' to another; there can also be a change from one kind of 'becoming' to another.

13. **uel in primo...imo**] The phrase is probably used merely with expletive force: 'first or last.' For the rhyming antithesis cf. VIII 12 note ('dedere...cedere').

18. **cuius...hauriens...exserit**] This is an anacoluthon, A. continuing as if the relative had been in the nominative. The main statement introduced by 'quod' is resumed at 'et te,' where the 'et' bears the slightly adversative sense so common in A. 'and yet.'

23. **distenditur**] See XI 39 note ('distentio').

atque inlustratore suo! nec inuenio, quid libentius appellandum existimem caelum caeli domino quam domum tuam contemplantem delectationem tuam sine ullo defectu egrediendi in aliud, mentem puram concordissime unam stabilimento pacis sanctorum spirituum, ciuium ciuitatis tuae in caelestibus super ista caelestia.

Unde intellegat anima, cuius peregrinatio longinqua facta 13
est, si iam sitit tibi, si iam factae sunt ei lacrimae suae panis, dum dicitur ei per singulos dies, "ubi est deus tuus?", si iam petit a te unam et hanc requirit, ut inhabitet in domo tua per omnes dies uitae suae—et quae uita eius nisi tu? et qui dies tui nisi aeternitas tua, sicut anni tui, qui non deficiunt, quia idem ipse es?—hinc ergo intellegat anima, quae potest, quam longe super omnia tempora sis aeternus, quando tua domus, quae peregrinata non est, quamuis non sit tibi coaeterna, tamen indesinenter et indeficienter tibi cohaerendo nullam patitur uicissitudinem temporum. hoc in conspectu tuo claret mihi et magis magisque clarescat, oro te, atque in hac manifestatione persistam sobrius sub alis tuis.

Ecce nescio quid informe in istis mutationibus rerum ex- 14
tremarum atque infimarum, et quis dicet mihi, nisi quisquis

21 infimarum MP², infirmarum *cet. et edd.*

2. **caelum caeli**] Ps. cxiii (cxv) 16.

ib. **domum ... contemplantem**] *Thy household which contemplates Thy desirableness* (cf. Ps. xxvi 4 in the version used by A. 'ut contempler delectationem Domini.' See XI 28 *sup.* and *Enarr. in Ps. ad loc.*). A. here fuses, as he frequently does, Neo-Platonic with Scriptural language (cf. 'egrediendi in aliud').

4. **mentem puram** etc.] 'Mentem' is in apposition with 'domum,' and the genitives 'spirituum' and 'ciuium' depend on 'mentem': *the pure intelligence of holy spiritual beings, which is one in virtue of their perfect harmony, and rests on the foundation of peace* (cf. Eph. iv 3), *even the citizens of Thy Kingdom in the heavens, above this visible heaven.*

8. **sitit tibi...deus tuus**] Cf. Ps. xli 3, 4 and 11 (xlii 2, 3 and 10).

10. **petit...unam** etc.] Cf. Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 4.

12. **sicut anni tui...idem ipse es**] Cf. Ps. ci. 28 (cii 27).

21. **infimarum**] The bulk of the MSS. evidence is in favour of 'infirmarum,' but 'infimarum' is certainly a more characteristic expression of A. in this connexion; cf. II 10 where we have 'infimis pulchris'...

per inania cordis sui cum suis phantasmatis uagatur et uoluitur, quis nisi talis dicet mihi, quod, diminuta atque consumpta omni specie, si sola remaneat informitas, per quam de specie in speciem res mutabatur et uertebatur, possit exhibere uices temporum? omnino enim non potest, quia sine uarietate motionum non sunt tempora: et nulla uarietas, ubi nulla species.

XII. Quibus consideratis, deus meus, quantum donas, quantum me ad pulsandum excitas quantumque pulsanti aperis, duo reperio, quae fecisti carentia temporibus, cum tibi neutrum coaeternum sit: unum, quod ita formatum est, ut sine ullo defectu contemplationis, sine ullo interuallo mutationis, quamuis mutabile, tamen non mutatum, aeternitate atque inconmutabilitate perfruatur; alterum, quod ita informe erat, ut ex qua forma in quam formam uel motionis uel stationis mutaretur, quo tempori subderetur, non haberet. sed hoc ut informe esset, non reliquisti, quoniam fecisti ante omnem diem in principio caelum et terram, haec duo quae dicebam. terra autem inuisibilis erat et inconposita et tenebrae super abyssum. quibus uerbis insinuatur informitas, ut gradatim excipiantur, qui omnimodam speciei priuationem nec

1 phantasmatis] phantasmatibus G^2M *edd.*, fantasmatibus BCFPQ.

'extrema bona' and *ib.* 11 '(bona) quae infima diximus.'

XII. *The same subject continued.*

9. **ad pulsandum** etc.] See § 1 *sup.*

14. **alterum...haberet**] *the other (stands out of relation to time) because it was so formless that it was impossible for it to change from one form to another, whether of motion or of rest, and so to become subject to time.* For 'formam motionis' cf. § 11 *sup.* note ('specie motuue').

17. **sed hoc...terram**] *but Thou didst not leave this to its formlessness, since before all days Thou didst make in the beginning heaven and earth.* See above § 3, note ('informem materiam') and cf. *c. Aduersarium Leg. et Proph.* 1 9. 12 'nec putandus est Deus informem prius fecisse materiam et interuallo aliquo interposito temporis formasse quod prius informe fecerat, sed sicut a loquente fiunt uerba sonantia, ubi non prius uox informis post accipit formam, sed formata profertur, ita intellegendus est Deus de materia quidem informi fecisse mundum, sed simul eam concreasse cum mundo.'

20. **ut gradatim excipiantur**] *in order that the idea might gradually lay hold upon the minds of those* etc. (lit. 'that those might gradually be caught').

tamen ad nihil peruentionem cogitare non possent, unde fieret alterum caelum et terra uisibilis atque conposita et aqua speciosa et quidquid deinceps in constitutione huius mundi non sine diebus factum conmemoratur, quia talia sunt, ut in eis agantur uicissitudines temporum propter ordinatas conmutationes motionum atque formarum.

XIII. Hoc interim sentio, deus meus, cum audio loquentem scripturam tuam: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram: terra autem erat inuisibilis et inconposita et tenebrae erant super abyssum, neque commemorantem, quoto die feceris haec, sic interim sentio propter illud caelum caeli, caelum intellectuale, ubi est intellectus nosse simul, non ex parte, non in aenigmate, non per speculum, sed ex toto, in manifestatione, facie ad faciem, non modo hoc, modo illud, sed, quod dictum est, nosse simul sine ulla uicissitudine temporum; et propter inuisibilem atque inconpositam terram sine ulla uicissitudine temporum, quae solet habere modo hoc et modo illud, quia ubi nulla species, nusquam est hoc et illud: propter duo haec, primitus formatum et penitus informe, illud caelum, sed caelum caeli, hoc uero terram, sed terram inuisibilem et inconpositam, propter duo haec interim sentio sine commemoratione dierum dicere scripturam tuam: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram. statim quippe subiecit, quam terram dixerit. et quod secundo die commemoratur factum firmamentum et uocatum caelum, insinuat, de quo caelo prius sine diebus sermo locutus sit. 16

XIV. Mira profunditas eloquiorum tuorum, quorum ecce 17

1 possent *coniec. Knöll*, posset S, possunt *cet. et edd.*

XIII. *The same continued. The mention in verse* 6 *of the firmament's being made on the second day and called 'heaven' shows that it is a different heaven which is spoken of in the first verse, where there is no reference to time.*

12. **ubi...nosse simul**] Either 'where it is the prerogative of intelligence to know immediately' (taking 'intellectus' as genitive), or 'where intelligence means immediate knowledge' (taking 'intellectus' as nominative).

ib. **non ex parte** etc.] Alluding to 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

23. **statim quippe subiecit**] *i.e.* the words which are immediately added 'terra autem inuisibilis' etc. show that 'terra' refers to the primal formless matter, and not to the organised world.

24. **firmamentum**] Gen. i. 7 sq.

XIV. *The awe-inspiring pro-*

ante nos superficies blandiens paruulis: sed mira profunditas, deus meus, mira profunditas! horror est intendere in eam, horror honoris et tremor amoris. odi hostes eius uehementer: o si occidas eos de gladio bis acuto, et non sint hostes eius! sic enim amo eos occidi sibi, ut uiuant tibi. ecce autem alii non reprehensores, sed laudatores libri Geneseos: "non" inquiunt "hoc uoluit in his uerbis intellegi spiritus dei, qui per Moysen famulum eius ista conscripsit, non hoc uoluit intellegi, quod tu dicis, sed aliud, quod nos dicimus." quibus ego te arbitro, deus omnium nostrum, ita respondeo.

18 XV. Num dicetis falsa esse, quae mihi ueritas uoce forti in aurem interiorem dicit de uera aeternitate creatoris, quod nequaquam eius substantia per tempora uarietur nec eius uoluntas extra eius substantiam sit? unde non eum modo uelle hoc modo uelle illud, sed semel et simul et semper uelle omnia quae uult, non iterum et iterum neque nunc ista nunc illa nec uelle postea quod nolebat aut nolle quod uolebat prius, quia talis uoluntas mutabilis est et omne mutabile aeternum non est; deus autem noster aeternus est. item, quod mihi

10 nostrum] nostrorum BCGP[1] *m*.

fundity of the Scriptures. Would that, like a two-edged sword, they might slay the enemies of God, so that thenceforth they might live to Him! But others, who are not enemies of the Scripture, give different interpretations from that which A. has proposed above. These he will now discuss.

1. **blandiens**] *gently leading on.*

3. **honoris...amoris**] See § 11 *sup.* note ('primo...imo').

4. **de gladio bis acuto**] Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* cxlix § 12 'duo testamenta ad gladium bis acutum pertinent. uetus testamentum terrena promittit, nouum aeterna. in utroque sermo Dei uerax inuentus est, ut gladius bis acutus.' The 'de' is instrumental; cf. v 5 'de qua numerant,' with refs. there.

5. **amo...occidi**] 'Amo' with simple dependent infinitive becomes common after the classical period, but with accusative (other than that of the reflexive pronoun) and passive infinitive it is rare. The *Thesaurus Ling. Lat.* quotes Lamprid. *Heliog.* xxix 9 'amabat sibi pretia maiora dici earum rerum quae mensae parabantur.'

XV. *A. goes through the points which he has emphasized so far: that the act of creation is not contrary to God's immutability; that the good angels are immutable in virtue of their constancy; that the formless matter, since it was formless, was immutable; and asks whether his opponents deny these statements. The answer is: No, they do not deny them as facts.*

19. **deus ... noster ... aeternus**] Ps. xlvii (xlviii) 15.

dicit in aurem interiorem, expectatio rerum uenturarum fit contuitus, cum uenerint, idemque contuitus fit memoria, cum praeterierint: omnis porro intentio, quae ita uariatur, mutabilis est, et omne mutabile aeternum non est: deus autem noster aeternus est. haec colligo atque coniungo et inuenio deum meum, deum aeternum, non aliqua noua uoluntate condidisse creaturam nec scientiam eius transitorium aliquid pati.

Quid ergo dicetis, contradictores? an falsa sunt ista? 1
"non" inquiunt. quid illud? num falsum est omnem naturam formatam materiamue formabilem non esse nisi ab illo, qui summe bonus est, quia summe est? "neque hoc negamus" inquiunt. quid igitur? an illud negatis, sublimem quandam esse creaturam tam casto amore cohaerentem deo uero et uere aeterno, ut, quamuis ei coaeterna non sit, in nullam tamen temporum uarietatem et uicissitudinem ab illo se resoluat et defluat, sed in eius solius ueracissima contemplatione requiescat, quoniam tu, deus, diligenti te, quantum praecipis, ostendis ei te et sufficis ei, et ideo non declinat a te nec a se? haec est domus dei non terrena neque ulla caelesti mole corporea, sed spiritalis et particeps aeternitatis tuae, quia sine labe in aeternum. statuisti enim eam in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi; praeceptum posuisti et non praeteribit. nec tamen tibi coaeterna, quoniam non sine initio: facta est enim.

Nam etsi non inuenimus tempus ante illam—prior quippe 2
omnium creata est sapientia—nec utique illa sapientia tibi,

18 a se] ad se BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

2. **contuitus**] See above, XI 26.

18. **non declinat a te nec a se**] 'A se' is the reading of S only, all other MSS. having 'ad.' Both statements can be paralleled from A.'s teaching elsewhere, but the 'nec' is decidedly in favour of the reading of S; it seems probable that if A. had used 'ad' he would have said simply 'a te ad se.' For the thought conveyed by the reading 'ad se' cf. *de Vera Rel.* xiii. 26 'fatendum est enim et angelos natura esse mutabiles, si solus Deus est incommutabilis. sed ea uoluntate, qua magis Deum quam se diligunt, firmi et stabiles manent in illo'; and for 'non...a te nec a se' cf. VII 17 *sup.* 'si non manebo in illo, nec in me potero,' with note there.

19. **domus dei**] Cf. Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 4.

21. **in saeculum** etc.] Ps. cxlviii 6.

24. **prior...omnium creata est sapientia**] Ecclus. i 4.

deus noster, patri suo, plane coaeterna et coaequalis et per quam creata sunt omnia et in quo principio fecisti caelum et terram, sed profecto sapientia, quae creata est, intellectualis natura scilicet, quae contemplatione luminis lumen est—dicitur enim et ipsa, quamuis creata, sapientia; sed quantum interest inter lumen, quod inluminat et quod inluminatur, tantum inter sapientiam, quae creat, et istam, quae creata est, sicut inter iustitiam iustificantem et iustitiam, quae iustificatione facta est; nam et nos dicti sumus iustitia tua; ait enim quidam seruus tuus: ut nos simus iustitia dei in ipso—ergo quia prior omnium creata est quaedam sapientia, quae creata est, mens rationalis et intellectualis castae ciuitatis tuae, matris nostrae, quae sursum est et libera est et aeterna in caelis—quibus caelis, nisi qui te laudant caeli caelorum, quia hoc est et caelum caeli domino?—etsi non inuenimus tempus ante illam, quia et creaturam temporis antecedit quae prior omnium creata est, ante illam tamen est ipsius creatoris aeternitas, a quo facta sumpsit exordium, quamuis non temporis, quia nondum erat tempus, ipsius tamen conditionis suae.

Unde ita est abs te, deo nostro, ut aliud sit plane quam tu] et non id ipsum, et non solum ante illam, sed nec in illa inuenimus tempus, quia est idonea faciem tuam semper uidere nec uspiam deflectitur ab ea; quo fit, ut nulla mutatione uarietur. inest ei tamen ipsa mutabilitas, unde tenebresceret et frigesceret, nisi amore grandi tibi cohaerens tamquam sem-

1 coaequalis SV, aequalis *cet. et edd.* 21 *alt.* et S, etsi GHMOVW, quoniam etsi BCFPQ *edd.*

4. **contemplatione luminis lumen**] Cf. Plotinus *Enn.* IV 3. 17 where he speaks of the Cosmic Soul as *φῶς ἐκ φωτός*.

8. **iustitiam...facta est**] Cf. X 2.

10. **ut nos simus** etc.] 2 Cor. v 21.

12. **matris nostrae** etc.] Gal. iv 26.

13. **aeterna in caelis**] 2 Cor. v 1.

16. **creaturam temporis**] 'time which is itself a created thing.'

19. **conditionis suae**] 'of its creation.' Cf. § 9 *sup.*

21. **id ipsum**] Cf. IX 11.

ib. **et non solum** etc.] It is evident from the context that a second 'non' before 'ante' must be supplied from the following 'nec': 'and yet not only not before it, but not even in it, do we find time.'

22. **faciem tuam semper uidere**] Cf. Mt. xviii 10.

per meridies luceret et ferueret ex te. o domus luminosa et speciosa, dilexi decorem tuum et locum habitationis gloriae domini mei, fabricatoris et possessoris tui! tibi suspiret peregrinatio mea, et dico ei qui fecit te, ut possideat et me in te, quia fecit et me. erraui sicut ouis perdita, sed in humeris pastoris mei, structoris tui, spero me reportari tibi.

Quid dicitis mihi quos alloquebar contradictores, qui tamen 2
et Moysen pium famulum dei et libros eius oracula sancti spiritus creditis? estne ista domus dei, non quidem deo coaeterna, sed tamen secundum modum suum aeterna in caelis, ubi uices temporum frustra quaeritis, quia non inuenitis? supergreditur enim omnem distentionem et omne spatium aetatis uolubile, cui semper inhaerere deo bonum est. "est" inquiunt. quid igitur ex his, quae clamauit cor meum ad deum meum, cum audiret interius uocem laudis eius, quid tandem falsum esse contenditis? an quia erat informis materies, ubi propter nullam formam nullus ordo erat? ubi autem nullus ordo erat, nulla esse uicissitudo temporum poterat; et tamen hoc paene nihil in quantum non omnino nihil erat, ab illo utique erat, a quo est quidquid est, quod utcumque aliquid est. "hoc quoque" aiunt "non negamus."

XVI. Cum his enim uolo coram te aliquid conloqui, deus 2
meus, qui haec omnia, quae intus in mente mea non tacet ueritas tua, uera esse concedunt. nam qui haec negant,

11 inuenietis] BCFHMPQV *edd.*

2. **dilexi decorem**] Ps. xxv (xxvi) 8.

3. **peregrinatio mea**] Cf. IX 37 *sup.*

4. **dico ... ut**] 'Dico' is used apparently in the sense of 'pray.'

5. **erraui** etc.] Ps. cxviii (cxix) 176.

ib. **in humeris pastoris mei**] Lk. xv 5. Cf. VIII 6.

10. **aeterna in caelis**] 2 Cor. v 1.

12. **distentionem**] See XI 39.

13. **inhaerere deo** etc.] Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 28.

14. **clamauit cor meum**] Cf. Ps. cxviii (cxix) 145 'clamaui in toto corde meo'; xvii 7 'ad deum meum clamaui.'

15. **cum audiret interius**] See § 12 *sup.*

ib. **uocem laudis**] Ps. xxv (xxvi) 7.

XVI. *Unless they had agreed with him regarding these vital principles he would not have cared to discuss the matter with them, so strong is his conviction that he has the witness of the inward light to their truth.*

latrent quantum uolunt et obstrepant sibi: persuadere conabor, ut quiescant et uiam praebeant ad se uerbo tuo. quod si noluerint et reppulerint me, obsecro, deus meus, ne tu sileas a me. tu loquere in corde meo ueraciter; solus enim sic loqueris; et dimittam eos foris sufflantes in puluerem et excitantes terram in oculos suos et intrem in cubile meum et cantem tibi amatoria, gemens inenarrabiles gemitus in peregrinatione mea et recordans Hierusalem, extento in eam sursum corde, Hierusalem patriam meam, Hierusalem matrem meam, teque super eam regnatorem, inlustratorem, patrem, tutorem, maritum, castas et fortes delicias et solidum gaudium et omnia bona ineffabilia, simul omnia, quia unum summum et uerum bonum: et non auertar, donec in eius pacem, matris carissimae, ubi sunt primitiae spiritus mei, unde ista mihi certa sunt, colligas totum quod sum a dispersione et deformitate hac et conformes atque confirmes in aeternum, deus meus, misericordia mea. cum his autem, qui cuncta illa, quae uera sunt, falsa esse non dicunt honorantes et in culmine sequendae auctoritatis nobiscum constituentes illam per sanctum Moysen editam sanctam scripturam tuam, et tamen nobis aliquid contradicunt, ita loquor. tu esto, deus noster, arbiter inter confessiones meas et contradictiones eorum.

14 XVII. Dicunt enim: "quamuis uera sint haec, non ea

3. **deus meus** etc.] Ps. xxvii (xxviii) 1.

5. **sufflantes in puluerem** etc.] A vivid metaphor for the spiritual blindness which arises from engrossment in earthly things. Cf. Dante, *Purg.* XIX 118—120:

'Si come l'occhio nostro non s'aderse
in alto, fisso alle cose terrene,
così giustizia qui a terra il merse.'

6. **intrem in cubile meum**] *i.e.* 'into his own heart,' with allusion to Mt. vi 6, which A. interprets in this sense.

7. **inenarrabiles gemitus**] Cf. Rom. viii 26.

9. **Hierusalem matrem meam**] Gal. iv. 26.

14. **primitiae spiritus mei**] See above IX 24, where A. applies this expression to the mystical experience of momentarily attaining to a region of blissful contemplation. The phrase is taken from Rom. viii 23.

15. **colligas...a dispersione**] Cf. II 1.

16. **deus meus** etc.] Ps. lviii 18 (lix 17).

18. **in culmine** etc.] *attributing to it, as we ourselves do, the highest degree of regulative authority.*

XVII. *The point of difference concerns the interpretation of the*

tamen duo Moyses intuebatur, cum reuelante spiritu diceret: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram. non caeli nomine spiritalem uel intellectualem illam creaturam semper faciem dei contemplantem significauit nec terrae nomine informem materiam." quid igitur? "quod nos dicimus" inquiunt "hoc ille uir sensit, hoc uerbis istis elocutus est." quid illud est? "nomine" aiunt "caeli et terrae totum istum uisibilem mundum prius uniuersaliter et breuiter significare uoluit, ut postea digereret dierum enumeratione quasi articulatim uniuersa, quae sancto spiritui placuit sic enuntiare. tales quippe homines erant rudis ille atque carnalis populus, cui loquebatur, ut eis opera dei non nisi sola uisibilia commendanda iudicaret." terram uero inuisibilem et inconpositam tenebrosamque abyssum, unde consequenter ostenditur per illos dies facta atque disposita esse cuncta ista uisibilia, quae nota sunt omnibus, non incongruenter informem istam materiem intellegendam esse consentiunt.

Quid? si dicat alius eandem informitatem confusionemque materiae caeli et terrae nomine prius insinuatam, quod ex ea mundus iste uisibilis cum omnibus naturis, quae in eo mani-

16 materiam CFHMOVW *mo.*

words 'In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.' In regard to this there are various opinions. (i) *By heaven and earth, say some, is meant, not the heaven of heavens and formless matter, but the material universe. It is a brief and summary description which is amplified in the succeeding account. They have no objection to understanding the 'invisible and unorganised' earth of verse* 2 *as meaning formless matter.* (ii) *Another opinion however is that the names 'heaven and earth' are applied by anticipation to the actual formless matter whence the material universe was to be formed.* (iii) *Heaven and earth are used by anticipation* (*as in* ii), *but include* (*as in A.'s own view*, § 8 *sup.*) *the spiritual as well as the material universe. Verse* 2, *however, in this view, describes each of them in its inchoate condition, the 'invisible earth' being formless matter, and the 'darkness over the abyss' being spiritual existence not as yet fully organised.* (iv) *The original formlessness is called heaven and earth because all things were implicitly contained in it and were to be brought forth from it.*

The differences between this last view and (ii) are (*a*) that in iv 'heaven and earth' include the spiritual as well as the material universe, and (*b*) that the description is conceived as applied, not merely by anticipation to what will be in the future, but by right to what is already potentially present, and has only to be, in modern language, evolved.

festissime apparent, qui caeli et terrae nomine saepe appellari solet, conditus atque perfectus est? quid? si dicat et alius caelum et terram quidem inuisibilem uisibilemque naturam non indecenter appellatam ac per hoc uniuersam creaturam, quam fecit in sapientia, id est in principio, deus, huiuscemodi duobus uocabulis esse conprehensam; uerum tamen quia non de ipsa substantia dei, sed ex nihilo cuncta facta sunt, quia non sunt id ipsum, quod deus, et inest quaedam mutabilitas omnibus, siue maneant, sicut aeterna domus dei, siue mutentur, sicut anima hominis et corpus, communem omnium rerum inuisibilium uisibiliumque materiem adhuc informem, sed certe formabilem, unde fieret caelum et terra, id est inuisibilis atque uisibilis iam utraque formata creatura, his nominibus enuntiatam, quibus appellaretur terra inuisibilis et inconposita et tenebrae super abyssum, ea distinctione, ut terra inuisibilis et inconposita intellegatur materies corporalis ante qualitatem formae, tenebrae autem super abyssum spiritalis materies ante cohibitionem quasi fluentis inmoderationis et ante inluminationem sapientiae?

6 Est adhuc quod dicat, si quis alius uelit, non scilicet iam perfectas atque formatas inuisibiles uisibilesque naturas caeli et terrae nomine significari, cum legitur: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram, sed ipsam adhuc informem inchoationem rerum formabilem creabilemque materiam his nominibus appellatam, quod in ea iam essent ista confusa, nondum qualitatibus formisque distincta, quae nunc iam digesta suis ordinibus uocantur caelum et terra, illa spiritalis, haec corporalis creatura.

7 XVIII. Quibus omnibus auditis et consideratis nolo uerbis

20. **est adhuc...si quis** etc.] The phrase seems intended to imply that A. had not come across this opinion actually maintained.

25. **quod in ea iam essent** etc.] The approximation in this view to the conceptions of modern science is worth notice.

XVIII. *A. does not desire to engage in wordy strife but to remember the commandment of love. The purpose of interpretation, no doubt, is to arrive at the author's meaning; but if the interpretation given be true in itself, is it any great evil if it does not exactly represent the author's meaning?*

28. **uerbis contendere**] 2 Tim. ii 14.

contendere; ad nihil enim utile est nisi ad subuersionem audientium. ad aedificationem autem bona est lex, si quis ea legitime utatur, quia finis eius est caritas de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta; et nouit magister noster, in quibus duobus praeceptis totam legem prophetasque suspenderit. quae mihi ardenter confitenti, deus meus, lumen oculorum meorum in occulto, quid mihi obest, cum diuersa in his uerbis intellegi possint, quae tamen uera sint? quid, inquam, mihi obest, si aliud ego sensero quam sensit alius eum sensisse, qui scripsit? omnes quidem, qui legimus, nitimur hoc indagare atque conprehendere, quod uoluit ille quem legimus, et cum eum ueridicum credimus, nihil, quod falsum esse uel nouimus uel putamus, audemus eum existimare dixisse. dum ergo quisque conatur id sentire in scripturis sanctis, quod in eis sensit ille qui scripsit, quid mali est, si hoc sentiat, quod tu, lux omnium ueridicarum mentium, ostendis uerum esse, etiamsi non hoc sensit ille, quem legit, cum et ille uerum nec tamen hoc senserit?

XIX. Verum est enim, domine, fecisse te caelum et terram. uerum est esse principium sapientiam tuam, in qua fecisti omnia. item uerum est, quod mundus iste uisibilis habet magnas partes suas caelum et terram breui conplexione

20 uerum SW[1], et uerum *cet. et edd.*

2. **bona est lex**] 1 Tim. i 8.

3. **finis** etc.] 1 Tim. i 5 'finis ...praecepti est caritas' etc.

4. **magister noster**] Mt. xxiii 10 'magister uester unus est, Christus.'

ib. **in quibus duobus praeceptis**] Mt. xxii. 40.

6. **lumen oculorum meorum**] Ps. xxxvii 11 (xxxviii 10).

12. **nihil...falsum...audemus...existimare dixisse**] A.'s conviction of the inerrancy of Scripture is conditioned by the further conviction that Scripture and reason will not conflict. If they appear to do so, it follows, for A., that the interpretation of the Scripture is mistaken.

15. **quid mali est** etc.] For a statement of A.'s view which gives a rather fuller recognition to the principles of sound exegesis, see § 43 below.

XIX. *He enumerates the admitted truths in the various views given above.*

20. **sapientiam...in qua...omnia**] Ps. ciii (civ) 24.

21. **mundus iste...naturarum et**] This is a pregnant construction. After 'caelum et terram' we need to supply 'et nomine caeli et terrae appellatus est.'

22. **breui conplexione**] 'by way of a summary description.' For

factarum omnium conditarumque naturarum. et uerum est, quod omne mutabile insinuat notitiae nostrae quandam informitatem, qua formam capit uel qua mutatur et uertitur. uerum est nulla tempora perpeti quod ita cohaeret formae incommutabili, ut, quamuis sit mutabile, non mutetur. uerum est informitatem, quae prope nihil est, uices temporum habere non posse. uerum est, quod, unde fit aliquid, potest quodam genere locutionis habere iam nomen eius rei, quae inde fit: unde potuit uocari caelum et terra quaelibet informitas, unde factum est caelum et terra. uerum est omnium formatorum nihil esse informi uicinius quam terram et abyssum. uerum est, quod non solum creatum atque formatum sed etiam quidquid creabile atque formabile est tu fecisti, ex quo sunt omnia. uerum est omne, quod ex informi formatur, prius esse informe, deinde formatum.

29 XX. Ex his omnibus ueris, de quibus non dubitant, quorum interiori oculo talia uidere donasti et qui Moysen, famulum tuum, in spiritu ueritatis locutum esse immobiliter credunt, ex his ergo omnibus aliud sibi tollit qui dicit: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram, id est in uerbo suo sibi coaeterno fecit deus intellegibilem atque sensibilem uel spiritalem corporalemque creaturam; aliud qui dicit: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram, id est in uerbo suo sibi coaeterno

the use of 'complexio' cf. Cic. *de Inuent.* I 26. 37 'breuis complexio ipsius negotii, quae summam continet facti.'

2. **insinuat notitiae nostrae**] *suggests to us the notion* (lit. 'suggests to our faculty of conception') *of a certain formless substance which receives form.*

13. **ex quo...omnia**] The relative refers to 'tu,' the allusion being to 1 Cor. viii 6 'Deus, Pater ex quo omnia.'

XX. *A. now attaches the interpretation of* '*in the beginning*' *to each of five opinions. Of these* (i) *agrees with his own view as given above* § 8, (ii), (iii), *and* (iv) *agree with those similarly numbered in the summary of chapter xvii, but* (i) *there, does not appear to be represented here, and* (v) *here, is a repetition of* (iv) *with a different interpretation of* '*in principio.*' *With the first four,* '*in principio*' *is interpreted as* '*in the Divine Word,*' *but with the last literally as* '*in the beginning*' (*'in exordio'*).

18. **in spiritu ueritatis**] Cf. Jn xiv 17.

19. **sibi tollit**] 'Tollo' in the sense of 'taking up' mentally is curious.

fecit deus uniuersam istam molem corporei mundi huius cum omnibus quas continet manifestis notisque naturis; aliud qui dicit: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram, id est in uerbo suo sibi coaeterno fecit informem materiam creaturae spiritalis et corporalis; aliud qui dicit: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram, id est in uerbo suo sibi coaeterno fecit deus informem materiam creaturae corporalis, ubi confusum adhuc erat caelum et terra, quae nunc iam distincta atque formata in istius mundi mole sentimus; aliud qui dicit: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram, id est in ipso exordio faciendi atque operandi fecit deus informem materiam confuse habentem caelum et terram, unde formata nunc eminent et apparent cum omnibus, quae in eis sunt.

XXI. Item quod adtinet ad intellectum uerborum sequentium, ex illis omnibus ueris aliud sibi tollit, qui dicit: terra autem erat inuisibilis et inconposita, et tenebrae erant super abyssum, id est corporale illud, quod fecit deus, adhuc materies erat corporearum rerum informis, sine ordine, sine luce; aliud qui dicit: terra autem erat inuisibilis et inconposita et tenebrae erant super abyssum, id est hoc totum, quod caelum et terra appellatum est, adhuc informis et tenebrosa materies erat, unde fieret caelum corporeum et terra corporea cum omnibus quae in eis sunt corporeis sensibus nota; aliud qui dicit: terra autem erat inuisibilis et inconposita, et tenebrae

4 fecit]+deus BCFPQ *edd.*

XXI. *A. proceeds to give five views regarding the interpretation of Gen. i 2. The relation of this list to that given in chapter xvii is not quite clear. The first interpretation of 'tenebrae' etc., namely that it describes the state of the formless matter, applies both to A.'s own view and to the first of the four others; the second, that it gives the literal description of that which has been called by anticipation 'caelum et terra,' answers to view* (ii)*; the third, that 'terra inuisibilis' and 'tenebrae super abyssum' respectively describe the inchoate condition of material and spiritual existences, answers to view* (iii)*, but the fourth and fifth views here* (*which assume a pre-existent matter*) *are new, so that view* (iv) *of the original list is unaccounted for. It may however be supposed to agree, so far as concerns the interpretation of verse 2, with view* (iii)*. The fourth and fifth views here agree in assuming a pre-existent formless substance, but differ as to whether both spiritual and material existences were formed from it.*

erant super abyssum, id est hoc totum, quod caelum et terra appellatum est, adhuc informis et tenebrosa materies erat, unde fieret caelum intellegibile—quod alibi dicitur caelum caeli—et terra, scilicet omnis natura corporea, sub quo nomine intellegatur etiam hoc caelum corporeum, id est unde fieret omnis inuisibilis uisibilisque creatura; aliud qui dicit: terra autem erat inuisibilis et inconposita, et tenebrae erant super abyssum,—non illam informitatem nomine caeli et terrae scriptura appellauit, sed iam erat, inquit, ipsa informitas, quam terram inuisibilem et inconpositam tenebrosamque abyssum nominauit, de qua caelum et terram deum fecisse praedixerat, spiritalem scilicet corporalemque creaturam; aliud qui dicit: terra autem erat inuisibilis et inconposita, et tenebrae erant super abyssum, id est informitas quaedam iam materies erat, unde caelum et terram deum fecisse scriptura praedixit, totam scilicet corpoream mundi molem in duas maximas partes superiorem atque inferiorem distributam cum omnibus quae in eis sunt usitatis notisque creaturis.

31 XXII. Cum enim duabus istis extremis sententiis resistere quisquam ita temptauerit: "si non uultis hanc informitatem materiae caeli et terrae nomine appellatam uideri, erat ergo aliquid, quod non fecerat deus, unde caelum et terram faceret; neque enim scriptura narrauit, quod istam materiem deus fecerit, nisi intellegamus eam caeli et terrae aut solius terrae uocabulo significatam, cum diceretur: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram, ut id, quod sequitur: terra autem erat inuisibilis et inconposita, quamuis informem materiam sic placuerit appellare, non tamen intellegamus nisi eam, quam fecit deus in eo, quod praescriptum est: fecit caelum et terram," respondebunt assertores duarum istarum sententiarum, quas

29 praescriptum CGO *mo*, perscriptum HMSV *Knöll*, scriptum BFPQW. *alt.* fecit]+deus BH *edd.*

XXII. *The last two views are not intended to imply the independent pre-existence of matter, but assume a previous, unmentioned, creation of matter, such as we must assume in the case of the 'waters' upon which the Spirit moved, or the 'waters which were above the firmament.'*

extremas posuimus, aut illius aut illius, cum haec audierint, et dicent: "informem quidem istam materiam non negamus a deo factam, deo, a quo sunt omnia bona ualde, quia, sicut dicimus amplius bonum esse quod creatum atque formatum est, ita fatemur minus bonum esse quod factum est creabile atque formabile, sed tamen bonum: non autem conmemorasse scripturam, quod hanc informitatem fecerit deus, sicut alia multa non conmemorauit, ut Cherubim et Seraphim, et quae apostolus distincte ait, sedes, dominationes, principatus, potestates, quae tamen omnia deum fecisse manifestum est. aut si in eo, quod dictum est: fecit caelum et terram, conprehensa sunt omnia, quid de aquis dicimus, super quas ferebatur spiritus dei? si enim terra nominata simul intelleguntur, quomodo iam terrae nomine materies informis accipitur, quando tam speciosas aquas uidemus? aut si ita accipitur, cur ex eadem informitate scriptum est factum firmamentum et uocatum caelum neque scriptum est factas esse aquas? non enim adhuc informes sunt et inuisae, quas ita decora specie fluere cernimus. aut si tunc acceperunt istam speciem, cum dixit deus: congregetur aqua, quae est sub firmamento, ut congregatio sit ipsa formatio, quid respondebitur de aquis, quae super firmamentum sunt, quia neque informes tam honorabilem sedem accipere meruissent nec scriptum est, qua uoce formatae sint? unde si aliquid Genesis tacuit deum fecisse, quod tamen deum fecisse nec sana fides nec certus ambigit intellectus, nec ideo ulla sobria doctrina dicere audebit istas aquas coaeternas deo, quia in libro Geneseos conmemoratas quidem audimus, ubi autem factae sint, non inuenimus, cur non informem quoque illam materiem, quam scriptura haec terram inuisibilem et inconpositam tenebrosamque abyssum appellat, docente ueritate intellegamus ex deo

10 in] – BCFGMOPQVW. 27 audiuimus HO *m.* 30 ex] a GHM *m.*

8. **Cherubim et Seraphim**] Cf. Gen. iii 24 'collocauit ante paradisum...Cherubim'; Isa. vi 2 'Seraphim stabant super illud.'

9. **sedes** etc.] Col. i 16.

12. **ferebatur spiritus dei (super aquas)**] Gen. i. 2.

14. **speciosas**] includes the ideas of form and beauty.

30. **ex**] causal; cf. VII 12, VIII 2.

factam esse de nihilo ideoque illi non esse coaeternam, quamuis ubi facta sit omiserit enuntiare ista narratio?"

32 XXIII. His ergo auditis atque perspectis pro captu infirmitatis meae, quam tibi confiteor scienti deo meo, duo uideo dissensionum genera oboriri posse, cum aliquid a nuntiis ueracibus per signa enuntiatur, unum, si de ueritate rerum, alterum, si de ipsius qui enuntiat uoluntate dissensio est. aliter enim quaerimus de creaturae conditione, quid uerum sit, aliter autem quid in his uerbis Moyses, egregius domesticus fidei tuae, intellegere lectorem auditoremque uoluerit. in illo primo genere discedant a me omnes, qui ea, quae falsa sunt, se scire arbitrantur. in hoc item altero discedant a me omnes, qui ea quae falsa sunt Moysen dixisse arbitrantur. coniungar autem illis, domine, in te et delecter cum eis in te, qui ueritate tua pascuntur in latitudine caritatis, et accedamus simul ad uerba libri tui et quaeramus in eis uoluntatem tuam per uoluntatem famuli tui, cuius calamo dispensasti ea.

33 XXIV. Sed quis nostrum sic inuenit eam inter tam multa uera, quae in illis uerbis aliter atque aliter intellectis occurrunt quaerentibus, ut tam fidenter dicat hoc sensisse Moysen atque hoc in illa narratione uoluisse intellegi, quam fidenter dicit hoc uerum esse, siue ille hoc senserit siue aliud? ecce enim, deus meus, ego seruus tuus, qui uoui tibi sacrificium confessionis in his litteris et oro, ut ex misericordia tua reddam tibi uota mea,

18 inueniet BCFPQ *o*.

XXIII. *In interpreting the scriptural narrative two kinds of questions arise: questions of fact and questions regarding the author's meaning. The principle which A. follows is that he cannot accept any view which is demonstrably false, nor any view which attributes a false statement to Moses.*

4. **duo ... dissensionum genera** etc.] viz. questions of exegesis and questions of fact.

6. **signa**] Signs of any kind, including words; cf. *de Magistr.* 11 4 'duo uerba...id est signa, unum aliquid...significantia.'

9. **egregius domesticus**] Cf. Heb. iii 5.

XXIV. *It is easier to judge whether an interpretation is in accordance with fact than whether it represents the actual meaning of the author.*

23. **ego seruus tuus**] Ps. cxv (cxvi) 16.

24. **reddam...uota mea**] Ps. xxi 26 (xxii 25).

ecce ego quam fidenter dico in tuo uerbo incommutabili omnia te fecisse, inuisibilia et uisibilia, numquid tam fidenter dico non aliud quam hoc adtendisse Moysen, cum scriberet: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram, quia non, sicut in tua ueritate hoc certum uideo, ita in eius mente uideo id eum cogitasse, cum haec scriberet? potuit enim cogitare in ipso faciendi exordio, cum diceret: in principio; potuit et caelum et terram hoc loco nullam iam formatam perfectamque naturam siue spiritalem siue corporalem, sed utramque inchoatam et adhuc informem uelle intellegi. uideo quippe uere potuisse dici, quidquid horum diceretur, sed quid horum in his uerbis ille cogitauerit, non ita uideo, quamuis siue aliquid horum siue quid aliud, quod a me conmemoratum non est, tantus uir ille mente conspexerit, cum haec uerba promeret, uerum eum uidisse apteque id enuntiauisse non dubitem.

XXV. Nemo iam mihi molestus sit dicendo mihi: "non 34
hoc sensit Moyses, quod tu dicis, sed hoc sensit, quod ego dico." si enim mihi diceret: "unde scis hoc sensisse Moysen, quod de his uerbis eius eloqueris?" aequo animo ferre deberem et responderem fortasse, quae superius respondi uel aliquanto uberius, si esset durior. cum uero dicit: "non hoc ille sensit, quod tu dicis, sed quod ego dico" neque tamen negat, quod uterque nostrum dicit, utrumque uerum esse, o uita pauperum, deus meus, in cuius sinu non est contradictio, plue mihi mitigationes in cor, ut patienter tales feram; qui non

12 quid] aliquid BFPQVW *m*.

6. **in ipso faciendi exordio**] Basil *Hexaëm.* 1 5 gives this among other explanations. He mentions (*ibid.* 6) that for ἐν ἀρχῇ other versions (among them Aquila's) have ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, a point which Ambrose also notices, *Hexaëm.* 1 4. 16.

XXV. *No one ought to assert that his interpretation infallibly represents the thought of the author, for no one can see into the mind of another. Therefore the upholders of different views should exercise mutual charity.*

25. **plue mihi mitigationes in cor**] One of the indirect self-reproaches we find sometimes in A. His zeal against error led him to use language the severity of which he afterwards regretted. In his tractate against the *Epistola Fundamenti* of Manichaeus (§ 3) he says that he ought not to feel anger against the Manichaeans, but to bear with them as others bore with him in the day of his errors.

mihi hoc dicunt, quia diuini sunt et in corde famuli tui uiderunt quod dicunt, sed quia superbi sunt nec nouerunt Moysi sententiam, sed amant suam, non quia uera est, sed quia sua est. alioquin et aliam ueram pariter amarent, sicut ego amo quod dicunt, quando uerum dicunt, non quia ipsorum, sed quia uerum est: et ideo iam nec ipsorum est, quia uerum est. si autem ideo ament illud, quia uerum est, iam et ipsorum est et meum est, quoniam in commune omnium est ueritatis amatorum. illud autem, quod contendunt non hoc sensisse Moysen, quod ego dico, sed quod ipsi dicunt, nolo, non amo, quia etsi ita est, tamen ista temeritas non scientiae, sed audaciae est, nec uisus, sed tyfus eam peperit. ideoque, domine, tremenda sunt iudicia tua, quoniam ueritas tua nec mea est nec illius aut illius, sed omnium nostrum, quos ad eius communionem publice uocas, terribiliter admonens nos, ut nolimus eam habere priuatam, ne priuemur ea. nam quisquis id, quod tu omnibus ad fruendum proponis, sibi proprie uindicat et suum uult esse quod omnium est, a communi propellitur ad sua, hoc est a ueritate ad mendacium. qui enim loquitur mendacium, de suo loquitur.

35 Adtende, iudex optime, deus, ipsa ueritas, adtende, quid dicam contradictori huic, adtende; coram te enim dico et coram fratribus meis, qui legitime utuntur lege usque ad finem

5 ipsorum S, +est BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

16. **priuatam ... priuemur**] Figura etymologica. For the thought cf. 2 Pet. i 20, 1 Tim. vi 5.

19. **qui...loquitur mendacium, de suo loquitur**] Jn viii 44. The form in which A. quotes this passage here, in XIII 38 *infr.* and also in *Enarr. in Ps.* xci § 6 and Serm. clxvi 3 (Vulg. 'cum loquitur mendacium ex propriis loquitur'), gives a rendering which is not improbably correct in sense. Westcott *ad loc.* proposes to render 'Whenever a man speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for his father also is a liar,' adding 'The omission of the subject is certainly harsh (ὅταν λαλῇ), but not more so than the other renderings of the pronoun (αὐτοῦ).' In *Tract. in Ioan.* XLII 14, however, A. quotes in the form 'cum loquitur mendacium de propriis loquitur.' Yet, even assuming this rendering, A.'s argument in the present passage requires the logical reversal of subject and predicate, 'who speaks his own, speaks a lie.'

21. **adtende**] Cf. Jer. xviii 19 'attende, domine, ad me.'

23. **legitime utuntur lege**] 1 Tim. i 8 'scimus autem quia bona est lex si quis ea legitime utatur.'

ib. **ad finem caritatis**] 1 Tim.

caritatis; adtende et uide, quid ei dicam, si placet tibi. hanc enim uocem huic refero fraternam et pacificam: si ambo uidemus uerum esse quod dicis et ambo uidemus uerum esse quod dico, ubi, quaeso, id uidemus? nec ego utique in te nec tu in me, sed ambo in ipsa quae supra mentes nostras est inconmutabili ueritate. cum ergo de ipsa domini dei nostri luce non contendamus, cur de proximi cogitatione contendimus, quam sic uidere non possumus, ut uidetur inconmutabilis ueritas, quando, si ipse Moyses apparuisset nobis atque dixisset: "hoc cogitaui," nec sic eam uideremus, sed crederemus? non itaque supra quam scriptum est unus pro altero infletur aduersus alterum. diligamus dominum deum nostrum ex toto corde, ex tota anima, ex tota mente nostra et proximum nostrum sicut nosmet ipsos. propter quae duo praecepta caritatis sensisse Moysen, quidquid in illis libris sensit, nisi crediderimus, mendacem faciemus dominum, cum de animo conserui aliter quam ille docuit opinamur. iam uide, quam stultum sit in tanta copia uerissimarum sententiarum, quae de illis uerbis erui possunt, temere adfirmare, quam earum Moyses potissimum senserit, et perniciosis contentionibus ipsam offendere caritatem, propter quam dixit omnia, cuius dicta conamur exponere.

XXVI. Et tamen ego, deus meus, celsitudo humilitatis 36
meae et requies laboris mei, qui audis confessiones meas et dimittis peccata mea, quoniam tu mihi praecipis, ut diligam

13 *pr.* ex] et ex BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* (*Vulg.*). *alt.* ex] et ex BCFGMPQ *edd.*

i 5 'Finis autem praecepti est caritas.'

5. **in ipsa quae supra mentes ...ueritate**] See above X 37.

8. **ut uidetur inconmutabilis ueritas**] of which, according to A., we have an immediate intuition.

10. **nec sic eam uideremus**] *even in that case his thought would not be visible to us.*

11. **supra quam scriptum est**] 1 Cor. iv 6.

12. **dominum deum** etc.] Mt. xxii 37 and 39. Cf. Deut. vi 5.

16. **mendacem faciemus**] 1 Jn i 10, v 10.

XXVI. *A. feels that if he had been in Moses' place he would have desired his words to be susceptible of various interpretations adapted to the varying capacity of different classes of readers.*

proximum meum sicut me ipsum, non possum minus credere de Moyse fidelissimo famulo tuo, quam mihi optarem ac desiderarem abs te dari muneris, si tempore illo natus essem quo ille eoque loci me constituisses, ut per seruitutem cordis ac linguae meae litterae illae dispensarentur, quae tanto post essent omnibus gentibus profuturae et per uniuersum orbem tanto auctoritatis culmine omnium falsarum superbarumque doctrinarum uerba superaturae. uellem quippe, si tunc ego essem Moyses—ex eadem namque massa omnes uenimus; et quid est homo, nisi quia memor es eius?—uellem ergo, si tunc ego essem quod ille et mihi abs te Geneseos liber scribendus adiungeretur, talem mihi eloquendi facultatem dari et eum texendi sermonis modum, ut neque illi, qui nondum queunt intellegere quemadmodum creat deus, tamquam excedentia uires suas dicta recusarent et illi, qui hoc iam possunt, in quamlibet ueram sententiam cogitando uenissent, eam non praetermissam in paucis uerbis tui famuli reperirent, et si alius aliam uidisset in luce ueritatis, nec ipsa in eisdem uerbis intellegenda deesset.

37 XXVII. Sicut enim fons in paruo loco uberior est

3. **desiderarem...si...natus essem**] For the imperfect see Madvig, *Lat. Gr.* § 347 *b*, obs. 2, who quotes Cic. *Phil.* VIII 4. 14 'num igitur eum (sc. Opimium), si tum esses, temerarium ciuem aut crudelem putares?' It is perhaps to be explained as due to the feeling that the person whose existence is imaginarily transferred to the past retains his present point of view.

ib. **muneris**] The genitive depends on 'minus'—'a less great gift.'

9. **ex eadem...massa**] Cf. Rom. ix 21.

ib. **quid est homo**] Cf. Ps. viii 5 (4).

XXVII. *As a small fountain may be the source of widespread fertility, through the streams which take their rise from it, so the brief, pregnant narrative of Genesis supplies rich material to the preacher and carries many thoughts to many minds. It is simple enough for those who must clothe all their thoughts in visual images.*

20. **sicut enim fons**] This elaborate metaphor may be freely rendered: 'As a fountain-head, though it occupies, itself, but little space, by supplying the flow of many streams is the source of more fertility, and waters a wider area, than any one of the streams which take their rise from it, though their course may traverse wide regions; even so the narrative of the dispenser of Thy word, being designed to supply matter for many preachers, brief as is its compass, pours forth floods of limpid truth, whence each one leads down through the longer and more winding channels of discourse whatever of truth he is able to attain

pluribusque riuis in ampliora spatia fluxum ministrat quam quilibet eorum riuorum, qui per multa locorum ab eodem fonte deducitur, ita narratio dispensatoris tui sermocinaturis pluribus profutura paruo sermonis modulo scatet fluenta liquidae ueritatis, unde sibi quisque uerum, quod de his rebus potest, hic illud, ille illud, per longiores loquellarum anfractus trahat. alii enim cum haec uerba legunt uel audiunt, cogitant deum quasi hominem aut quasi aliquam mole inmensa praeditam potestatem nouo quodam et repentino placito extra se ipsam tamquam locis distantibus fecisse caelum et terram, duo magna corpora supra et infra, quibus omnia continerentur, et cum audiunt: dixit deus: fiat illud, et factum est illud, cogitant uerba coepta et finita, sonantia temporibus atque transeuntia, post quorum transitum statim existeret quod iussum est ut existeret, et si quid forte aliud hoc modo ex familiaritate carnis opinantur. in quibus adhuc paruulis animalibus, dum isto humillimo genere uerborum tamquam materno sinu eorum gestatur infirmitas, salubriter aedificatur fides, qua certum habeant et teneant deum fecisse omnes naturas, quas eorum sensus mirabili uarietate circumspicit. quorum si quispiam quasi uilitatem dictorum aspernatus extra nutritorias cunas superba imbecillitate se extenderit, heu! cadet miser et, domine deus, miserere, ne inplumem pullum conculcent qui transeunt uiam, et mitte angelum tuum, qui eum reponat in nido, ut uiuat, donec uolet.

XXVIII. Alii uero, quibus haec uerba non iam nidus, sed

8 molem BCFGMPQVW *edd.* immensam BFGH¹MPQVW. potestate BCFHPQVW *edd.* 14 existeret S, existere BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.*

concerning these things, one taking one truth and one another.'

16. **animalibus**] 'Animal' is derivationally an exact rendering of *ψυχικός* and is so used in N.T., *e.g.* 1 Cor. ii 14 'animalis autem homo non percipit quae sunt spiritus Dei.' Here A. means 'sensual' only in the sense of not having spiritual insight.

21. **nutritorias cunas**] 'the nest where he was reared.'

23. **deus, miserere**] Ps. l 3 (li 1). *ib.* **conculcent** etc.] Cf. Job xxxix 15 'obliuiscitur quod pes conculcet ea.'

XXVIII. *But it also meets the need of more philosophic thinkers who find in it various truths. Some*

opaca frutecta sunt, uident in eis latentes fructus et uolitant laetantes et garriunt scrutantes et carpunt eos. uident enim, cum haec uerba legunt uel audiunt, tua, deus aeterne, stabili permansione cuncta praeterita et futura tempora superari nec tamen quicquam esse temporalis creaturae, quod tu non feceris, cuius uoluntas, quia id est quod tu, nullo modo mutata uel quae antea non fuisset exorta uoluntate, fecisti omnia, non de te similitudinem tuam formam omnium, sed de nihilo dissimilitudinem informem, quae formaretur per similitudinem tuam recurrens in te unum pro captu ordinato, quantum cuique rerum suo genere datum est, et fierent omnia bona ualde, siue maneant circa te, siue gradatim remotiore distantia per tempora et locos pulchras uariationes faciant aut patiantur. uident haec et gaudent in luce ueritatis tuae, quantulum hic ualent.

3 aeterne] aeterna et BCFGMPQVW *edd.* 11 suo S, in suo BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 12 remotiori BCFHPQ *edd.*

for example interpret 'in principio' as a reference to Him who answered the question 'Who art thou?' by saying 'principium quia et loquor uobis.' Others take it as meaning simply 'first.' Those who take 'in principio' as meaning in the Son, the Divine Wisdom, may conjoin with it any one of the interpretations which have been considered above.

1. **frutecta**] 'thickets.'

6. **cuius uoluntas**, etc.] *for Thy will, because it is identical with Thy being* (cf. IV 29, note; 'quasi...subiectum'), *by the putting forth of a volition which involves no change nor the emergence of anything which did not exist before, has made* (constructio ad sensum: 'cuius uoluntas' = '(tu) qui') *all things, not from Thy substance in Thine image which gives form to all things, but, from nothing, a formless matter wholly unlike Thine image, but destined to be formed through Thine image by returning to Thee, the One, in the measure of the capacity allotted to each thing according to its kind.*

'Recurrens' etc. is an allusion to A.'s adaptation of the Neo-Platonist doctrine of the 'return to the One' (ἀναγωγὴ ἐφ' ἕν or πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον, Plotin. *Enn.* III 8. 10, Porphyr. πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ ἀφορμαί XXX). Matter, in A.'s view, 'returns to the One' so far as it is subjected to form, form so far as it obeys the laws of harmony and proportion, organic beings by the proper consensus of their functions (cf. I 31), rational beings by the concentration of their minds upon the Divine. In the Neo-Platonists this doctrine is closely connected with their emanation system (see Introd. xlii–xliv, VII 14 notes), of which it is in a sense the converse, and A., who does not accept this system, shows some independence in the development of the doctrine, making less of the intermediate stages and more of the ultimate relation of all being, lower as well as higher, to God.

11. **omnia bona ualde**] Gen. i 31.

Et alius eorum intendit in id, quod dictum est: in principio 3
fecit deus, et respicit sapientiam principium, quia et loquitur
ipsa nobis. alius itidem intendit in eadem uerba et prin-
cipium intellegit exordium rerum conditarum et sic accipit:
in principio fecit, ac si diceretur: primo fecit. atque in
eis, qui intellegunt in principio, quod in sapientia fecit
caelum et terram, alius eorum ipsum caelum et terram,
creabilem materiam caeli et terrae, sic esse credit cog-
nominatam, alius iam formatas distinctasque naturas, alius
unam formatam eandemque spiritalem caeli nomine, aliam
informem corporalis materiae terrae nomine. qui autem
intellegunt in nominibus caeli et terrae adhuc informem mate-
riam, de qua formaretur caelum et terra, nec ipsi uno more id
intellegunt, sed alius, unde consummaretur intellegibilis sen-
sibilisque creatura, alius tantum, unde sensibilis moles ista
corporea sinu grandi continens perspicuas promptasque naturas.
nec illi uno modo, qui iam dispositas digestasque creaturas
caelum et terram uocari hoc loco credunt, sed alius inuisibilem
atque uisibilem, alius solam uisibilem, in qua luminosum
caelum suspicimus et terram caliginosam quaeque in eis sunt.

XXIX. At ille, qui non aliter accipit: in principio fecit, 4

2 respicit BCFGMPQW, resipiscit SV, resipiscit O. 6 fecisti BCFGHMOPQVW *edd.* 13 more S, modo *cet. et edd.*

2. **principium, quia et loquitur**] Jn viii 25.

5. **primo fecit**] Cf. Ambrose *Hexaëm.* 1 8. 28 'fecit ergo Deus primo caelum et terram.'

ib. **atque in eis**] The view that 'in principio' = 'in sapientia' (= 'in Verbo Dei') is capable of being combined with any of the various interpretations of 'caelum et terra,' whereas (l. 21 sq.) the view that it means 'primo' can only be combined with the interpretation of 'caelum et terra' as the original formless condition of these; otherwise—if the whole universe was complete at once—it is absurd to say 'primo' when there is no 'postea.'

XXIX. *Those, however, who understand 'in principio' as meaning 'first' must understand 'caelum et terram' as the primal matter of the universe, for if they understand 'caelum et terram' as the organised universe, they will be hard put to it to answer the question: If God made this 'first,' what did He make afterwards? If however they interpret that the formless material was made 'first,' they do not fall into any absurdity if they understand that this does not mean a precedence in time. The formless matter only pre-*

quam si diceretur: primo fecit, non habet quomodo ueraciter intellegat caelum et terram, nisi materiam caeli et terrae intellegat, uidelicet uniuersae, id est intellegibilis corporalisque creaturae. si enim iam formatam uelit uniuersam, recte ab eo quaeri poterit, si hoc primo fecit deus, quid fecerit deinceps, et post uniuersitatem non inueniet ac per hoc audiet inuitus: "quomodo illud primo, si postea nihil?" cum uero dicit primo informem, deinde formatam, non est absurdus, si modo est idoneus discernere, quid praecedat aeternitate, quid tempore, quid electione, quid origine: aeternitate, sicut deus omnia; tempore, sicut flos fructum; electione, sicut fructus florem; origine, sicut sonus cantum. in his quattuor primum et ultimum, quae conmemoraui, difficillime intelleguntur, duo media facillime. namque rara uisio est et nimis ardua conspicere, domine, aeternitatem tuam inconmutabiliter mutabilia facientem ac per hoc priorem. quis deinde sic acutum cernat animo, ut sine labore magno dinoscere ualeat, quomodo sit prior sonus quam cantus, ideo quia cantus est formatus sonus et esse utique aliquid non formatum potest, formari autem quod non est non potest? sic est prior materies quam id, quod ex ea fit, non ideo prior, quia ipsa efficit, cum potius fiat, nec prior interuallo temporis. neque enim priore tempore sonos edimus informes sine cantu et eos posteriore tempore in formam cantici coaptamus aut fingimus, sicut ligna, quibus arca, uel argentum, quo uasculum fabricatur; tales quippe materiae tempore etiam praecedunt formas rerum, quae fiunt ex eis. at in cantu non ita est. cum enim cantatur, auditur sonus eius, non prius informiter sonat et deinde formatur in cantum. quod enim primo utcumque sonuerit, praeterit, nec ex eo quicquam reperies, quod resumptum arte conponas: et ideo cantus in

cedes the organised universe in the sense that, in singing, the sound precedes the song: the sound is the necessary presupposition of the song.

9. **quid praecedat**] *the difference between precedence in virtue of eternal pre-existence, precedence in order of time, in order of excellence, in order of thought.* The last phrase is not a translation of A.'s 'origine' but renders the idea expressed in his illustration—the sound is the logical *prius* of the song, because the former can be conceived without the latter but not *vice versa*.

30. **et ideo cantus**] *and there-*

sono suo uertitur, qui sonus eius materies eius est. idem quippe formatur, ut cantus sit. et ideo, sicut dicebam, prior materies sonandi quam forma cantandi: non per faciendi potentiam prior; neque enim sonus est cantandi artifex, sed cantanti animae subiacet ex corpore, de quo cantum faciat; nec tempore prior: simul enim cum cantu editur; nec prior electione: non enim potior sonus quam cantus, quandoquidem cantus est non tantum sonus uerum etiam speciosus sonus. sed prior est origine, quia non cantus formatur, ut sonus sit, sed sonus formatur, ut cantus sit. hoc exemplo qui potest intellegat materiam rerum primo factam et appellatam caelum et terram, quia inde facta sunt caelum et terra, nec tempore primo factam, quia formae rerum exserunt tempora, illa autem erat informis iamque in temporibus simul animaduertitur, nec tamen de illa narrari aliquid potest, nisi uelut tempore prior sit, cum pendatur extremior, quia profecto meliora sunt formata quam informia, et praecedatur aeternitate creatoris, ut esset de nihilo, unde aliquid fieret.

XXX. In hac diuersitate sententiarum uerarum concordiam pariat ipsa ueritas, et deus noster misereatur nostri, ut legitime

fore the song has its being in the sound, which sound is its material. 'Verti' in this middle use means little more than 'to be'; cf. Liv. VI 36 'in maiori discrimine domi res uertebantur.' The point is that the song proceeds *pari passu* with the sound and is progressively embodied in it.

5. **cantanti animae** etc.] *is furnished by the bodily organ to the mind of the singer.*

10. **qui potest intellegat**] This is the theory which A. himself adopted; see above §§ 3 and 15 with refs. there.

13. **formae rerum exserunt tempora**] *the forms of things give rise to time*; sc. because time presupposes change, and change cannot take place in that which is formless. See above, § 15.

14. **simul**] sc. 'cum temporibus': 'and now, in time, is only observed in conjunction with time.'

15. **tamen de illa...fieret**] *yet nothing can be told regarding it without making it apparently prior in time, though in value it is far behind* (? temporal things) ... *and though it is preceded by the eternity of the Creator, in order that the substance from which things were to be made should itself be made from nothing* (which would not be the case if it was coeternal with God).

XXX. *Amid such a diversity of possible opinions, the part of charity is to recognise what is true in the opinions of others, and to believe that the author was guided so to write as would best display the light of truth and serve the use of edification.*

20. **legitime lege utamur** etc.] Cf. 1 Tim. i 5 and 8.

lege utamur, praecepti fine, pura caritate. ac per hoc, si quis quaerit ex me, quid horum Moyses, tuus ille famulus, senserit, non sunt hi sermones confessionum mearum. si tibi non confiteor, nescio, et scio tamen illas ueras esse sententias exceptis carnalibus, de quibus quantum existimaui locutus sum. quos tamen bonae spei paruulos haec uerba libri tui non territant alta humiliter et pauca copiose. sed omnes, quos in eis uerbis uera cernere ac dicere fateor, diligamus nos inuicem pariterque diligamus te, deum nostrum, fontem ueritatis, si non uana, sed ipsam sitimus, eundemque famulum tuum, scripturae huius dispensatorem, spiritu tuo plenum, ita honoremus, ut hoc eum te reuelante, cum haec scriberet, adtendisse credamus, quod in eis maxime et luce ueritatis et fruge utilitatis excellit.

2 XXXI. Ita cum alius dixerit: "hoc sensit, quod ego," et alius: "immo illud, quod ego," religiosius me arbitror dicere: cur non utrumque potius, si utrumque uerum est, et si quid tertium et si quid quartum et si quid omnino aliud uerum quispiam in his uerbis uidet, cur non illa omnia uidisse credatur, per quem deus unus sacras litteras uera et diuersa uisuris multorum sensibus temperauit? ego certe, quod intrepidus de meo corde pronuntio, si ad culmen auctoritatis aliquid scriberem, sic mallem scribere, ut quod ueri quisque de his rebus capere posset, mea uerba resonarent, quam ut unam ueram sententiam ad hoc apertius ponerem, ut excluderem ceteras, quarum falsitas me non posset offendere. nolo itaque, deus meus, tam praeceps esse, ut hoc illum uirum de te meruisse non credam. sensit ille omnino in his uerbis atque

5. **quantum...locutus sum**] See § 37.

8. **diligamus nos inuicem** etc.] Cf. Mt. xxii 37 and 39; Deut. vi 5.

XXXI. *Is it not possible that the author designedly adapted his words to contain all these true opinions? A. believes that if he himself had been entrusted with the writing of authoritative Scripture, this is what he would have preferred to do, rather than to have so expressed one truth as to have excluded all others; and he is inclined to believe that God would grant to His servant what seems to him the higher privilege.*

18. **cur non illa omnia**] Cf. § 27 *sup.* ('quid mali' etc.). In the present passage A. inclines to attribute the ambiguity to the deliberate intention of the writer.

cogitauit, cum ea scriberet, quidquid hic ueri potuimus inuenire et quidquid nos non potuimus aut nondum potuimus et tamen in eis inueniri potest.

XXXII. Postremo, domine, qui deus es et non caro et sanguis, si quid homo minus uidit, numquid et spiritum tuum bonum, qui deducet me in terra recta, latere potuit, quidquid eras in eis uerbis tu ipse reuelaturus legentibus posteris, etiamsi ille, per quem dicta sunt, unam fortassis ex multis ueris sententiam cogitauit? quod si ita est, sit igitur illa quam cogitauit ceteris excelsior, nobis autem, domine, aut ipsam demonstras aut quam placet alteram ueram, ut, siue nobis hoc quod etiam illi homini tuo siue aliud ex eorundem uerborum occasione patefacias, tu tamen pascas, non error inludat. ecce, domine deus meus, quam multa de paucis uerbis, quam multa, oro te, scripsimus! quae nostrae uires, quae tempora omnibus libris tuis ad istum modum sufficient? sine me itaque breuius in eis confiteri tibi et eligere unum aliquid quod tu inspiraueris uerum, certum et bonum, etiamsi multa occurrerint, ubi multa

5 uidet CFM *m*. 6 terram rectam BCFGHMOPQW *edd.* (*A. in Enarr. in Ps.*), terra recta S *Knöll*, uiam r. V (LXX ἐν τῇ (v.l. γῇ) εὐθείᾳ). 11 demonstra BCFGMPQ *edd.*

XXXII. *Again it is possible that even if the man who wrote did not perceive all the truths which his words contained, yet the Spirit who guided him intended them all to be conveyed. Nevertheless it seems likely that the author had especially in mind one, which is higher than the rest. Since it is impossible to exhaust all the wealth of meaning in the Scriptures, A. prays that he may be guided in choosing one interpretation, whether that of the author—at which he will chiefly aim—or such other as the Divine Truth may reveal to him; for He can reveal what He will to the reader, even as He revealed what He would to the author.*

5. **numquid et spiritum tuum ... latere potuit**] Cp. Westcott, *Hebrews*, Pref. vi—vii, 'I should not of course maintain that the fulness of meaning which can be recognised in the phrases of a book like the Epistle to the Hebrews was consciously apprehended by the author... No one would limit the teaching of a poet's words to that which was definitely present to his mind. Still less can we suppose that he who is inspired to give a message of God to all ages sees himself the completeness of the truth which all life serves to illuminate.'

6. **qui deducet** etc.] Ps. cxlii (cxliii) 10 'spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in terram rectam.'

occurrere poterunt, ea fide confessionis meae, ut, si hoc dixero, quod sensit minister tuus, recte atque optime—id enim conari me oportet—quod si assecutus non fuero, id tamen dicam, quod mihi per eius uerba tua ueritas dicere uoluerit, quae illi quoque dixit quod uoluit. 5

1 potuerint BFPQVW.

1. **ea fide confessionis**] *this being the understanding upon which I undertake this confession, namely that* etc.

LIBER TERTIUS DECIMUS.

I. Inuoco te, deus meus, misericordia mea, qui fecisti 1
me et oblitum tui non oblitus es. inuoco te in animam meam,
quam praeparas ad capiendum te ex desiderio, quod inspirasti:
nunc inuocantem te ne deseras, qui priusquam inuocarem
5 praeuenisti et institisti crebrescens multimodis uocibus, ut
audirem de longinquo et conuerterer et uocantem me inuo-
carem te. etenim, domine, deleuisti omnia mala merita mea,
ne retribueres manibus meis, in quibus a te defeci, et prae-
uenisti omnia bona merita mea, ut retribueres manibus tuis,

3 inspirasti S, inspiras ei BFGMOPQVW *edd.*, inspiras et CH. 7 etenim SV, tu enim BCFGHMOPQW *edd.*

I. *A.'s confidence in God's mercy, which has been already shown to him in granting him being, and in calling him back from his wanderings; and all this of pure goodness, not because God has need of man's service.*

1. **deus meus, misericordia mea**] Ps. lviii 18 (lix 17).

2. **inuoco te in animam meam**] Cf. I 2.

3. **praeparas...ex desiderio**] Cf. Ps. ix 17 *bis* (x 17): 'desiderium pauperum exaudiuit dominus; praeparationem cordis eorum audiuit auris tua.' For 'ex' causal, cf. VII 12, VIII 2.

5. **praeuenisti**] Cf. Ps. lviii 11 (lix 10) 'misericordia eius praeueniet me.' The word is very frequently used by A. with reference to those operations of God's grace by which man's true freedom is restored (see IX 1) and he is enabled to choose the good. Cf. *Enchirid.* xxxii 'praecedit enim bona uoluntas hominis multa Dei dona, sed non omnia: quae autem non praecedit ipsa, in eis est et ipsa, nam utrumque legitur in sanctis eloquiis: et "misericordia eius praeueniet me" (Ps. lviii 11), et "misericordia eius subsequitur me" (Ps. xxii 6). nolentem praeuenit ut uelit; uolentem subsequitur ne frustra uelit.'

6. **et uocantem me**] *that I might call upon Thee who wast calling me.*

8. **ne retribueres manibus meis** etc.] *not recompensing the work of my hands, wherewith I have wrought rebelliously against Thee.*

9. **ut retribueres manibus tuis**] Cf. *Ep.* cxciv 19 '...cum Deus coronat merita nostra, nihil aliud coronet quam munera sua.'

quibus me fecisti, quia et priusquam essem tu eras, nec eram, cui praestares ut essem, et tamen ecce sum ex bonitate tua praeueniente totum hoc, quod me fecisti et unde me fecisti. neque enim eguisti me, aut ego tale bonum sum, quo tu adiuueris, dominus meus et deus meus, non ut tibi sic seruiam, quasi ne fatigeris in agendo, aut ne minor sit potestas tua carens obsequio meo, neque ut sic te colam quasi terram, ut sis incultus, si non te colam, sed ut seruiam tibi et colam te, ut de te mihi bene sit, a quo mihi est, ut sim cui bene sit.

2 II. Ex plenitudine quippe bonitatis tuae creatura tua substitit, ut bonum, quod tibi nihil prodesset nec de te aequale tibi esset, tamen quia ex te fieri potuit, non deesset. quid enim te promeruit caelum et terra, quae fecisti in principio? dicant, quid te promeruerunt spiritalis corporalisque natura, quas fecisti in sapientia tua, ut inde penderent etiam inchoata et informia quaeque in genere suo uel spiritali uel corporali

5 domine BCH *m.* 11 subsistit BCFGHMPQV *edd.* 13 te] de te M. 14 promeruerint O.

1. **nec eram** etc.] *i.e.* 'before Thou didst grant me being, I was nought.'

5. **dominus** etc.] Jn xx 28. The nominative is retained from the quotation, probably with intention, as it has the effect of emphasizing the meaning of 'dominus' in connexion with 'seruiam,' 'obsequio' etc.

7. **sic te colam quasi terram**] The word-play can hardly be reproduced.

8. **seruiam ... ut de te mihi bene sit**] Cf. *de Gen. ad Lit.* VIII 11. 24 'ille quippe nostra seruitute non indiget, nos uere dominatione illius indigemus, ut operetur et custodiat nos; et ideo uerus solus est Dominus, quia non illi ad suam, sed ad nostram utilitatem salutemque seruimus.'

II. *A. emphasizes the free and undeserved character of God's grace. That which was not could not have merited to be—and how much beyond mere being God has granted to the spiritual creature!*

11. **quod...prodesset nec...esset**] With this punctuation 'nec...esset' belongs to the relative clause and 'esset,' like 'prodesset,' is used with potential force 'could not profit Thee, nor could it be made of Thy substance equal to Thee' (cf. XII 7). It is possible, however, that we ought to put a comma at 'prodesset,' and take 'esset' as depending on 'ut': 'in order that a good...might not be...equal to Thee, and yet' etc.

ib. **de...ex**] 'De' is uniformly applied by A., in this connexion, to emanation, 'ex' to origin by creation.

13. **te promeruit**] For 'promereor' with personal object cf. Plin. *Paneg.* lxii 'quisquis probatos senatui uiros suscipit, hic maxime principem prometur.'

15. **fecisti in sapientia**] Ps. ciii (civ) 24.

ib. **inde**] sc. 'a sapientia tua.'

euntia in immoderationem et in longinquam dissimilitudinem tuam, spiritale informe praestantius, quam si formatum corpus esset, corporale autem informe praestantius, quam si omnino nihil esset, atque ita penderent in tuo uerbo informia, nisi per idem uerbum reuocarentur ad unitatem tuam et formarentur et essent ab uno te summo bono uniuersa bona ualde. quid te promeruerant, ut essent saltem informia, quae neque hoc essent nisi ex te?

Quid te promeruit materies corporalis, ut esset saltem 3 inuisibilis et inconposita, quia neque hoc esset, nisi quia fecisti? ideoque te, quia non erat, promereri ut esset non poterat. aut quid te promeruit inchoatio creaturae spiritalis, ut saltem tenebrosa fluitaret similis abysso, tui dissimilis, nisi per idem uerbum conuerteretur ad idem, a quo facta est, atque ab eo inluminata lux fieret, quamuis non aequaliter et tamen conformis formae aequali tibi? sicut enim corpori non hoc est esse, quod pulchrum esse—alioquin deforme esse non posset—ita etiam creato spiritui non id est uiuere, quod sapienter uiuere: alioquin inconmutabiliter saperet. bonum autem illi est adhaerere tibi semper ne, quod adeptus est conuersione, auersione lumen amittat et relabatur in uitam tenebrosae abysso similem. nam et nos, qui secundum animam creatura spiritalis sumus, auersi a te, nostro lumine, in

11 fecisti] +eam BCFGMPQ *edd.* 15 et tamen S, −et *cet. et edd.*
20 adhaerere S, haerere *cet. et edd.*

6. **bona ualde**] Gen. i 31.

13. **nisi per idem uerbum...lux fieret**] Cf. Plotinus *Enn.* I 2. 4 '(The soul) is united to God by turning towards Him...What does it attain by this? The vision (of the intelligible), its image impressed on and realising itself in the soul, an image such as the eye forms of that which it sees...But in order that it may be illumined and know its own possessions it must direct its attention to Him who enlightens it.'

15. **non aequaliter** etc.] i.e. not 'light' (Eph. v 8) in the same measure as God's Word (Jn i 9) who is equal to God (Phil. ii 6), but conformed unto His image (with allusion, probably, to Rom. viii 29, though the philosophical word 'forma' is substituted for 'imago,' which occurs in A.'s quotations of this verse elsewhere).

19. **bonum ... adhaerere tibi semper**] Cf. Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 28 'mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est.'

ea uita fuimus aliquando tenebrae et in reliquiis obscuritatis nostrae laboramus, donec simus iustitia tua in unico tuo sicut montes dei: nam iudicia tua fuimus sicut multa abyssus.

4 III. Quod autem in primis conditionibus dixisti: fiat lux, et facta est lux, non incongruenter hoc intellego in creatura spiritali, quia erat iam qualiscumque uita, quam inluminares. sed sicut non te promeruerat, ut esset talis uita, quae inluminari posset, ita nec cum iam esset promeruit te, ut inluminaretur. neque enim eius informitas placeret tibi, si non lux fieret, non existendo, sed intuendo inluminantem lucem eique cohaerendo, ut et quod utcumque uiuit et quod beate uiuit, non deberet nisi gratiae tuae, conuersa per commutationem meliorem ad id, quod neque in melius neque in deterius mutari potest. quod tu solus es, quia solus simpliciter es, cui non est aliud uiuere, aliud beate uiuere, quia tua beatitudo tu es.

5 IV. Quid ergo tibi deesset ad bonum, quod tu tibi es, etiamsi ista uel omnino nulla essent uel informia remanerent, quae non ex indigentia fecisti, sed ex plenitudine bonitatis

11 cohaerendo] haerendo C*o*. quodcumque (–ut) BCMPQ *m*, quod ut̩cumque (ut *del. m* 2) O. 15 tu es] –tu O^1P^1SVW *Knöll*.

1. **aliquando tenebrae**] Eph. v 8.

2. **donec simus iustitia tua** etc.] Cf. 2 Cor. v 21 'ut nos efficeremur iustitia Dei in ipso.'

3. **montes dei ... abyssus**] Ps. xxxv 7 (xxxvi 6). Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* xxxv § 10 'in ecclesia Christi inuenis abyssum, inuenis et montes; inuenis ibi pauciores bonos, quia montes pauci sunt, abyssus lata est, id est multos male uiuentes.'

III. *A. understands 'Let there be light' as referring to the illumination of the spiritual creature by God's light; and this was as little deserved by its formless condition as formless existence was deserved by the non-existent.*

4. **in primis conditionibus**] *among Thy first creations.* For the word 'conditio' see III 10, note.

IV. *It was assuredly not for the supplying of any imperfection in Himself that God called created things into being. When it is said that the Spirit was 'borne over the waters,' it is not meant that He was upborne by them, but that His influence was exercised upon them.*

10. **non existendo**] *which it could not be in virtue of its mere existence.*

18. **non ex indigentia fecisti**] Cf. Plato *Tim.* 29 D 'Let me tell you then why the creator made this world of generation. He was good, and the good can never have jealousy of anything. And being free from jealousy he desired that all things should be as like himself as they could be.' The passage is alluded to by Plotinus (*Enn.* V 4. 1), and by Athanasius (*de Incarn.* III 3) and other fathers.

tuae cohibens atque conuertens ad formam, non ut tamquam tuum gaudium conpleatur ex eis? perfecto enim tibi displicet eorum inperfectio, ut ex te perficiantur et tibi placeant, non autem inperfecto, tamquam et tu eorum perfectione perficiendus sis. spiritus enim tuus bonus superferebatur super aquas, non ferebatur ab eis, tamquam in eis requiesceret. in quibus enim requiescere dicitur spiritus tuus, hos in se requiescere facit. sed superferebatur incorruptibilis et inconmutabilis uoluntas tua, ipsa in se sibi sufficiens, super eam quam feceras uitam; cui non hoc est uiuere, quod beate uiuere, quia uiuit etiam fluitans in obscuritate sua; cui restat conuerti ad eum, a quo facta est, et magis magisque uiuere apud fontem uitae et in lumine eius uidere lumen et perfici et inlustrari et beari.

V. Ecce apparet mihi in aenigmate trinitas, quod es, deus 6 meus, quoniam tu, pater, in principio sapientiae nostrae, quod est tua sapientia de te nata, aequalis tibi et coaeterna, id est in filio tuo, fecisti caelum et terram. et multa diximus de caelo caeli et de terra inuisibili et inconposita et de abysso tenebrosa secundum spiritalis informitatis uagabunda deliquia, nisi conuerteretur ad eum, a quo erat qualiscumque uita, et inluminatione fieret speciosa uita et esset caelum caeli eius,

7 tuus] +bonus BCMO^3 (*in mg.*) PQ *edd.*

4. **tamquam et tu eorum perfectione perficiendus**] A view which has some affinity to that which in modern philosophy is associated with the name of Hegel.

5. **spiritus ... superferebatur super aquas**] Gen. i 2.

6. **in quibus...requiescere dicitur**] Cf. Num. xi 25 (referring to the 70 elders) 'cumque requieuisset in eis spiritus...'; Isa. xi 2 'et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini.'

12. **uiuere apud fontem uitae**] Cf. Ps. xxxv 10 (xxxvi 9) 'apud te est fons uitae: et in lumine tuo uidebimus lumen.'

V. *By the mention of the Spirit moving on the waters there is completed a reference to the Trinity. By 'God' is meant the Father, by 'the Beginning' the Son, and by the 'Spirit that moved upon the waters' the Holy Ghost.*

14. **in aenigmate**] For the phrase cf. 1 Cor. xiii 12, and see notes at III 11 and V 24.

19. **deliquia**] 'deliquium' a down-flowing, from 'deliquo,' not the commoner 'defect' from 'delinquo': *dark in respect of the unstable flux of its spiritual formlessness.* For the word cf. Prudentius *Ham.* 750—1 'sed nulla ex fluido plenae dispendia formae sentit deliquio.'

21. **caelum caeli**] Ps. cxiii (cxv) 16.

quod inter aquam et aquam postea factum est. et tenebam iam patrem in dei nomine, qui fecit haec, et filium in principii nomine, in quo fecit haec, et trinitatem credens deum meum, sicut credebam, quaerebam in eloquiis sanctis eius, et ecce spiritus tuus superferebatur super aquas. ecce trinitas deus meus, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, creator uniuersae creaturae.

7 VI. Sed quae causa fuerat, o lumen ueridicum,—tibi admoueo cor meum, ne me uana doceat; discute tenebras eius et dic mihi, obsecro te per matrem caritatem, obsecro te, dic mihi,—quae causa fuerat, ut post nominatum caelum et terram inuisibilem et inconpositam et tenebras super abyssum tum demum scriptura tua nominaret spiritum tuum? an quia oportebat sic eum insinuari, ut diceretur superferri? non posset hoc dici, nisi prius illud conmemoraretur, cui superferri spiritus tuus posset intellegi. nec patri enim nec filio superferebatur, nec superferri recte dicerctur, si nulli rei superferretur. prius ergo dicendum erat, cui superferretur, et deinde ille, quem non oportebat aliter conmemorari, nisi ut superferri diceretur. cur ergo eum aliter insinuari non oportebat, nisi ut superferri diceretur?

8 VII. Hinc sequatur qui potest intellectu apostolum tuum

14 non GOSVW, et non BCHMPQ *edd.* 22 hinc S, iam hinc *cet. et edd.*

5. **ecce trinitas**] Cf. Ambrose *Hexaëm.* I 8. 29 'quem [spiritum]... Spiritum sanctum accipimus, ut in constitutione mundi operatio Trinitatis elucescat.'

VI. *A. enquires why the Spirit is mentioned at this point and in this way. Is it because it is His characteristic mode of action to be 'borne above' as a directing influence?*

10. **matrem caritatem**] Cf. *Tract. in Ep. Ioan.* II 4 'parturiens paruulos mater caritas ... exponit uiscera sua, conscindit quodammodo ubera sua,' and *Enarr. in Ps.* cxlvii § 14 'parturiti et parti sunt matre caritate.' See also *de Cat. Rud.* xv 23.

14. **oportebat ... sic ... insinuari ut diceretur superferri?**] The thought is that this relation to the creature is the Spirit's appropriate mode of action. Cf. Moberly's remarks on the special relation of the Spirit to the 'response' of the world to God in *Atonement and Personality*, pp. 173—181.

VII. *A. mystically connects the description of the Spirit as 'borne above' the waters with the reference in* I *Cor. xii* 31 *to 'the supereminent way' and that in Eph. iii* 19 *to the*

dicentem, quia caritas tua diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis, et de spiritalibus docentem et demonstrantem supereminentem uiam caritatis et flectentem genua pro nobis ad te, ut cognoscamus supereminentem scientiam caritatis Christi. ideoque ab initio supereminens superferebatur super aquas. cui dicam, quomodo dicam de pondere cupiditatis in abruptam abyssum et de subleuatione caritatis per spiritum tuum, qui superferebatur super aquas? cui dicam? quomodo dicam? neque enim loca sunt, quibus mergimur et emergimus. quid similius et quid dissimilius? affectus sunt, amores sunt, inmunditia spiritus nostri defluens inferius amore curarum et sanctitas tui attollens nos superius amore securitatis, ut sursum cor habeamus ad te, ubi spiritus tuus superferebatur super aquas, et ueniamus ad supereminentem requiem, cum pertransierit anima nostra aquas, quae sunt sine substantia.

14 superfertur BCHMOPQVW *edd.* superferretur G.

'supereminent knowledge' of Christ. It is to this 'supereminent' region of the Spirit that we may hope to attain when we have been delivered from the abyss of the waters of sin.

1. **caritas ... diffusa est** etc.] Rom. v 5.

2. **de spiritalibus**] Cf. 1 Cor. xii 1 'de spiritualibus autem, nolo uos ignorare, fratres.'

3. **supereminentem uiam**] 1 Cor. xii 31 (Vulg. 'excellentiorem uiam').

4. **flectentem genua**] Cf. Eph. iii 14.

ib. **supereminentem scientiam caritatis**] Eph. iii 19 (Vulg. 'supereminentem scientiae caritatem').

7. **in abruptam abyssum**] The phrase is elliptical; we must understand 'which carries us down into the steep abyss.'

13. **ut sursum cor habeamus**] An allusion to the familiar words of the liturgy; cf. Cypr. *de Or. Dom.* xxxi 'sacerdos...parat fratrum mentes dicendo: *Sursum corda;* ut, dum respondet plebs *Habemus ad Dominum*, admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.'

16. **aquas, quae sunt sine substantia**] Ps. cxxiii 5. This curious Old Latin rendering (Vulg. 'aquam intolerabilem') arose from a misunderstanding of the LXX *τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἀνυπόστατον* (irresistible). A., *ad loc.*, allegorizes thus: 'quae est aqua sine substantia nisi aqua peccatorum sine substantia? peccata enim non habent substantiam; inopiam habent, non substantiam. in ista aqua sine substantia perdidit ille minor filius (the prodigal) totam substantiam suam.'

VIII. *The fall of man and of a portion of the angels showed that the spiritual creature had not its light in itself but needed to be constantly illumined by God. The restlessness which led to this fall is evidence of the greatness of a creature which cannot rest in itself since nothing less than God suffices it. · A. prays*

9 VIII. Defluxit angelus, defluxit anima hominis et indicauerunt abyssum uniuersae spiritalis creaturae in profundo tenebroso, nisi dixisses ab initio: fiat lux, et facta esset lux, et inhaereret tibi omnis oboediens intellegentia caelestis ciuitatis tuae et requiesceret in spiritu tuo, qui superfertur inconmutabiliter super omne mutabile. alioquin et ipsum caelum caeli tenebrosa abyssus esset in se; nunc autem lux est in domino. nam et in ipsa misera inquietudine defluentium spirituum et indicantium tenebras suas nudatas ueste luminis tui satis ostendis, quam magnam rationalem creaturam feceris, cui nullo modo sufficit ad beatam requiem, quidquid te minus est, ac per hoc nec ipsa sibi. tu enim, deus noster, inluminabis tenebras nostras: ex te oriuntur uestimenta nostra, et tenebrae nostrae sicut meridies erunt. da mihi te, deus meus, et redde mihi te: en amo et, si parum est, amem ualidius. non possum metiri, ut sciam, quantum desit mihi amoris ad id quod sat est, ut currat uita mea in amplexus tuos nec auertatur, donec abscondatur in abscondito uultus tui. hoc tantum scio, quia male mihi est praeter te non solum extra me sed et in me ipso, et omnis mihi copia, quae deus meus non est, egestas est.

10 IX. Numquid aut pater aut filius non superferebatur

15 et S, – *cet. et edd.*

that God may lighten his darkness and restore Himself to him.

1. **indicauerunt abyssum ... in profundo tenebroso**] sc. 'fuisse': *showed that the abyss containing all spiritual existences* (cf. XII 25, *fin.*) *would have been in the depths of darkness, hadst Thou not* etc.

7. **nunc autem lux** etc.] Eph. v 8.

10. **quam magnam ... sufficit**] Cf. *de Ciu. Dei* XXII 1 'nam sicut caecitas oculi uitium est, et idem ipsum indicat ad lumen uidendum oculum esse creatum... ita natura quae fruebatur Deo optimam se institutam docet etiam ipso suo uitio, quo ideo misera est quia non fruitur Deo.'

12. **deus...tenebras**] Cf. Ps. xvii 29 (xviii 28).

13. **ex te...uestimenta nostra**] Cf. l. 9, above, 'nudatas ueste luminis tui.'

ib. **tenebrae ... sicut meridies**] Isa. lviii 10.

18. **in abscondito uultus tui**] Ps. xxx 21 (xxxi 20) (Vulg. 'in abscondito faciei tuae').

IX. *Why are not the Father and the Son said to be borne aloft over the waters? In the sense of being exalted above all mutable things They certainly were so; but it is the*

super aquas? si tamquam loco sicut corpus, nec spiritus sanctus; si autem inconmutabilis diuinitatis eminentia super omne mutabile, et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus superferebatur super aquas. cur ergo tantum de spiritu tuo dictum est hoc? cur de illo tantum dictus est quasi locus, ubi esset, qui non est locus, de quo solo dictum est, quod sit donum tuum? in dono tuo requiescimus: ibi te fruimur. requies nostra locus noster. amor illuc attollit nos et spiritus tuus bonus exaltat humilitatem nostram de portis mortis. in bona uoluntate tua pax nobis est. corpus pondere suo nititur ad locum suum. pondus non ad ima tantum est, sed ad locum suum. ignis sursum tendit, deorsum lapis: ponderibus suis aguntur, loca sua petunt. oleum infra aquam fusum super aquam attollitur, aqua supra oleum fusa infra oleum demergitur: ponderibus suis aguntur, loca sua petunt. minus ordinata inquieta sunt: ordinantur et quiescunt. pondus meum amor meus; eo feror, quocumque feror. dono tuo accendimur et sursum ferimur; inardescimus et imus. ascendimus ascensiones in corde et cantamus canticum graduum. igne tuo, igne tuo bono inardescimus et imus, quoniam sursum imus ad pacem Hierusalem,

5 dictus S, dictum BCGHMOPQW *edd.* ubi GS, ibi *cet. et edd.* 9 tua S, – *cet. et edd.* 13 super] supra BGMOPQVW *m.* 14 supra] super H *o.*

special office of the Spirit to raise men up out of their sunken condition by the power of the love which He sheds abroad in their hearts. All things have their own place in the world-order, and to love belongs the highest place, to which it ever tends upward.

6. **donum tuum**] Acts ii 38, viii 20 etc. Cf. *de Trin.* xv 18. 32 'quocirca rectissime Spiritus sanctus, cum sit Deus, uocatur etiam donum Dei.'

8. **spiritus ... bonus**] Ps. cxlii (cxliii) 10.

ib. **exaltat** etc.] Cf. Ps. ix 15 (13).

9. **bona uoluntate tua pax** etc.] Cf. Lk ii 14 '...pax hominibus bonae uoluntatis,' with A.'s comment *de Serm. Dom.* II 6. 21 '...ut cum praecesserit bona uoluntas nostra, perficiatur in nobis uoluntas Dei... ut nulla aduersitas resistat nostrae beatitudini, quod est pax.'

11. **pondus non ad ima** etc.] *The weight of a body does not bring it necessarily to the lowest place, but to its own place; fire tends upwards, a stone downwards.*

18. **ascensiones in corde**] Ps. lxxxiii 6 (lxxxiv 5).

19. **canticum graduum**] Ps. cxix—cxxxiii (titles).

20. **pacem Hierusalem**] Ps. cxxi (cxxii) 6.

quoniam iucundatus sum in his, qui dixerunt mihi: in domum domini ibimus. ibi nos conlocabit uoluntas bona, ut nihil uelimus aliud quam permanere illic in aeternum.

11 X. Beata creatura, quae non nouit aliud, cum esset ipsa aliud, nisi dono tuo, quod superfertur super omne mutabile, mox ut facta est attolleretur nullo interuallo temporis in ea uocatione, qua dixisti: fiat lux, et fieret lux. in nobis enim distinguitur tempore, quod tenebrae fuimus et lux efficiemur: in illa uero dictum est, quid esset, nisi inluminaretur, et ita dictum est, quasi prius fuerit fluxa et tenebrosa, ut appareret causa, qua factum est, ut aliter esset, id est ut ad lumen indeficiens conuersa lux esset. qui potest, intellegat, a te petat. ut quid mihi molestus est, quasi ego inluminem ullum hominem uenientem in hunc mundum?

12 XI. Trinitatem omnipotentem quis intelleget? et quis non loquitur eam, si tamen eam? rara anima, quaecumque de

2 conlocabit] conlocauit BGMOPQVW *edd.* 8 efficiemur] efficimur BC²GHOPQVW *edd.* 12 intellegat *mss.* intellegat qui non potest C² *s.l.* intellegat et qui non potest *m.* 15 intellegit HMW *edd.* 16 eam]+raro W. quaecumque] quae cum O *m.* uae dum CH *o.*

1. **iucundatus sum in his** etc.] Cf. Ps. cxxi (cxxii) 1 (Vulg. 'laetatus sum' etc.).

3. **permanere illic in aeternum**] Cf. Ps. lx 8 (lxi 7) 'permanet in aeternum in conspectu Dei.'

X. *The blessedness of the spiritual existences which from the first commandment 'Let there be light' abode in the light. With us it is otherwise: 'we were sometime darkness,' but have been made light.*

4. **beata creatura** etc.] *Blessed creature! which never had experience of being anything else, although it would have been something else, if it had not, as soon as it was made, without any interval of time, been exalted by Thy Gift, the Spirit, which is borne aloft above all mutable things; in virtue of that call which Thou didst address to it: 'Let there be light'—and so it was made light.* The first clause is a free translation suggested by the antithesis in the second, which seems to require us to give 'aliud' the same sense in both. 'Fieret' of course depends like 'attolleretur' upon 'nisi'—lit. 'and had been made light.'

7. **fiat lux**] Gen. i 3.

8. **tenebrae...lux**] Eph. v 8.

14. **hominem uenientem**] Jn i 9.

XI. *The difficulty of understanding what is meant by the Trinity. An analogy from the being, knowing, and willing, of the human mind. Such analogies are to be used with caution.*

16. **si tamen eam**] *if it is really it that he speaks of.* The meaning seems to be: if a man's conception of a certain reality does not correspond to that reality, can he rightly

illa loquitur, scit quod loquitur. et contendunt et dimicant, et nemo sine pace uidet istam uisionem. uellem, ut haec tria cogitarent homines in se ipsis. longe aliud sunt ista tria quam illa trinitas, sed dico, ubi se exerceant et probent, et sentiant, quam longe sunt. dico autem haec tria: esse, nosse, uelle. sum enim et scio et uolo: sum sciens et uolens et scio esse me et uelle et uolo esse et scire. in his igitur tribus quam sit inseparabilis uita et una uita et una mens et una essentia, quam denique inseparabilis distinctio et tamen distinctio, uideat qui potest. certe coram se est; adtendat in se et uideat et dicat mihi. sed cum inuenerit in his aliquid et dixerit, non iam se putet inuenisse illud, quod supra ista est inconmutabile, quod est inconmutabiliter et scit inconmutabiliter et uult inconmutabiliter: et utrum propter tria haec et

7 uelle]+ut sim BCMPQVW, +ut scim G. 8 et una uita]–SW.

be said to speak of that reality when he uses the name by which it is designated? It may be noted that a simpler meaning would be obtained by putting the interrogation after the third 'loquitur' and reading 'si tamen eam rara anima' etc. 'Eam' would of course in that case become redundant—a kind of anticipatory object—but carelessnesses of this kind are not infrequent in A.; there is a partial parallel in the anticipatory use of the emphatic nominative in § 18 below: 'quia et nos, quamuis filio tuo dilecti simus, nondum apparuit quod erimus.'

2. **uellem, ut haec tria** etc.] *I would that men would consider the trinity they have within* (viz. being, knowledge, will). Other noteworthy psychological illustrations of the Trinity which A. uses are:

(*a*) Memory, intelligence, will. *Serm.* lii 19—23, *de Trin.* X 11. 18. (A. is always careful to guard these illustrations and to indicate the precise point in which they afford an analogy, *e.g.* in the above passages the inseparable action of three faculties which are nevertheless distinct—'haec ergo tria... animaduerte separatim pronuntiari, inseparabiliter operari,' *Serm.* lii § 19 *fin.*)

(*b*) Being, consciousness of our own being, and love of that consciousness, *de Ciu. Dei* XI 26 'nam et sumus, et nos esse nouimus, et id esse ac nosse diligimus.'

(*c*) The threefold relationship in love, of subject, object and the uniting activity, *de Trin.* VIII 8. 12 'caritas diligit quidem se, sed nisi se aliquid diligentem diligat, non caritatem se diligit.'

(*d*) In the very relationship of the mind to God there is a threefold operation of memory, intelligence, love, *de Trin.* XIV 12. 15 'haec igitur trinitas mentis non propterea Dei est imago, quia sui meminit mens, et intellegit ac diligit se; sed quia potest etiam meminisse, et intellegere, et amare a quo facta est.'

14. **et utrum propter** etc.] The meaning of this difficult passage may be brought out by paraphrasing thus: 'and whether it is the coexistence of these three (being, knowledge and

ibi trinitas, an in singulis haec tria, ut terna singulorum sint, an utrumque miris modis, simpliciter et multipliciter, infinito in se sibi fine, quo est et sibi notum est et sibi sufficit inconmutabiliter id ipsum copiosa unitatis magnitudine, quis facile cogitauerit? quis ullo modo dixerit? quis quolibet modo temere pronuntiauerit?

13 XII. Procede in confessione, fides mea; dic domino tuo: sancte, sancte, sancte, domine deus meus, in nomine tuo baptizati sumus, pater et fili et spiritus sancte, in nomine tuo baptizamus, pater et fili et spiritus sancte, quia et apud nos in Christo suo fecit deus caelum et terram, spiritales et carnales ecclesiae suae, et terra nostra antequam acciperet formam doctrinae, inuisibilis erat et inconposita, et ignorantiae tenebris tegebamur, quoniam pro iniquitate erudisti hominem, et iudicia tua multa abyssus. sed quia spiritus tuus superferebatur super aquam, non reliquit miseriam nostram misericordia tua, et dixisti: fiat lux; paenitentiam agite, appropinquauit

7 confessionem GMW. domino S, +deo *cet. et edd.* 15 multa abyssus S, sicut m. a. BCGHOVW *edd.*, sicut a. m. PQ. 17 appropinquabit BGHMPQVW.

will) that constitutes a Trinity in God, or whether these three are in Each Person so that Each possesses all three; or whether both things are true, the boundary between Person and Person, though it is real in and for the Trinity, being, in ways beyond our understanding, a boundary which fades from view, both in the more simple acceptation of the analogy and in the more complex, and in this dual way the Trinity is, and is known to itself, and suffices to itself as being immutably the same in the manifold greatness of its unity,—of these things who can easily form to himself a conception?' The sense in which the last alternative ('an utrumque') combines the other two is apparently that while the Father corresponds to being, the Son to knowledge and the Spirit to will, each at the same time possesses being, knowledge and will.

XII. *A mystical interpretation of Gen. i* 1, 3, *earth representing carnal men, and heaven, spiritual.*

7. **procede in confessione** etc.] At this point begins the systematic allegorical exposition of the stages of creation.

8. **sancte, sancte, sancte**] Cf. Isa. vi 3.

ib. **in nomine** etc.] Cf. Mt. xxviii 19.

12. **terra nostra**] See I 18, note.

14. **pro iniquitate** etc.] Ps. xxxviii 12 (xxxix 11) (Vulg. 'propter iniquitatem corripuisti').

15. **iudicia tua**] Ps. xxxv 7 (xxxvi 6).

17. **fiat lux; paenitentiam agite**] Gen. i 3; Mt. iii 2. The latter

enim regnum caelorum. paenitentiam agite; fiat lux. et quoniam conturbata erat ad nos ipsos anima nostra, commemorati sumus tui, domine, de terra Iordanis et de monte aequali tibi, sed paruo propter nos, et displicuerunt nobis tenebrae nostrae, et conuersi sumus ad te, et facta est lux. et ecce fuimus aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in domino.

XIII. Et tamen adhuc per fidem, nondum per speciem. spe enim salui facti sumus. spes autem, quae uidetur, non est spes. adhuc abyssus abyssum inuocat, sed iam in uoce cataractarum tuarum. adhuc et ille qui dicit: non potui uobis loqui quasi spiritalibus, sed quasi carnalibus, etiam ipse nondum se arbitratur conprehendisse, et quae retro oblitus, in ea, quae ante sunt, extenditur et ingemescit grauatus, et

9 sed iam] – iam G *m*, + non BPQ[1].

phrase is given as the allegorical interpretation of the former. Cf. *Serm.* ccxxx, where, connecting Ps. cvii 24, 'hic est dies quem fecit Dominus,' with 1 Thess. v 5 'filii enim lucis sumus' etc., A. says: 'si uultis esse dies quem fecit Dominus, bene uiuite.'

2. **conturbata ... anima nostra**] Ps. xli 7 (xlii 6).

3. **de terra Iordanis** etc.] Cf. Ps. xli 7 (xlii 6). In his exposition *ad loc.* A. interprets both 'de terra Iordanis' and 'a monte paruo' as symbolic of the humility and self-contempt in which the return to God begins. (In the case of 'terra Iordanis' he arrives at this interpretation by allegorising the name, which he renders 'descensio eorum'). In the present passage by inserting 'aequali tibi' etc. he makes it clear that he applies the 'monte paruo' to Christ, while 'de terra Iordanis' stands for the humility which men ought to learn from the example of Christ in His Incarnation (cf. IV 19, VII 26, X 68).

6. **aliquando tenebrae**] Eph. v 8.

XIII. *A digression suggested by this mystical interpretation. Though we are said to be now 'light in the Lord,' we are so as yet by faith and hope, not by sight, as St Paul's exhortations to his converts show.*

7. **per fidem ... per speciem**] 2 Cor. v 7.

8. **spe salui facti sumus** etc.] Rom. viii 24.

9. **abyssus abyssum inuocat**] Ps. xli 8 (xlii 7). A. interprets, *ad loc.*, of man exhorting his fellow-man, 'abyssus' being the heart of man ('quid enim est profundius hac abysso?'); 'abyssus abyssum inuocat, homo hominem. sic discitur sapientia, sic discitur fides, cum abyssus abyssum inuocat,' *Enarr. in Ps.* xli § 13. Cf. X 2.

ib. **in uoce cataractarum**] From what follows A. appears to interpret this as meaning 'by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit,' which was 'poured forth' after the ascension: see p. 415, l. 7 'sed iam non in uoce sua' etc.

10. **non potui ... carnalibus**] 1 Cor. iii 1.

12. **nondum se ... conprehendisse** etc.] Phil. iii 13.

13. **ingemescit grauatus**] Cf.

sitit anima eius ad deum uiuum, quemadmodum cerui ad fontes aquarum, et dicit: quando ueniam? habitaculum suum, quod de caelo est, superindui cupiens, et uocat inferiorem abyssum dicens: nolite conformari huic saeculo, sed reformamini in nouitate mentis uestrae, et: nolite pueri effici mentibus, sed malitia paruuli estote, ut mentibus perfecti sitis, et: o stulti Galatae, quis uos fascinauit? sed iam non in uoce sua; in tua enim, qui misisti spiritum tuum de excelsis per eum, qui ascendit in altum et aperuit cataractas donorum suorum, ut fluminis impetus laetificarent ciuitatem tuam. illi enim suspirat sponsi amicus, habens iam spiritus primitias penes eum, sed adhuc in semet ipso ingemescens, adoptionem expectans, redemptionem corporis sui. illi suspirat—membrum est enim sponsae—et illi zelat—amicus est enim sponsi—illi zelat non sibi, quia in uoce cataractarum tuarum, non in uoce sua, inuocat alteram abyssum, cui zelans timet, ne sicut serpens Euam decepit astutia sua, sic et eorum sensus corrumpantur a castitate, quae est in sponso nostro, unico tuo. quae est illa speciei lux, cum uidebimus eum, sicuti est, et

1 ceruus BGHIPQ^2 (*in mg.*) *edd.* 3 inuocat BCHIPQV *edd.*
10 laetificaret BGMO^{2}PQV *edd.*

2 Cor. v 4 'nam et qui sumus in hoc tabernaculo ingemescimus grauati.'

ib. **et sitit anima** etc.] Ps. xli 3, 4 (xlii 2, 3).

2. **habitaculum suum** etc.] 2 Cor. v 2.

4. **nolite conformari** etc.] Rom. xii 2 (Vulg. 'in nouitate sensus uestri').

5. **nolite pueri** etc.] 1 Cor. xiv 20.

6. **ut mentibus perfecti sitis**] A. quotes in this form also in *Enarr. in Ps.* cxxx § 12 (Vulg. 'sensibus autem perfecti estote').

7. **o stulti Galatae**] Gal. iii 1.

8. **qui misisti** etc.] Cf. Wisd. ix 17 '...et miseris spiritum sanctum tuum de altissimis.'

9. **ascendit in altum**] Ps. lxvii 19 (lxviii 18).

ib. **aperuit cataractas**] Cf. Gen. vii 11, Mal. iii 10.

10. **fluminis impetus** etc.] Ps. xlv 5 (xlvi 4).

11. **sponsi amicus**] Jn iii 29. The term is here applied to St Paul in view of the coming reference to 2 Cor. xi 3.

ib. **spiritus primitias** etc.] Rom. viii 23. 'Penes eum 'may be rendered 'by virtue of his union with Christ' (in contrast with 'in semet ipso'). In his *Prop. ex Ep. ad Rom. Expos.* A. says 'spiritus primitias habemus, quia iam spiritu adhaeremus Deo per fidem...haec enim adoptio, quae iam facta est in iis qui crediderunt, spiritu non corpore facta est.'

16. **timet, ne sicut serpens** etc.] 2 Cor. xi 3.

19. **cum uidebimus eum**] 1 Jn iii 2.

transierint lacrimae, quae mihi factae sunt panis die ac nocte, dum dicitur mihi cotidie: ubi est deus tuus?

XIV. Et ego dico: deus meus ubi est? ecce ubi es. respiro in te paululum, cum effundo super me animam meam in uoce exultationis et confessionis, soni festiuitatem celebrantis. et adhuc tristis est, quia relabitur et fit abyssus, uel potius sentit adhuc se esse abyssum. dicit ei fides mea, quam accendisti in nocte ante pedes meos: quare tristis es, anima, et quare conturbas me? spera in domino; lucerna pedibus tuis uerbum eius. spera et perseuera, donec transeat nox, mater iniquorum, donec transeat ira domini, cuius filii et nos fuimus aliquando tenebrae, quarum residua trahimus in corpore propter peccatum mortuo, donec aspiret dies et remoueantur umbrae. spera in domino: mane astabo et contemplabor; semper confitebor illi. mane astabo et uidebo salutare uultus mei, deum meum, qui uiuificabit et mortalia corpora nostra propter spiritum, qui habitat in nobis, quia

3 est S, es *cet. et edd.* 9 anima] +mea BCGHMPQV *edd.* 14 astabo]+tibi BCG¹HMPQ, *del.* G².

1. **lacrimae ... tuus**] Ps. xli 4 (xlii 3).

XIV. *A. expresses his longing for the consummation of this hope. God alone knows who among us are darkness and who are light, for it is God who makes those who are light to differ from those who are darkness.*

4. **respiro in te paululum**] Cf. Job xxxii 20 'loquar et respirabo paululum.'

ib. **effundo super me animam meam** etc.] Ps. xli 5 (xlii 4) Old Lat. (Vulg. 'effudi in me animam meam... in uoce exsultationis et confessionis: sonus epulantis'). To the curious rendering 'effudi super me' A. gives a mystical interpretation (*Enarr. in Ps.* xli § 8): 'quando anima mea contingeret quod super animam meam quaeritur, nisi anima mea super seipsam effunderetur?'

5. **in uoce** etc.] Ps. xli 5 (xlii 4). 'Soni' is in apposition to 'exultationis et confessionis.'

8. **quare tristis es** etc.] Ps. xli 6 (xlii 5).

9. **lucerna pedibus**] Ps. cxviii (cxix) 105.

11. **donec transeat ira**] Is. xxvi 20 as quoted by A. *Ep.* xxxvi 31 (Vulg. 'pertranseat indignatio').

ib. **cuius filii**] sc. 'irae,' Eph. ii 3.

13. **corpore propter peccatum mortuo**] Rom. viii 10.

ib. **donec aspiret dies** etc] Cant. ii 17.

14. **spera in domino**] Ps. xli 6 (xlii 5).

ib. **mane astabo**] Ps. v 5 (3).

16. **salutare uultus mei**] Ps. xlii (xliii) 5.

ib. **uiuificabit** etc.] Rom. viii 11.

super interius nostrum tenebrosum et fluuidum misericorditer superferebatur. unde in hac peregrinatione pignus accepimus, ut iam simus lux, dum adhuc spe salui facti sumus et filii lucis et filii diei, non filii noctis neque tenebrarum, quod tamen fuimus. inter quos et nos in isto adhuc incerto humanae notitiae tu solus diuidis, qui probas corda nostra et uocas lucem diem et tenebras noctem. quis enim nos discernit nisi tu? quid autem habemus, quod non accepimus a te, ex eadem massa uasa in honorem, ex qua sunt et alia facta in contumeliam?

16 XV. Aut quis nisi tu, deus noster, fecisti nobis firmamentum auctoritatis super nos in scriptura tua diuina? caelum enim plicabitur ut liber et nunc sicut pellis extenditur super nos. sublimioris enim auctoritatis est tua diuina scriptura, cum iam obierunt istam mortem illi mortales, per quos eam dispensasti nobis. et tu scis, domine, tu scis, quemadmodum

2. **pignus**] 2 Cor. i 22 'dedit pignus Spiritus in cordibus nostris.'

3. **spe salui facti**] Rom. viii 24.

ib. **filii lucis**] 1 Thess. v 5.

6. **qui probas corda nostra**] 1 Thess. ii 4.

ib. **et uocas** etc.] Gen. i 5.

7. **quis enim nos discernit** etc.] Cf. 1 Cor. iv 7 'quis enim te discernit? quid autem habes quod non accepisti?'

9. **ex eadem massa** etc.] Rom. ix 21.

XV. *The firmament is mystically interpreted as meaning the scriptures, and the 'waters above the firmament' the angels. The scriptures shall abide until the end of the world; but the Word abideth ever. In the scriptures we see truth as in a glass darkly, but when He shall appear, we shall be like Him because we shall see Him as He is.*

11. **firmamentum...in scriptura tua**] 'Firmamentum' is interpreted to mean the scriptures. Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* ciii Serm. 1 § 8 'inuenimus extendisse Deum caelum sicut pellem ut intellegamus caelum sanctam scripturam. hanc auctoritatem primo posuit Deus in ecclesia sua.'

12. **caelum...plicabitur ut liber**] Isa. xxxiv 4 (Vulg. 'complicabuntur sicut liber caeli').

13. **sicut pellis extenditur...**] Cf. Ps. ciii (civ) 2 'extendens caelum sicut pellem.'

14. **sublimioris enim** etc.] The skins with which Adam and Eve were clothed after the Fall signified mortality (see VII 24). Hence the allegorical meaning of 'pellis extenditur' is that now, after the death of the writers, the authority of the scriptures is more widely extended than during their lifetime. Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* ciii Serm. 1 § 8: 'prophetas uiuos sola Iudaea habuit, mortuos omnes gentes. cum enim uiuerent, nondum erat extenta pellis, nondum erat extentum caelum, ut tegeret orbem terrarum.'

16. **quemadmodum pellibus** etc.] Cf. Gen. iii 21. See note above, and at VII 24.

pellibus indueris homines, cum peccato mortales fierent. unde sicut pellem extendisti firmamentum libri tui, concordes utique sermones tuos, quos per mortalium ministerium superposuisti nobis. namque ipsa eorum morte solidamentum auctoritatis in eloquiis tuis per eos editis sublimiter extenditur super omnia, quae subter sunt, quod, cum hic uiuerent, non ita sublimiter extentum erat. nondum sicut pellem caelum extenderas, nondum mortis eorum famam usquequaque dilataueras.

Videamus, domine, caelos, opera digitorum tuorum: dis- 17
serena oculis nostris nubilum, quo subtexisti eos. ibi est testimonium tuum sapientiam praestans paruulis. perfice, deus meus, laudem tuam ex ore infantium et lactantium. neque enim nouimus alios libros ita destruentes superbiam, ita destruentes inimicum et defensorem resistentem reconciliationi tuae defendendo peccata sua. non noui, domine, non noui alia tam casta eloquia, quae sic mihi persuaderent confessionem et lenirent ceruicem meam iugo tuo et inuitarent colere te gratis. intellegam ea, pater bone: da mihi hoc subterposito, quia subterpositis solidasti ea.

Sunt aliae aquae super hoc firmamentum, credo, in- 18

13 lactentium GM *edd.*

10. **caelos, opera digitorum tuorum**] Ps. viii 4 (3). A.'s meaning is 'let us understand the scriptures.' In his commentary, *ad loc.*, A. recalls the law, written 'by the finger of God.' This he says is understood by many to mean 'by the Holy Spirit.' Accordingly he proposes to interpret the 'fingers of God' as meaning the writers of scripture, since they were filled with the Spirit, and 'caelos,' consequently, as the scriptures themselves ('conuenienter intellegimus hoc loco caelos dictos libros utriusque testamenti'; *Enarr. in Ps.* viii § 7).

ib. **disserena**] *clear away.* The verb is rare, and elsewhere always impersonal.

12. **sapientiam praestans paruulis**] Ps. xviii 8 (xix 7).

13. **laudem tuam** etc.] Ps. viii 3 (2) ('defensorem,' Vulg. 'ultorem').

17. **tam casta** etc.] A verbal allusion to Ps. xi 7 (xii 6) 'eloquia Domini eloquia casta.' On which A. observes: '"casta" dicit, sine corruptione simulationis, multi enim praedicant ueritatem non caste; quia uendunt illam pretio commoditatum huius saeculi: de talibus dicit apostolus quod Christum annuntiarent non caste' (Phil. i 17 Old Lat.; Vulg. 'non sincere').

21. **sunt aliae aquae** etc.] The waters 'above the firmament' are allegorized as the angels who need no written word.

mortales et a terrena corruptione secretae. laudent nomen tuum, laudent te supercaelestes populi angelorum tuorum, qui non opus habent suspicere firmamentum hoc et legendo cognoscere uerbum tuum. uident enim faciem tuam semper et ibi legunt sine syllabis temporum, quid uelit aeterna uoluntas tua. legunt, eligunt et diligunt; semper legunt et numquam praeterit quod legunt. eligendo enim et diligendo legunt ipsam inconmutabilitatem consilii tui. non clauditur codex eorum nec plicatur liber eorum, quia tu ipse illis hoc es et es in aeternum, quia super hoc firmamentum ordinasti eos, quod firmasti super infirmitatem inferiorum populorum, ubi suspicerent et cognoscerent misericordiam tuam temporaliter enuntiantem te, qui fecisti tempora. in caelo enim, domine, misericordia tua et ueritas tua usque ad nubes. transeunt nubes, caelum autem manet. transeunt praedicatores uerbi tui ex hac uita in aliam uitam, scriptura uero tua usque in finem saeculi super populos extenditur. sed et caelum et terra transibunt, sermones autem tui non transibunt, quoniam et pellis plicabitur, et faenum, super quod extendebatur, cum claritate sua praeteriet, uerbum autem tuum manet in aeternum; quod nunc in aenigmate nubium et per speculum caeli, non sicuti est, apparet nobis, quia et nos, quamuis filio tuo dilecti simus, nondum apparuit quod erimus. attendit per

1. **laudent nomen tuum**] Cf. Ps. cxlviii 4, 5.

4. **uident ... semper**] Cf. Mt. xviii 10.

6. **legunt, eligunt et diligunt**] 'They read Thy will, they make it their choice, they delight in it.'

13. **in caelo...ad nubes**] Ps. xxxv 6 (xxxvi 5). For the interpretation of 'nubes' cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* xxxv § 8 'quae sunt nubes? praedicatores uerbi Dei.'

17. **caelum et terra transibunt** etc.] Mt. xxiv 35.

19. **faenum...cum claritate sua**] Cf. Isa. xl 6, which A. quotes in the form: 'omnis caro faenum, et omnis claritas carnis ut flos faeni' (*Enarr. in Ps.* xci § 8). Vulg. 'omnis gloria eius quasi flos agri.'

20. **uerbum ... aeternum**] Isa. xl 8.

21. **in aenigmate...per speculum**] 1 Cor. xiii 12.

22. **filio tuo dilecti**] In allusion to Cant. ii 7, 8. See below.

23. **nondum apparuit** etc.] 1 Jn iii 2.

ib. **per retia**] In allusion to Cant. ii 9 Old Lat. (= LXX διὰ τῶν δικτύων), Vulg. 'per cancellos.'

retia carnis et blanditus est et inflammauit, et currimus post odorem eius. sed cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus, quoniam uidebimus eum, sicuti est: sicuti est, domine, uidere nostrum, quod nondum est nobis.

XVI. Nam sicut omnino tu es, tu scis solus, quoniam es 19
inconmutabiliter et scis inconmutabiliter et uis inconmutabiliter, et essentia tua scit et uult inconmutabiliter et scientia tua est et uult inconmutabiliter et uoluntas tua est et scit inconmutabiliter, nec uidetur iustum esse coram te, ut, quemadmodum se scit lumen inconmutabile, ita sciatur ab inluminato conmutabili. ideoque anima mea tamquam terra sine aqua tibi, quia sicut se inluminare de se non potest, ita se satiare de se non potest. sic enim apud te fons uitae, quomodo in lumine tuo uidebimus lumen.

XVII. Quis congregauit amaricantes in societatem unam? 20
idem namque illis finis est temporalis et terrenae felicitatis, propter quam faciunt omnia, quamuis innumerabili uarietate curarum fluctuent. quis, domine, nisi tu, qui dixisti, ut congregarentur aquae in congregationem unam et appareret

1 currimus] cucurrimus *mo.* 5 quoniam es] quoniam – es S, qui es *cet. et edd.* 15 amaricantes in] amaricantem – in S *Knöll in ed. mai.*

1. **currimus post odorem**] Cf. Cant. i 3.

2. **cum apparuerit** etc.] 1 Jn iii 2.

3. **sicuti est...uidere nostrum**] The infinitive is substantival. 'Our seeing will then be in accordance with reality' (lit. 'our seeing will then be a "seeing-as-it-is"').

XVI. *In this mortal life we cannot know God as He is, but 'in Thy light we shall see light.'*

9. **nec uidetur iustum** etc.] *nor does it seem just in Thy sight that the immutable light should be known by the mutable creature, which it enlightens, as fully as it knows itself.*

11. **anima mea** etc.] Ps. cxlii (cxliii) 6.

13. **apud te fons uitae, in lumine tuo** etc.] Ps. xxxv 10 (xxxvi 9). In his exposition, *ad loc.*, A. observes that in this passage life and light are but two names for the same thing. 'hic (sc. in this world) aliud est fons, aliud lumen: ibi non ita. quod enim est fons, hoc est et lumen.' Cf. IX 23.

XVII. *The sea in its bitterness and restlessness represents 'the world'; the fruitful earth represents the good.*

15. **amaricantes**] 'the embittered'—human society as characterised by alienation from God. Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* lxiv § 9 'mare enim in figura dicitur saeculum hoc, salsitate amarum, procellis turbulentum.'

19. **aquae in congregationem**] Cf. Gen. i 9.

arida sitiens tibi, quoniam tuum est mare, et tu fecisti illud, et aridam terram manus tuae formauerunt? neque enim amaritudo uoluntatum, sed congregatio aquarum uocatur mare. tu enim coerces etiam malas cupiditates animarum et figis limites, quousque progredi sinantur aquae, ut in se comminuantur fluctus earum, atque ita facis mare ordine imperii tui super omnia.

21 At animas sitientes tibi et apparentes tibi, alio fine distinctas a societate maris, occulto et dulci fonte irrigas, ut et terra det fructum suum: et dat fructum suum et, te iubente, domino deo suo, germinat anima nostra opere misericordiae secundum genus, diligens proximum in subsidiis necessitatum carnalium, habens in se semen secundum similitudinem, quoniam ex nostra infirmitate conpatimur ad subueniendum indigentibus similiter opitulantes, quemadmodum nobis uellemus opem ferri, si eodem modo indigeremus, non tantum in facilibus tamquam in herba seminali, sed etiam in protectione adiutorii forti robore, sicut lignum fructiferum, id est beneficium ad eripiendum eum, qui iniuriam patitur, de manu potentis et praebendo protectionis umbraculum ualido robore iusti iudicii.

22 XVIII. Ita, domine, ita, oro te, oriatur, sicuti facis, sicuti

1 mare SW¹, et mare *cet. et edd.* 18 beneficium] beneficum CGHOW *mo.*

1. **tuum est mare** etc.] Ps. xciv (xcv) 5.

2. **neque enim**] *i.e.* it is not the embitterment of this metaphorical 'sea' which is God's work, but the reduction of it to a certain order, implied by giving it a name—it was the 'gathering together' of the waters which was called sea.

5. **figis limites** etc.] Cf. Job xxxviii 10, 11.

8. **at animas sitientes** etc.] The earth emerging from the waters and bringing forth fruit is interpreted to mean the Church.

11. **germinat**] Gen. i 11.

ib. **secundum genus**] *i.e.* (in A.'s allegorical interpretation) appropriate to our condition of human weakness and mutual dependence.

13. **habens in se semen**] This A. interprets to mean that we learn others' needs from our own.

17. **in protectione...robore**] *in protecting succour with oak-like strength.*

XVIII. *A. prays that the mystical 'earth,' the saints, may bear fruit richly. When the saints pass from this action of fruitbearing to the joy of contemplation they are like lights in the world. The gift of wisdom may be compared to the sun, the 'word of knowledge' may be compared to the moon, and other gifts to the stars.*

das hilaritatem et facultatem, oriatur de terra ueritas et iustitia de caelo respiciat, et fiant in firmamento luminaria. frangamus esurienti panem nostrum et egenum sine tecto inducamus in domum nostram, nudum uestiamus et domesticos seminis nostri non despiciamus. quibus in terra natis fructibus uide, quia bonum est, et erumpat temporanea lux nostra, et de ista inferiore fruge actionis in delicias contemplationis uerbum uitae superius obtinentes appareamus sicut luminaria in mundo cohaerentes firmamento scripturae tuae. ibi enim nobiscum disputas, ut diuidamus inter intellegibilia et sensibilia tamquam inter diem et noctem uel inter animas alias intellegibilibus, alias sensibilibus deditas, ut iam non tu solus in abdito diiudicationis tuae, sicut antequam fieret firmamentum, diuidas inter lucem et tenebras, sed etiam spiritales tui in eodem firmamento positi atque distincti manifestata per orbem gratia tua luceant super terram et diuidant inter diem et noctem et significent tempora, quia uetera transierunt, ecce facta sunt noua, et quia propior est nostra salus, quam cum credidimus, et quia nox praecessit, dies autem adpropinquauit, et quia

6 inferiori GHQ *edd.*

1. **de terra ueritas** etc.] Ps. lxxxiv 12 (lxxxv 11).

2. **fiant in firmamento**] Gen. i 14.

ib. **frangamus esurienti** etc.] Cf. Isa. lviii 7, 8. A. notices 'domesticos' etc. as the reading of one version in *de Doct. Christ.* II 12. 17.

5. **uide, quia bonum est**] Cf. Gen. i 12.

6. **temporanea lux**] Cf. Isa. lviii 8 Old Latin 'tunc erumpet temporaneum (=πρωΐμον) lumen tuum' (Vulg. 'quasi mane'). See Rönsch *Itala u. Vulgata* p. 123.

7. **uerbum uitae ... obtinentes** etc.] Phil. ii 16.

9. **nobiscum disputas**] Cf. Isa. i 18 Old Lat. (see p. 425, l. 4). Here 'disputo' seems to bear the sense of 'teach' (from the practice of teaching by disputation).

11. **inter animas** etc.] Day and night signify respectively those who give themselves to the things of the mind (the Platonic phrase, instead of, as we should expect, 'the things of the spirit,' is noticeable) and those who are preoccupied with the things of sense.

15. **manifestata** etc.] *now that Thy grace is manifested throughout the world.*

16. **et significent tempora**] *and mark (the different) periods.*

17. **uetera transierunt**] 2 Cor. v 17. The version which A. quotes follows the better reading in omitting 'omnia' (Vulg. etc.) before 'noua.'

18. **propior est nostra salus** etc.] Rom. xiii 11, 12.

benedicis coronam anni tui, mittens operarios in messem tuam, in qua seminanda alii laborauerunt, mittens etiam in aliam sementem, cuius messis in fine est. ita das uota optanti et benedicis annos iusti, tu autem idem ipse es et in annis tuis, qui non deficiunt, horreum praeparas annis transeuntibus. aeterno quippe consilio propriis temporibus
23 bona caelestia das super terram, quoniam quidem alii datur per spiritum sermo sapientiae tamquam luminare maius propter eos, qui perspicuae ueritatis luce delectantur tamquam in principio diei, alii autem sermo scientiae secundum eundem spiritum tamquam luminare minus, alii fides, alii donatio curationum, alii operationes uirtutum, alii prophetia, alii diiudicatio spirituum, alteri genera linguarum, et haec omnia tamquam stellae. omnia enim haec operatur unus atque idem spiritus, diuidens propria unicuique prout uult et faciens apparere sidera in manifestatione ad utilitatem. sermo autem scientiae, qua continentur omnia sacramenta, quae uariantur

1 operarios] benignitatis operarios *o ex mss. Oxon.*

1. **benedicis coronam** etc.] Ps. lxiv 12 (lxv 11).

ib. **operarios in messem**] Mt. ix 38.

2. **alii laborauerunt**] Jn iv 38.

ib. **in aliam sementem**] 'to another sowing.' The allusion is apparently to the dual effect of preaching, which issues in blessing or judgment according as it is received; cf. 2 Cor. ii 16. Or 'aliam sementem' may mean 'a new sowing (which others shall reap).'

3. **das uota**] *Thou grantest the prayer of him who makes request unto Thee.* The combination of 'uota' and 'optare' is perhaps suggested by a reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* x 279 'quod uotis optastis, adest perfringere dextra.'

4. **tu autem**] Ps. ci 28 (cii 27).

7. **alii...sapientiae**] 1 Cor. xii 8.

8. **luminare maius**] Gen. i 16.

10. **alii...scientiae**] In *de Trin.* XII 14. 22 A. makes the following distinction between 'sapientia' and 'scientia' (quoting Job xxviii 28 'ecce pietas est sapientia, abstinere autem a malis est scientia'): 'in hac differentia intellegendum est ad contemplationem sapientiam, ad actionem scientiam pertinere.'

ib. **alii autem...linguarum**] 1 Cor. xii 8—10 ('donatio curationum,' Vulg. 'gratia sanitatum'; 'operationes,' Vulg. 'operatio'; 'diiudicatio,' Vulg. 'discretio').

14. **omnia...haec operatur**] 1 Cor. xii 11.

16. **in manifestatione ad utilitatem**] Cf. 1 Cor. xii 7.

17. **omnia sacramenta**] Cf. 1 Cor. xiii 2 Old Lat. (Vulg. 'mysteria.') See IV 3, note.

ib. **quae uariantur temporibus**] In *Enarr. in Ps.* lxxiii § 2, dwelling on the differences between O.T. and N.T., A. says: 'mutata sunt sacramenta, facta sunt faciliora, pauciora, salubriora, feliciora.'

temporibus tamquam luna, et ceterae notitiae donorum, quae deinceps tamquam stellae conmemorata sunt, quantum differunt ab illo candore sapientiae, quo gaudet praedictus dies, tantum in principio noctis sunt. his enim sunt necessaria, quibus ille prudentissimus seruus tuus non potuit loqui quasi spiritalibus, sed quasi carnalibus, ille, qui sapientiam loquitur inter perfectos. animalis autem homo tamquam paruulus in Christo lactisque potator, donec roboretur ad solidum cibum et aciem firmet ad solis aspectum, non habeat desertam noctem suam, sed luce lunae stellarumque contentus sit. haec nobiscum disputas sapientissime, deus noster, in libro tuo, firmamento tuo, ut discernamus omnia contemplatione mirabili, quamuis adhuc in signis et in temporibus et in diebus et in annis.

XIX. Sed prius lauamini, mundi estote, auferte nequitiam 24

4 principia BCG¹PQ²VW *o*, principiçio (a *a m.* 2) Q. 10 luce lunae] lucernae O, luce lucernae G.

2. **quantum differunt** etc.] *differ so far from that bright light of wisdom, which is the joy of the aforesaid* (perhaps 'predicted'—see Rom. xiii 12 quoted above, p. 422 l. 19) *day, that they are only 'rulers of the night'* (alluding to Gen. i 16). That this is the sense in which A. here uses 'in principio' is evident from a comparison with *de Gen. Imperf.* xiii 40, where he quotes Gen. i 16 in the form 'luminare maius initium diei' etc. and interprets (§ 42) 'initium illud principatum intellegere debemus'; and with *Enarr. in Ps.* cxxxv 8, 9 ('solem in potestatem diei' etc.) where he quotes, as here, the list of 'gifts' in 1 Cor. xii 8—10, and adds 'nihil enim horum est quod in huius saeculi nocte non sit necessarium; quae cum transierit, necessaria ista non erunt; ideo, *in potestatem noctis*.' This exaltation of wisdom (in the sense of intuitive contemplation of God) recalls the way in which Clement of Alexandria and Origen exalt the Christian 'gnostic.' A.'s mysticism, however, is only one element, and not the most native, in his piety, and this side of his teaching did not greatly influence the main stream of Latin development, though it had its representatives throughout the Middle Ages.

5. **non potuit...loqui** etc.] 1 Cor. iii 1.

6. **sapientiam ... inter perfectos**] 1 Cor. ii 6.

7. **animalis autem homo**] 1 Cor. ii 14. For 'animalis' see XII 37 above.

ib. **paruulus in Christo** etc.] 1 Cor. iii 1, 2.

9. **desertam**] 'void of light.'

XIX. *First the 'earth' must be cleansed, and then it must bear the fruit of good works. Those who have given up all to follow the Lord shall shine as the stars in the firmament.*

15. **lauamini** etc.] Isa. i 16—18. With this passage is curiously combined Gen. i 14, the latter interpreted allegorically.

ab animis uestris atque a conspectu oculorum meorum, ut appareat arida. discite bonum facere, iudicate pupillo et iustificate uiduam, ut germinet terra herbam pabuli et lignum fructiferum, et uenite, disputemus, dicit dominus, ut fiant luminaria in firmamento caeli, ut luceant super terram. quaerebat diues ille a magistro bono, quid faceret, ut uitam aeternam consequeretur: dicat ei magister bonus, quem putabat hominem et nihil amplius—bonus est autem, quia deus est—dicat ei, ut, si uult uenire ad uitam, seruet mandata, separet a se amaritudinem malitiae atque nequitiae, non occidat, non moechetur, non furetur, non falsum testimonium dicat, ut appareat arida et germinet honorem matris et patris et dilectionem proximi. feci, inquit, haec omnia. unde ergo tantae spinae, si terra fructifera est? uade, extirpa siluosa dumeta auaritiae, uende quae possides et implere frugibus dando pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in caelis, et sequere dominum, si uis esse perfectus, eis sociatus, inter quos loquitur sapientiam ille, qui nouit, quid distribuat diei et nocti, ut noris et tu, ut fiant et tibi luminaria in firmamento caeli: quod non fiet, nisi fuerit illic cor tuum; quod item non fiet, nisi fuerit illic thesaurus tuus, sicut audisti a magistro bono. sed contristata est terra sterilis, et spinae offocauerunt uerbum.

Vos autem, genus electum in firmamento mundi, qui dimisistis omnia, ut sequeremini dominum, ite post eum et

12 matris et patris] patris et matris BPQV *edd.* 23 suffocauerunt GMPS *Knöll* (*Vulg.*). 24 in firmamento S, infirma *cet. et edd.*

1. **ut appareat arida**] Cf. § 21, *sup.*

5. **quaerebat diues ille**] Mt. xix 16—22, Mk x 17—22, Lk xviii 18—23.

7. **quem putabat hominem** etc.] A. inserts incidentally his solution of the difficulty raised by Christ's refusal of the title.

18. **loquitur sapientiam**] An allusion to 1 Cor. ii 6.

ib. **quid distribuat** etc.] *i.e.* (metaphorically) what to give to the Church and what to the world.

20. **cor...thesaurus**] Mt. vi 21.

22. **contristata est**] Cf. Lk xviii 23 'his ille auditis contristatus est.'

ib. **spinae offocauerunt**] Mt. xiii 7.

24. **genus electum**] 1 Pet. ii 9.

ib. **qui dimisistis omnia** etc.] Cf. Lk xviii 28.

confundite fortia, ite post eum, speciosi pedes, et lucete in firmamento, ut caeli enarrent gloriam eius, diuidentes inter lucem perfectorum, sed nondum sicut angelorum, et tenebras paruulorum, sed non desperatorum: lucete super omnem terram, et dies, sole candens, eructet diei uerbum sapientiae et nox, luna lucens, annuntiet nocti uerbum scientiae. luna et stellae nocti lucent, sed nox non obscurat eas, quoniam ipsae inluminant eam pro modulo eius. ecce enim tamquam deo dicente: fiant luminaria in firmamento caeli, factus est subito de caelo sonus, quasi ferretur flatus uehemens, et uisae sunt linguae diuisae quasi ignis, qui et insedit super unumquemque illorum, et facta sunt luminaria in firmamento caeli uerbum uitae habentia. ubique discurrite, ignes sancti, ignes decori. uos enim estis lumen mundi nec estis sub modio. exaltatus est, cui adhaesistis, et exaltauit uos. discurrite et innotescite omnibus gentibus.

XX. Concipiat et mare et pariat opera uestra, et producant aquae reptilia animarum uiuarum. separantes enim 2

4 desperatorum] despectorum CHM *mo*.

1. **confundite fortia**] 1 Cor. i 27.

ib. **speciosi pedes**] Rom. x 15, Isa. lii 7.

2. **caeli enarrent** etc.] Ps. xviii 2 (xix 1).

ib. **diuidentes inter** etc.] Gen. i 14.

8. **pro modulo eius**] *according to its measure, i.e.* so far as it is capable of being illumined.

9. **factus est subito** etc.] Acts ii 2 sq. In Acts, A. used an Old Latin version of marked character; see Burkitt *Old Latin and Itala*, 'Texts and Studies' IV 3, pp. 57–8. Here almost every word differs from the Vulgate, which should be compared.

12. **luminaria ... uerbum uitae habentia**] Cf. Phil. ii 15, 16.

13. **discurrite**] Cf. Wisd. iii 7 'fulgebunt iusti, et tamquam scintillae in harundineto discurrent.'

14. **lumen mundi ... sub modio**] Mt. v 14, 15.

XX. *The 'moving creature that hath life,' which the waters bring forth, stands for the signs and sacraments which aid men to leave the temptations of the world (answering to the waters), and the 'fowls that fly above the earth' are God's messengers. These visible signs and sacraments represent to our minds the pure truth which belongs to the firmament of heaven. They are said to be 'brought forth' by the sea, because they were necessitated by the dull apprehension of worldly men.*

18. **reptilia animarum uiuarum**] Gen. i 20 (Vulg. 'reptile animae uiuentis').

ib. **separantes enim pretiosum** etc.] Cf. Jer. xv 19 'et si separaueris pretiosum a uili quasi os meum eris.' A.'s meaning appears to be that the evangelists, by bringing

pretiosum a uili facti estis os dei, per quod diceret: producant aquae non animam uiuam, quam terra producet, sed reptilia animarum uiuarum et uolatilia uolantia super terram. repserunt enim sacramenta tua, deus, per opera sanctorum tuorum inter medios fluctus temptationum saeculi ad imbuendas gentes nomine tuo in baptismo tuo. et inter haec facta sunt magnalia mirabilia tamquam ceti grandes et uoces nuntiorum tuorum uolantes super terram iuxta firmamentum libri tui praeposito illo sibi ad auctoritatem, sub quo uolitarent, quocumque irent. neque enim sunt loquellae neque sermones, quorum non audiantur uoces eorum, quando in omnem terram exiit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terrae uerba eorum, quoniam tu, domine, benedicendo multiplicasti haec.

7 Numquid mentior aut mixtione misceo neque distinguo lucidas cognitiones harum rerum in firmamento caeli et opera corporalia in undoso mari et sub firmamento caeli? quarum enim rerum notitiae sunt solidae et terminatae sine incrementis generationum tamquam lumina sapientiae et scientiae, earundem rerum sunt operationes corporales multae ac uariae, et aliud ex alio crescendo multiplicantur in benedictione tua, deus, qui consolatus es fastidia sensuum mortalium, ut in

1 quod] quos BCGHP *o*.
8 uolantes] uolitantes BCGHM *edd.*
6 nomine] in nomine BCHPW *o*.
15 cogitationes BCMPV.

these 'sacramenta' (see below) among men, effect the separation of those who receive the Gospel from those who do not.

4. **sacramenta**] For the various meanings of the word, see note at IV 3. Here it means mainly the signs and wonders which accompanied the work of the evangelist in the early Church. (A. is thinking, of course, not only of his own time—though he believed in miracles as occurring then—but of the spread of the Church from the earliest times.) Whether baptism, which is mentioned a few lines below, is included among the 'sacramenta'—as an external sign calculated to impress the imagination of prospective converts—is not clear. The waters, as A. indicates in §§ 27 and 29 *infr.*, are said to 'produce' these 'sacramenta' in the sense that the world's need of them was the cause of their being given.

7. **magnalia**] For the word, cf. Acts ii 11.

10. **neque...sunt loquellae** etc.] Ps. xviii 4 (xix 3).

17. **sine incrementis generationum**] *i.e.* these conceptions are perfect once for all and do not need development.

21. **qui consolatus es**] *who hast provided for the weakness of our so easily wearied senses.*

cognitione animi res una multis modis per corporis motiones figuretur atque dicatur. aquae produxerunt haec, sed in uerbo tuo: necessitates alienatorum ab aeternitate ueritatis tuae populorum produxerunt haec, sed in euangelio tuo, quoniam ipsae aquae ista eiecerunt, quarum amarus languor fuit causa, ut in tuo uerbo ista procederent.

Et pulchra sunt omnia faciente te, et ecce tu inenarrabiliter 28
pulchrior, qui fecisti omnia. a quo si non esset lapsus Adam, non diffunderetur ex utero eius salsugo maris, genus humanum profunde curiosum et procellose tumidum et instabiliter fluuidum, atque ita non opus esset, ut in aquis multis corporaliter et sensibiliter operarentur dispensatores tui mystica facta et dicta. sic enim mihi nunc occurrerunt reptilia et uolatilia, quibus imbuti et initiati homines corporalibus sacramentis subditi non ultra proficerent, nisi spiritaliter uiuesceret anima gradu alio et post initii uerbum in consummationem respiceret.

XXI. Ac per hoc in uerbo tuo non maris profunditas, 29
sed ab aquarum amaritudine terra discreta eicit non reptilia animarum uiuarum et uolatilia, sed animam uiuam. neque enim iam opus habet baptismo, quo gentibus opus est, sicut opus habebat, cum aquis tegeretur: non enim intratur aliter

10 fluuidum] fluidum BCHP *edd.* 19 eicit] eiecit CGHM *mo.*

2. **in uerbo tuo**] *through Thy word.*

5. **quarum amarus languor** etc.] For the thought cf. Jn iv 48, Mt. xvi 4.

9. **ex utero eius**] A remarkable example of catachresis. It is to be explained, no doubt, by the fact that 'Adam' is used generically rather than personally.

ib. **salsugo maris**] *the bitter brine of the sea.*

15. **uiuesceret**] Used pregnantly, 'should rise to the higher level of spiritual life.'

16. **initii uerbum**] Cf. Heb. vi 1 which A. quotes in the form 'ideoque remittentes initii Christi uerbum, in consummationem respiciamus' *Ep. ad Rom. Inchoata Expos.* 19 (Vulg. 'quapropter intermittentes inchoationis Christi sermonem, ad perfectiora feramur').

XXI. *In contrast with the 'waters' which bring forth 'the moving creature that hath life' the 'earth' brings forth 'the living soul after his kind'—that is a soul which becomes good by imitating the followers of Christ.*

20. **animam uiuam**] Gen. i 24 'producat terra animam uiuam' (Vulg. 'uiuentem').

in regnum caelorum ex illo, quo instituisti, ut sic intretur; nec magnalia mirabilium quaerit, quibus fiat fides: neque enim nisi signa et prodigia uiderit, non credit, cum iam distincta sit terra fidelis ab aquis maris infidelitate amaris, et linguae in signo sunt non fidelibus, sed infidelibus. nec isto igitur genere uolatili, quod uerbo tuo produxerunt aquae, opus habet terra, quam fundasti super aquas. immitte in eam uerbum tuum per nuntios tuos. opera enim eorum narramus, sed tu es, qui operaris in eis, ut operentur animam uiuam. terra producit eam, quia terra causa est, ut haec agant in ea, sicut mare fuit causa, ut agerent reptilia animarum uiuarum et uolatilia sub firmamento caeli, quibus iam terra non indiget, quamuis piscem manducet leuatum de profundo in ea mensa, quam parasti in conspectu credentium; ideo enim de profundo leuatus est, ut alat aridam. et aues marina progenies, sed tamen super terram multiplicantur. primarum enim uocum euangelizantium infidelitas hominum causa extitit; sed et fideles exhortantur et benedicuntur eis multipliciter de die in diem. at uero anima uiua de terra sumit exordium, quia

1 regno S *Knöll.* 7 eam] eą̄ (*corr.* 1 *m*) G. 9 ut BCHMPW, et GOSV *Knöll*, et ut G². operantur CH. 18 eis] ab eis BCHP *mo.* 19 sumit] sumpsit BP *m.*

1. **ex illo, quo instituisti**] *since the time when* (or 'from the fact that') *Thou didst ordain* etc.

2. **mirabilium**] Genitive of apposition.

3. **nisi signa** etc.] Jn iv 48.

4. **linguae in signo** etc.] 1 Cor. xiv 22.

7. **terra, quam fundasti super aquas**] In *Enarr. in Ps.* cxxxv § 8 A. applies 'firmauit terram super aquas' to those who stand firm in their baptismal confession. The point here is that these have no longer need of evangelists (uolatilia).

8. **per nuntios tuos**] Taking this in connexion with the previous and following clauses 'nec...opus habet,' 'opera...narramus,' it would appear to apply not to the direct working of evangelists within the Church, but to the report of their labours as serving the use of edification.

9. **qui operaris in eis**] alludes to Phil. ii 13 'deus est enim qui operatur in uobis' etc.

ib. **ut operentur**] 'that they may produce.' For the sense of 'operentur' cf. 2 Cor. vii 10 'saeculi tristitia mortem operatur.'

13. **piscem manducet leuatum** etc.] Alluding to the well-known acrostic ΙΧΘΥΣ = Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ.

ib. **mensa ... parasti in conspectu**] Ps. xxii (xxiii) 5 'parasti in conspectu meo mensam.'

non prodest nisi iam fidelibus continere se ab amore huius saeculi, ut anima eorum tibi uiuat, quae mortua erat in deliciis uiuens, deliciis, domine, mortiferis; nam tu puri cordis uitales deliciae.

Operentur ergo iam in terra ministri tui, non sicut in 3 aquis infidelitatis annuntiando et loquendo per miracula et sacramenta et uoces mysticas, ubi intenta fit ignorantia mater admirationis in timore occultorum signorum—talis enim est introitus ad fidem filiis Adam oblitis tui, dum se abscondunt a facie tua et fiunt abyssus—sed operentur etiam sicut in arida discreta a gurgitibus abyssi et sint forma fidelibus uiuendo coram eis et excitando ad imitationem. sic enim non tantum ad audiendum sed etiam ad faciendum audiunt: quaerite deum, et uiuet anima uestra, ut producat terra animam uiuentem. nolite conformari huic saeculo, continete uos ab eo. euitando uiuit anima, quae appetendo moritur. continete uos ab immani feritate superbiae, ab inerti uoluptate luxuriae et a fallaci nomine scientiae, ut sint bestiae mansuetae et pecora edomita et innoxii serpentes. motus enim animae sunt isti in allegoria: sed fastus elationis et delectatio libidinis et uenenum curiositatis motus sunt animae mortuae, quia non ita moritur, ut omni motu careat, quoniam discedendo a fonte uitae moritur atque ita suscipitur a praetereunte saeculo et conformatur ei.

Verbum autem deus fons uitae aeternae est et non 3

7 fit] sit GMVW *edd.* 14 deum] dominum CGMW *edd.* 25 deus S, tuum deus BCGHMOPW^2 *edd.*, tuus deus VW^1.

2. **mortua ... in deliciis**] Cf. 1 Tim. v 6.

7. **ignorantia mater admirationis**] For the personification cf. 'mater caritas' § 7 *sup.*

9. **dum se abscondunt**] Cf. Gen. iii 8.

11. **forma**] Cf. 1 Thess. i 7 'ita ut facti sitis forma (*τύπος*) omnibus credentibus in Macedonia et in Achaia.'

13. **quaerite deum** etc.] Ps. lxviii 33 (lxix 32).

15. **nolite conformari**] Rom. xii 2.

18. **fallaci nomine scientiae**] Cf. 1 Tim. vi 20.

22. **discedendo a fonte uitae**] Cf. Jer. ii 13 'me dereliquerunt fontem aquae uiuae.'

25. **uerbum...fons uitae aeternae**] Cf. Jn i 3, iv 14.

praeterit: ideoque in uerbo tuo cohibetur ille discessus, dum dicitur nobis: nolite conformari huic saeculo, ut producat terra in fonte uitae animam uiuentem, in uerbo tuo per euangelistas tuos animam continentem imitando imitatores Christi tui. hoc est enim secundum genus, quoniam aemulatio uiri ab amico est: estote, inquit, sicut ego, quia et ego sicut uos. ita erunt in anima uiua bestiae bonae in mansuetudine actionis—mandasti enim dicens: in mansuetudine opera tua perfice et ab omni homine diligeris—et pecora bona neque si manducauerint abundantia, neque si non manducauerint egentia, et serpentes boni non perniciosi ad nocendum, sed astuti ad cauendum et tantum explorantes temporalem naturam, quantum sufficit, ut per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciatur aeternitas. seruiunt enim rationi haec animalia, cum a progressu mortifero cohibita uiuunt et bona sunt.

32 XXII. Ecce enim, domine deus noster, creator noster, cum cohibitae fuerint affectiones ab amore saeculi, quibus moriebamur male uiuendo, et coeperit esse anima uiuens bene uiuendo completumque fuerit uerbum tuum, quo per apostolum tuum dixisti: nolite conformari huic saeculo, consequetur illud, quod adiunxisti statim et dixisti: sed

19 quo] quod BCHMPW *edd.*

4. **imitando imitatores Christi**] 1 Cor. xi 1.

5. **secundum genus**] Gen. i 21. A. plays on the phrase, taking it in the sense of 'following his fellow-man,' and contrasts it with the making of man after the likeness of God. See III 12, note ('et quid in nobis').

6. **estote...sicut ego** etc.] Gal. iv 12.

7. **bestiae bonae**] in contrast with the cruel beasts of prey, the sluggish cattle, and the crafty reptiles (§ 30). 'Bonae' is a reference to Gen. i 25.

8. **in mansuetudine** etc.] Ecclus. iii 19 (Vulg. 'et super hominum gloriam diligeris').

9. **neque si manducauerint**] Cf. 1 Cor. viii 8.

13. **per ea, quae facta sunt** etc.] Cf. Rom. i 20 'inuisibilia enim ipsius, a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta, conspiciuntur: sempiterna quoque eius uirtus et diuinitas.'

XXII. *But there is a higher attainment than that of following good examples; while the other creatures are said to be brought forth 'after their kind,' man was made 'after the image and likeness of God,' and when he is renewed after the image of God he becomes truly spiritual.*

20. **nolite conformari** etc.] Rom. xii 2.

reformamini in nouitate mentis uestrae, non iam secundum genus, tamquam imitantes praecedentem proximum, nec ex hominis melioris auctoritate uiuentes. neque enim dixisti: fiat homo secundum genus, sed: faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, ut nos probemus, quae sit uoluntas tua. ad hoc enim ille dispensator tuus generans per euangelium filios, ne semper paruulos haberet, quos lacte nutriret et tamquam nutrix foueret: reformamini, inquit, in nouitate mentis uestrae ad probandum uos, quae sit uoluntas dei, quod bonum et beneplacitum et perfectum. ideoque non dicis: fiat homo, sed: faciamus, nec dicis: secundum genus, sed: ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. mente quippe renouatus et conspiciens intellectam ueritatem tuam homine demonstratore non indiget, ut suum genus imitetur, sed te demonstrante probat ipse, quae sit uoluntas tua, quod bonum et beneplacitum et perfectum, et doces eum iam capacem uidere trinitatem unitatis uel unitatem trinitatis. ideoque pluraliter dicto: faciamus hominem, singulariter tamen infertur: et fecit deus hominem; et pluraliter dicto: ad imaginem nostram, singulariter infertur: ad imaginem dei. ita homo renouatur in agnitione dei secundum imaginem eius, qui creauit eum, et spiritalis effectus iudicat omnia, quae utique iudicanda sunt, ipse autem a nemine iudicatur.

XXIII. Quod autem iudicat omnia, hoc est, quod habet 3

1 nouitate]+spiritu S *Knöll in ed. mai.* 11 faciamus]+hominem BCP *edd.* 14 demonstratore] demonstrante te *m.* 17 uel] et BP *edd.* 21 agnitionem BPV *m.*

4. **secundum genus**] See note above (§ 31).

ib. **faciamus** etc.] Gen. i 26.

6. **generans per euangelium filios**] Cf. 1 Cor. iv 15.

7. **lacte nutriret**] Cf. 1 Cor. iii 2.

8. **tamquam nutrix** etc.] Cf. 1 Thess. ii 7.

ib. **reformamini...ad probandum uos** etc.] Rom. xii 2. This peculiar version with the redundant 'uos' is cited by Sabatier only from A., who has it also in *Ep.* cxx 20 and *de Ciu. Dei* x 6.

21. **renouatur in agnitione**] Col. iii 10. (Vulg. 'in cognitionem,' and omitting 'Dei,' for which there is no sufficient authority.)

22. **spiritalis ... iudicat omnia** etc.] 1 Cor. ii 15.

XXIII. *In the 'dominion' of man, made in the image of God, over the animals A. finds a symbol*

potestatem piscium maris et uolatilium caeli et omnium pecorum et ferarum et omnis terrae et omnium repentium, quae repunt super terram. hoc enim agit per mentis intellectum, per quem percipit quae sunt spiritus dei. alioquin homo in honore positus non intellexit; conparatus est iumentis insensatis et similis factus est eis. ergo in ecclesia tua, deus noster, secundum gratiam tuam, quam dedisti ei, quoniam tuum sumus figmentum creati in operibus bonis, non solum qui spiritaliter praesunt sed etiam hi qui spiritaliter subduntur eis qui praesunt—masculum et feminam fecisti hominem hoc modo in gratia tua spiritali, ubi secundum sexum corporis non est masculus et femina, quia nec Iudaeus neque Graecus neque seruus neque liber—spiritales ergo, siue qui praesunt siue qui obtemperant, spiritaliter iudicant, non de cognitionibus spiritalibus, quae lucent in firmamento—non enim oportet de tam sublimi auctoritate iudicare—neque de ipso libro tuo, etiamsi quid ibi non lucet, quoniam summittimus ei nostrum intellectum certumque habemus etiam quod clausum est aspectibus nostris, recte ueraciterque dictum esse—sic enim homo, licet iam spiritalis et renouatus in agnitione dei secundum imaginem eius, qui creauit eum, factor tamen legis debet esse, non iudex—neque de illa distinctione iudicat spiritalium uidelicet atque carnalium hominum, qui tuis, deus noster, oculis noti sunt et nullis adhuc nobis apparuerunt operibus, ut ex fructibus eorum cognoscamus eos, sed tu,

10 masculum S, +enim *cet. et edd.* 16 neque]+enim CH *o.* 20 agnitionem BPV *m.*

of the right of spiritual men to exercise judgment upon the administration of the sacraments, upon the preaching of the word, and upon the life and conduct of the brethren.

2. **quae repunt** etc.] Gen. i 26 'omnique reptili quod mouetur in terra.'

4. **per quem percipit** etc.] Cf. 1 Cor. ii 14 'animalis autem homo non percipit quae sunt Spiritus Dei ...quia spiritualiter examinatur.'

ib. **homo in honore**] Ps. xlviii 13 (xlix 12).

8. **tuum figmentum creati** etc.] Eph. ii 10 Old Lat. (Vulg. 'ipsius enim sumus factura').

10. **masculum et feminam**] Gen. i 27, *i.e.* some to rule and some to submit.

12. **nec Iudaeus** etc.] Gal. iii 28.

20. **in agnitione dei**] Col. iii 10.

21. **factor...legis**] Cf. Ja. iv 11.

25. **ex fructibus** etc.] Mt. vii 20.

domine, iam scis eos et diuisisti et uocasti in occulto, antequam fieret firmamentum. neque de turbidis huius saeculi populis quamquam spiritalis homo iudicat. quid enim ei de his, qui foris sunt, iudicare ignoranti, quis inde uenturus sit in dulcedinem gratiae tuae et quis in perpetua inpietatis amaritudine remansurus?

Ideoque homo, quem fecisti ad imaginem tuam, non ac- 34
cepit potestatem luminarium caeli neque ipsius occulti caeli neque diei et noctis, quae ante caeli constitutionem uocasti, neque congregationis aquarum, quod est mare, sed accepit potestatem piscium maris et uolatilium caeli et omnium pecorum et omnis terrae et omnium repentium, quae repunt super terram. iudicat enim et approbat, quod recte, improbat autem, quod perperam inuenerit, siue in ea sollemnitate sacramentorum, quibus initiantur quos peruestigat in aquis multis misericordia tua, siue in ea, qua ille piscis exhibetur, quem leuatum de profundo terra pia comedit, siue in uerborum signis uocibusque subiectis auctoritati libri tui tamquam sub firmamento uolitantibus, interpretando, exponendo, disserendo, disputando, benedicendo atque inuocando te, ore erumpentibus atque sonantibus signis, ut respondeat populus: amen. quibus omnibus uocibus corporaliter enuntiandis causa est abyssus saeculi et caecitas carnis, qua cogitata non possunt uideri, ut opus sit instrepere in auribus. ita, quamuis multiplicentur uolatilia super terram, ex aquis tamen originem ducunt. iudicat etiam spiritalis approbando, quod rectum, improbando autem, quod perperam inuenerit in operibus moribusque fidelium, elemosynis tamquam terra fructifera et de anima

2. **turbidis**] The adjective is suggested by the allegorisation of 'mare' as 'saeculum hoc'; see above § 20, note ('amaricantes').

3. **quid enim...iudicare**] 1 Cor. v 12.

14. **sollemnitate sacramentorum**] 'celebration of the sacraments,' *i.e.* the ceremonies which marked the catechumenate and baptism. See VIII 4, notes.

16. **ille piscis**] See above, § 29.

25. **ex aquis tamen**] *i.e.* it is the sluggishness of men that renders necessary the stimulus of preaching. See above, § 27.

28. **elemosynis ... affectionibus**] The words are in apposition to 'operibus moribusque.'

uiua mansuefactis affectionibus, in castitate, in ieiuniis, in cogitationibus piis de his, quae per sensum corporis percipiuntur. de his enim iudicare nunc dicitur, in quibus et potestatem corrigendi habet.

35 XXIV. Sed quid est hoc et quale mysterium est? ecce benedicis homines, o domine, ut crescant et multiplicentur et impleant terram. nihilne nobis ex hoc innuis, ut intellegamus aliquid, cur non ita benedixeris lucem, quam uocasti diem, nec firmamentum caeli nec luminaria nec sidera nec terram nec mare? dicerem te, deus noster, qui nos ad imaginem tuam creasti, dicerem te hoc donum benedictionis homini proprie uoluisse largiri, nisi hoc modo benedixisses pisces et cetos, ut crescerent et multiplicarentur et implerent aquas maris, et uolatilia multiplicarentur super terram. item dicerem ad ea rerum genera pertinere benedictionem hanc, quae gignendo ex semet ipsis propagantur, si eam reperirem in arbustis et frutectis et in pecoribus terrae. nunc autem nec herbis et lignis dictum est nec bestiis et serpentibus: crescite et multiplicamini, cum haec quoque omnia sicut pisces et aues et homines gignendo augeantur genusque custodiant.

36 Quid igitur dicam, lumen meum, ueritas? quia uacat hoc, quia inaniter ita dictum est? nequaquam, pater pietatis; absit, ut hoc dicat seruus uerbi tui. et si ego non intellego, quid hoc eloquio significes, utantur eo melius meliores, id est intellegentiores quam ego sum, unicuique quantum sapere dedisti. placeat autem et confessio mea coram oculis tuis, qua tibi confiteor credere me, domine, non incassum te ita

12 pisces] et p. CH*o*. 26 dedisti] + deus meus BCG²HMP *edd.*

1. **in castitate, in ieiuniis**] 2 Cor. vi 5, 6.

XXIV. *The command to be fruitful and multiply is given only to the offspring of the waters and to man. The allegorical interpretation of this is that, on the one hand, one truth can be set forth by manifold symbols (answering to the multiplicity of the offspring of the waters), and, on the other, that one symbol or expression may be understood in many ways, in consequence of the fruitfulness of man's reason.*

6. **ut crescant** etc.] Gen. i 28.

25. **unicuique** etc.] Cf. 1 Cor. iii 5.

locutum, neque silebo, quod mihi lectionis huius occasio suggerit. uerum est enim nec uideo, quid inpediat ita me sentire dicta figurata librorum tuorum. noui enim multipliciter significari per corpus, quod uno modo mente intellegitur, et multipliciter mente intellegi, quod uno modo per corpus significatur. ecce simplex dilectio dei et proximi quam multiplicibus sacramentis et innumerabilibus linguis et in unaquaque lingua innumerabilibus locutionum modis corporaliter enuntiatur! ita crescunt et multiplicantur fetus aquarum. adtende iterum quisquis haec legis. ecce quod uno modo scriptura offert et uox personat: in principio deus fecit caelum et terram, nonne multipliciter intellegitur, non errorum fallacia, sed uerarum intellegentiarum generibus? ita crescunt et multiplicantur fetus hominum.

Itaque si naturas ipsas rerum non allegorice, sed proprie 37
cogitemus, ad omnia, quae de seminibus gignuntur, conuenit uerbum: crescite et multiplicamini; si autem figurate posita ista tractemus—quod potius arbitror intendisse scripturam, quae utique non superuacue solis aquatilium et hominum fetibus istam benedictionem adtribuit—inuenimus quidem multitudines et in creaturis spiritalibus atque corporalibus, tamquam in caelo et terra, et in animis iustis et iniquis, tamquam in luce et tenebris, et in sanctis auctoribus, per quos lex ministrata est, tamquam in firmamento, quod solidatum est inter aquam et aquam, et in societate amaricantium populorum, tamquam in mari, et in studio piarum animarum, tamquam in arida, et in operibus misericordiae secundum praesentem uitam, tamquam in herbis seminalibus et lignis fructiferis, et in spiritalibus donis manifestatis ad utilitatem, sicut in luminaribus caeli, et in affectibus formatis ad temperantiam, tamquam in

1 locutum] + esse BCP *m*.
22 terra] in terra BCGMPQVW *edd*.
30 affectionibus] BCGMPQ *o*.

12. **multipliciter intellegitur**] See above XII §§ 24—26.

20. **inuenimus quidem multitudines** etc.] The command to be fruitful and multiply does not imply mere multitude, for then it would apply to many of the other creations—as allegorically interpreted—to which it is not applied.

anima uiua: in his omnibus nanciscimur multitudines et ubertates et incrementa; sed quod ita crescat et multiplicetur, ut una res multis modis enuntietur et una enuntiatio multis modis intellegatur, non inuenimus nisi in signis corporaliter editis et rebus intellegibiliter excogitatis. signa corporaliter edita generationes aquarum propter necessarias causas carnalis profunditatis, res autem intellegibiliter excogitatas generationes humanas propter rationis fecunditatem intelleximus. et ideo credidimus utrique horum generi dictum esse abs te, domine: crescite et multiplicamini. in hac enim benedictione concessam nobis a te facultatem ac potestatem accipio et multis modis enuntiare, quod uno modo intellectum tenuerimus, et multis modis intellegere, quod obscure uno modo enuntiatum legerimus. sic implentur aquae maris, quae non mouentur nisi uariis significatibus; sic et fetibus humanis impletur et terra, cuius ariditas apparet in studio, et dominatur ei ratio.

38 XXV. Volo etiam dicere, domine deus meus, quod me consequens tua scriptura conmonet, et dicam nec uerebor. uera enim dicam te mihi inspirante, quod ex eis uerbis uoluisti ut dicerem. neque enim alio praeter te inspirante credo me uerum dicere, cum tu sis ueritas, omnis autem homo mendax. et ideo qui loquitur mendacium, de suo loquitur. ergo ut

8 intellegimus BCPQW *edd.* credimus *edd.* eorum CHV *o.* BCGHMOPQVW *edd.*

9 credidimus (di *del.* m. 2) G,

15 significatibus] significationibus

2. **sed quod ita crescat** etc.] See the chapter-summary.

14. **quae non mouentur** etc.] The dulness of the carnal mind needs to be variously plied with signs.

16. **cuius ariditas** etc.] *whose dryness appears in their thirst for knowledge.* Cf. § 21 where 'terra arida' is interpreted as meaning 'animae sitientes tibi.'

ib. **et dominatur ei ratio**] alludes primarily to Gen. i 28 'et replete terram et subicite eam.' Allegorically, reason rules in the earth (representing the Church) in contrast with the carnal mind of 'the waters' (the world), which requires signs. Comparing § 36 end ('ita crescunt...fetus hominum') it is evident that by 'fetibus humanis' A. means the conceptions of man's mind.

XXV. *The giving of the herb for food may be allegorically understood of the support of the evangelists and preachers of the word by the fruitful earth (the faithful).*

21. **tu sis ueritas**] Cf. Jn xiv 6, Rom. iii 4.

22. **loquitur mendacium**] Jn viii 44. On the rendering see note at XII 34 *sup.*

uerum loquar, de tuo loquor. ecce dedisti nobis in escam omne faenum satiuum seminans semen, quod est super omnem terram, et omne lignum, quod habet in se fructum seminis satiui. nec nobis solis sed et omnibus auibus caeli et bestiis terrae atque serpentibus; piscibus autem et cetis magnis non dedisti haec. dicebamus enim eis terrae fructibus significari et in allegoria figurari opera misericordiae, quae huius uitae necessitatibus exhibentur ex terra fructifera. talis terra erat pius Onesiforus, cuius domui dedisti misericordiam, quia frequenter Paulum tuum refrigerauit et catenam eius non erubuit. hoc fecerunt et fratres et tali fruge fructificauerunt, qui quod ei deerat suppleuerunt ex Macedonia. quomodo autem dolet quaedam ligna, quae fructum ei debitum non dederunt, ubi ait: in prima mea defensione nemo mihi affuit, sed omnes me dereliquerunt: non illis inputetur. ista enim debentur eis, qui ministrant doctrinam rationalem per intellegentias diuinorum mysteriorum, et ita eis debentur tamquam hominibus. debentur autem eis sicut animae uiuae praebentibus se ad imitandum in omni continentia. item debentur eis tamquam uolatilibus propter benedictiones eorum, quae multiplicantur super terram, quoniam in omnem terram exiit sonus eorum.

XXVI. Pascuntur autem his escis qui laetantur eis, nec 39
illi laetantur eis, quorum deus uenter. neque enim et in illis, qui praebent ista, ea, quae dant, fructus est, sed quo animo

1 loquor] loquar HW *mo.* 17 debetur GMOSV. 18 debetur GMOSV.

1. **escam omne faenum** etc.] Gen. i 29 (Vulg. 'omnem herbam afferentem semen super terram, et universa ligna quae habent in semetipsis sementem generis sui, ut sint uobis in escam').

6. **dicebamus enim**] Cf. § 21 *sup.*

9. **Onesiforus**] 2 Tim. i 16.

12. **suppleuerunt** etc.] 2 Cor. xi 9.

14. **prima mea defensione**] 2 Tim. iv 16.

19. **praebentibus se ad imitandum**] Cf. § 30 *sup.*

21. **in omnem terram**] Ps. xviii 5 (xix 4).

XXVI. *The true ministers of the word rejoice, like St Paul, not in the material gifts but in the spirit that prompts them.*

24. **quorum deus uenter**] Phil. iii 19.

dant. itaque ille, qui deo seruiebat, non suo uentri, uideo plane, unde gaudeat, uideo et congratulor ei ualde. acceperat enim a Filippensibus quae per Epafroditum miserant; sed tamen unde gaudeat, uideo. unde autem gaudet, inde pascitur, quia in ueritate loquens: gauisus sum, inquit, magnifice in domino, quia tandem aliquando repullulastis sapere pro me, in quo sapiebatis; taedium autem habuistis. isti ergo diuturno taedio marcuerant et quasi exaruerant ab isto fructu boni operis, et gaudet eis, quia repullularunt, non sibi, quia eius indigentiae subuenerunt. ideo secutus ait: non quod desit aliquid dico; ego enim didici, in quibus sum, sufficiens esse. scio et minus habere, scio et abundare; in omnibus et in omni imbutus sum, et saturari et esurire et abundare et penuriam pati: omnia possum in eo, qui me confortat.

Unde ergo gaudes, o Paule magne? unde gaudes, unde pasceris, homo renouate in agnitionem dei secundum imaginem eius, qui creauit te, et anima uiua tanta continentia et lingua uolatilis loquens mysteria? talibus quippe animantibus ista esca debetur. quid est, quod te pascit? laetitia. quod sequitur audiam: uerum tamen, inquit, bene fecistis communicantes tribulationi meae. hinc gaudet, hinc pascitur, quia illi bene fecerunt, non quia eius angustia relaxata est, qui dicit tibi: in tribulatione dilatasti mihi, quia et abundare et penuriam pati nouit in te, qui confortas eum. scitis enim,

13 saturari] satiari BCGHM²OPQVW *edd.*

1. **non suo uentri**] Cf. Rom. xvi 18.
3. **per Epafroditum miserant**] Phil. iv 18.
5. **gauisus sum** etc.] Phil. iv 10 (Vulg. 'gauisus sum autem in Domino uehementer, quoniam tandem aliquando refloruistis pro me sentire; sicut et sentiebatis, occupati autem eratis').
8. **taedio marcuerant**] The misrendering of ἠκαιρεῖσθε by 'taedium habuistis' affects A.'s exegesis.
10. **non quod desit** etc.] Phil. iv 11 (Vulg. 'non quasi propter penuriam' etc.).
12. **scio et**] Phil. iv 12 (Vulg. 'scio et humiliari...ubique et in omnibus institutus sum').
15. **o Paule magne**] Note the word-play.
16. **in agnitionem** etc.] Col. iii 10.
17. **anima uiua**] Cf. §§ 29, 31.
18. **loquens mysteria**] Cf. 1 Cor. xiv 2.
20. **uerum tamen** etc.] Phil. iv 14.
23. **dilatasti mihi**] Ps. iv 2 (1).
24. **scitis** etc.] Phil. iv 15.

inquit, etiam uos, Filippenses, quoniam in principio euangelii, cum ex Macedonia sum profectus, nulla mihi ecclesia communicauit in ratione dati et accepti nisi uos soli, quia et Thessalonicam et semel et iterum usibus meis misistis. ad haec bona opera eos redisse nunc gaudet et repullulasse laetatur tamquam reuiuescente fertilitate agri.

Numquid propter usus suos, quia dixit: usibus meis misistis, numquid propterea gaudet? non propterea. et hoc unde scimus? quoniam ipse sequitur dicens: non quia quaero datum, sed requiro fructum. didici a te, deus meus, inter datum et fructum discernere. datum est res ipsa, quam dat, qui inpertitur haec necessaria, ueluti est nummus, cibus, potus, uestimentum, tectum, adiutorium. fructus autem bona et recta uoluntas datoris est. non enim ait magister bonus: qui susceperit prophetam tantum, sed addidit: in nomine prophetae; neque ait tantum: qui susceperit iustum, sed addidit: in nomine iusti; ita quippe ille mercedem prophetae, iste mercedem iusti accipiet. nec solum ait: qui calicem aquae frigidae potum dederit uni ex minimis meis, sed addidit: tantum in nomine discipuli, et sic adiunxit: amen dico uobis, non perdet mercedem suam. datum est suscipere prophetam, suscipere iustum, porrigere calicem aquae frigidae discipulo; fructus autem in nomine prophetae, in nomine iusti, in nomine discipuli hoc facere. fructu pascitur Helias a uidua sciente, quod hominem dei pasceret et propter hoc pasceret; per coruum autem dato pascebatur, nec interior Helias, sed exterior pascebatur, qui posset etiam talis cibi egestate corrumpi.

XXVII. Ideoque dicam, quod uerum est coram te,

6 reuirescente BCHMPQV *edd.*, euirescente G, reuiriscente W. 27 exterior pascebatur] – exterior S *Knöll in ed. mai.*

9. **non quia quaero datum**] Phil. iv 17.

15. **qui susceperit** etc.] Mt. x 41, 42 (Vulg. 'qui recipit').

20. **tantum in nomine**] A. curiously attaches the 'tantum' to the words which follow instead of to those which go before.

24. **fructu pascitur Helias** etc.] 1 Ki. (3 Reg.) xvii 6—16.

XXVII. *The 'fishes and whales' are not said to feed upon such fruits,*

domine, cum homines idiotae atque infideles, quibus initiandis atque lucrandis necessaria sunt sacramenta initiorum et magnalia miraculorum, quae nomine piscium et cetorum significari credimus, suscipiunt corporaliter reficiendos aut in aliquo usu praesentis uitae adiuuandos pueros tuos, cum id quare faciendum sit et quo pertineat ignorent, nec illi istos pascunt nec isti ab illis pascuntur, quia nec illi haec sancta et recta uoluntate operantur nec isti eorum datis, ubi fructum nondum uident, laetantur. inde quippe animus pascitur, unde laetatur. et ideo pisces et ceti non uescuntur escis, quas non germinat nisi iam terra ab amaritudine marinorum fluctuum distincta atque discreta.

43 XXVIII. Et uidisti, deus, omnia quae fecisti, et ecce bona ualde, quia et nos uidemus ea, et ecce omnia bona ualde. in singulis generibus operum tuorum, cum dixisses, ut fierent, et facta essent, illud atque illud uidisti quia bonum est. septiens numeraui scriptum esse te uidisse, quia bonum est quod fecisti; et hoc octauum est, quia uidisti omnia quae fecisti, et ecce non solum bona sed etiam ualde bona tamquam simul omnia. nam singula tantum bona erant, simul autem omnia et bona et ualde. hoc dicunt etiam quaeque pulchra corpora, quia longe multo pulchrius est corpus, quod ex membris pulchris omnibus constat, quam ipsa membra singula, quorum ordinatissimo conuentu conpletur uniuersum, quamuis et illa etiam singillatim pulchra sint.

14 uidimus BHPQ *m.*

because the evangelists who bring these 'sacramenta' (see above § 26) among the unbelieving are not spiritually fed by whatever kindness they may receive from carnal men. Since such kindness is not a Christian virtue, it does not give the evangelists spiritual refreshing in the same way that the gifts of the faithful refresh those who minister among them.

1. **idiotae ... infideles**] 1 Cor. xiv 23.

5. **pueros tuos**] For the sense 'thy servants' cf. Ps. lxviii 18 (lxix 17) 'ne auertas faciem tuam a puero tuo' (LXX *παῖς*, Heb. עַבְדֶּךָ).

XXVIII. *God said of each separate creature that it was good, but of the whole that it was very good; for the whole is better than the sum of its parts.*

14. **bona ualde**] Gen. i 31.

19. **non solum bona...omnia**] Cf. VII 18 *fin.*

22. **longe multo**] A curious pleonasm.

XXIX. Et attendi, ut inuenirem, utrum septiens uel 44
octiens uideris, quia bona sunt opera tua, cum tibi placuerunt, et in tua uisione non inueni tempora, per quae intellegerem, quod totiens uideris quae fecisti, et dixi: o domine, nonne ista scriptura tua uera est, quoniam tu uerax et ueritas edidisti eam? cur ergo tu mihi dicis non esse in tua uisione tempora, et ita scriptura tua mihi dicit per singulos dies ea quae fecisti te uidisse, quia bona sunt, et cum ea numerarem, inueni quotiens? ad haec tu dicis mihi, quoniam tu es deus meus et dicis uoce forti in aure interiore seruo tuo perrumpens meam surditatem et clamans: "o homo, nempe quod scriptura mea dicit, ego dico. et tamen illa temporaliter dicit, uerbo autem meo tempus non accedit, quia aequali mecum aeternitate consistit. sic ea, quae uos per spiritum meum uidetis, ego uideo, sicut ea, quae uos per spiritum meum dicitis, ego dico. atque ita cum uos temporaliter ea uideatis, non ego temporaliter uideo, quemadmodum, cum uos temporaliter ea dicatis, non ego temporaliter dico."

XXX. Et audiui, domine deus meus, et elinxi stillam 45
dulcedinis ex tua ueritate et intellexi, quoniam sunt quidam, quibus displicent opera tua, et multa eorum dicunt te fecisse necessitate conpulsum, sicut fabricas caelorum et conpositiones siderum, et hoc non de tuo, sed iam fuisse alibi creata et aliunde, quae tu contraheres et conpaginares atque contexeres,

7 ita S; ista CGHMOVW *mo.* 13 accidit BGHOPQV *edd.*

XXIX. *The repetition of the statement that God saw each thing that it was good is an accommodation to our weakness of apprehension. God sees eternally. Even so He speaks eternally, though what He speaks is given to us in finite words in the Scriptures.*

5. **uerax et ueritas**] Jn iii 33 and xiv 6.

9. **dicis...quoniam...deus meus**] Cf. Ps. xlix (l) 7 'Audi populus meus, et loquar...deus deus tuus ego sum.'

XXX. *The doctrines of the Manichaeans are incompatible with the scriptural story of creation and with our inner sense of truth.*

19. **elinxi**] 'sucked out.' The compound is very rare.

23. **alibi creata et aliunde** etc.] This refers to the Manichaean tenet that the captive powers of darkness were built into the fabric of the universe: 'in ipsa structura mundi eosdem principes tenebrarum...per omnes contextiones a summis usque ad ima colligatos dicunt,' *c. Faust.* VI 8.

24. **conpaginares**] 'fasten to-

cum de hostibus uictis mundana moenia molireris, ut ea constructione deuincti aduersus te iterum rebellare non possent; alia uero nec fecisse te nec omnino conpegisse, sicut omnes carnes et minutissima quaeque animantia et quidquid radicibus terram tenet, sed hostilem mentem naturamque aliam non abs te conditam tibique contrariam in inferioribus mundi locis ista gignere atque formare. insani dicunt haec, quoniam non per spiritum tuum uident opera tua nec te cognoscunt in eis.

46 XXXI. Qui autem per spiritum tuum uident ea, tu uides in eis. ergo cum uident, quia bona sunt, tu uides, quia bona sunt, et quaecumque propter te placent, tu in eis places, et quae per spiritum tuum placent nobis, tibi placent in nobis. quis enim scit hominum quae sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est? sic et quae dei sunt nemo scit nisi spiritus dei. nos autem, inquit, non spiritum huius mundi accepimus, sed spiritum, qui ex deo est, ut sciamus quae a deo donata sunt nobis. et admoneor, ut dicam: certe nemo scit quae dei, nisi spiritus dei. quomodo ergo scimus et nos, quae a deo donata sunt nobis? respondetur mihi, quoniam quae per eius spiritum scimus etiam sic nemo scit nisi spiritus dei. sicut enim recte dictum est: non enim uos estis, qui loquimini, eis, qui in dei spiritu loquerentur, sic recte dicitur: "non uos estis, qui scitis" eis, qui in dei spiritu sciunt. nihilo minus igitur recte dicitur: "non uos estis, qui uidetis" eis, qui in spiritu dei uident: ita quidquid in spiritu dei uident quia bonum est, non ipsi, sed deus uidet, quia bonum est. aliud ergo est, ut putet quisque malum esse quod bonum est, quales supra dicti sunt; aliud, ut quod bonum est uideat

2 deuincti] deuicti BCGHMOVW *m.*

gether.' A rare and late verb formed from 'conpago, -aginis,' a bye-form of 'conpages.'

3. **alia uero nec fecisse te**] In the Manichaean myths the abortive offspring of these fettered powers of darkness fell to the earth and produced animal life: *c. Faust.* VI 8.

XXXI. *The inner sense of truth is given by the Spirit; it is God knowing in us.*

13. **quis enim scit** etc.] 1 Cor. ii 11, 12.

21. **non enim uos estis**] Mt. x 20.

homo, quia bonum est, sicut multis tua creatura placet, quia bona est, quibus tamen non tu places in ea; unde frui magis ipsa quam te uolunt: aliud autem, ut, cum aliquid uidet homo quia bonum est, deus in illo uideat, quia bonum est, ut scilicet ille ametur in eo quod fecit, qui non amaretur nisi per spiritum, quem dedit, quoniam caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis, per quem uidemus, quia bonum est, quidquid aliquo modo est: ab illo enim est, qui non aliquo modo est, sed est, est.

XXXII. Gratias tibi, domine! uidemus caelum et terram, siue corporalem partem superiorem atque inferiorem siue spiritalem corporalemque creaturam, atque in ornatu harum partium, quibus constat uel uniuersa mundi moles uel uniuersa omnino creatura, uidemus lucem factam diuisamque a tenebris. uidemus firmamentum caeli, siue inter spiritales aquas superiores et corporales inferiores, primarium corpus mundi, siue hoc spatium aeris, quia et hoc uocatur caelum, per quod uagantur uolatilia caeli inter aquas, quae uaporaliter eis superferuntur et serenis etiam noctibus rorant, et has, quae in terris graues fluitant. uidemus congregatarum aquarum speciem per campos maris, et aridam terram uel nudatam uel formatam, ut esset uisibilis et conposita herbarumque atque

6 spiritum]+ sanctum C *m*. 9 sed]+quod BCHMPQ *edd.*

6. **caritas dei** etc.] Rom. v 5.

9. **sed est, est**] 'but is, absolutely.' Cf. Ex. iii 14 'sic dices filiis Israel; qui est misit me ad uos.'

XXXII. *A. begins a summary review of the various interpretations which he has set forth, dealing in this chapter with the literal (as distinguished from the allegorical) interpretations.*

15. **inter spiritales** etc.] A. refers to this passage in *Retract.* II 6. 2 'et in libro tertio decimo quod dixi "firmamentum factum inter spiritales" etc. non satis considerate dictum est; res autem in abdito est ualde.' In *de Gen. ad Lit.* II 4. 7 he inclines to interpret 'firmamentum' as the air: 'qui est inter uapores umidos, unde superius nubila conglobantur, et maria subterfusa.'

19. **et serenis etiam noctibus rorant**] This is mentioned as an incidental proof that there are waters above the firmament even when no clouds are visible. There is a Vergilian ring in the stately phrase.

21. **campos maris**] Cf. *Aen.* X 214 'campos salis.'

ib. **nudatam**] *i.e.* rising clear of the water.

arborum mater. uidemus luminaria fulgere desuper, solem sufficere diei, lunam et stellas consolari noctem atque his omnibus notari et significari tempora. uidemus umidam usquequaque naturam piscibus et beluis et alitibus fecundatam, quod aeris corpulentia, quae uolatus auium portat, aquarum exhalatione concrescit. uidemus terrenis animalibus faciem terrae decorari hominemque ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam cunctis inrationabilibus animantibus ipsa tua imagine ac similitudine, hoc est rationis et intellegentiae uirtute, praeponi, et quemadmodum in eius anima aliud est, quod consulendo dominatur, aliud, quod subditur ut obtemperet, sic uiro factam esse etiam corporaliter feminam, quae haberet quidem in mente rationabilis intellegentiae parem naturam, sexu tamen corporis ita masculino sexui subiceretur, quemadmodum subicitur appetitus actionis ad concipiendam de ratione mentis recte agendi sollertiam. uidemus haec et singula bona et omnia bona ualde.

48 XXXIII. Laudant te opera tua, ut amemus te, et amamus

1 mater] materiem BCGHMPQ *edd.* 13 rationabilis] rationalis BCGHMOPQVW *edd.* 18 laudent BCMPQ *edd.* *alt.* amemus BCHMPQW *edd.*

2. **consolari noctem**] A poetic touch.

5. **corpulentia**] *density.* The increase of this by the exhalations of the sea's moisture, which makes it a more buoyant support for the flying creatures, is suggested by A. as a point of connexion between the flying creatures and the deep which brought them forth (Gen. i 20). The idea survives in poetry

'Even as the great gull dives...
And feels up-tossing his breast an exhaustless breath bear on
Spouted from isleless ocean to aid his flight.'

Trench *Deirdre Wed.*

15. **subicitur appetitus actionis** etc.] *even as the impulse to action must submit to conceive by reason the skill to act aright.* Cf. *de Gen. contr. Manich.* II 11. 15 'ad huius rei exemplum femina facta est, quam rerum ordo subiugat uiro; ut quod in duobus hominibus euidentius apparet, id est in masculo et femina, etiam in uno homine considerari possit: ut appetitum animae, per quem de membris corporis operamur, habeat mens interior tamquam uirilis ratio subiugatum.'

XXXIII. *A. calls upon God's works to praise Him; and upon man to love Him, for without that the praise is incomplete. Heaven and earth were not made from an uncreated matter, nor from God's own substance, but from matter concreated with them. The creation of the formless matter and the forming of it into a world were not separated by any interval of time.*

18. **laudant te**] Cf. Ps. cxliv

te, ut laudent te opera tua. habent initium et finem ex tempore, ortum et occasum, profectum et defectum, speciem et priuationem. habent ergo consequentia mane et uesperam partim latenter partim euidenter. de nihilo enim a te, non de te facta sunt, non de aliqua non tua uel quae antea fuerit, sed de concreata, id est simul a te creata materia, quia eius informitatem sine ulla temporis interpositione formasti. nam cum aliud sit caeli et terrae materies, aliud caeli et terrae species, materiem quidem de omnino nihilo, mundi autem speciem de informi materia, simul tamen utrumque fecisti, ut materiam forma nulla morae intercapedine sequeretur.

XXXIV. Inspeximus etiam, propter quorum figurationem ista uel tali ordine fieri uel tali ordine scribi uoluisti, et uidimus, quia bona sunt singula et omnia bona ualde, in uerbo tuo, in unico tuo, caelum et terram, caput et corpus ecclesiae, in praedestinatione ante omnia tempora sine mane et uespera. ubi autem coepisti praedestinata temporaliter exequi, ut occulta manifestares et inconposita nostra conponeres—quoniam super nos erant peccata nostra et in profundum tenebrosum abieramus abs te, et spiritus tuus bonus superferebatur ad

1 habent] quae habent BCHPQ *edd.* quae *abent (h *ras.*) M. 3 uespera SVW *Knöll in ed. mai.*

(cxlv) 10. The glories of creation call forth man's love to God, and, since love is the praise of rational creatures, complete the cycle of praise, which otherwise would lack an essential element: cf. V 1, note.

2. **ortum et occasum** etc.] *their rising and setting, advance and decline, beauty and imperfection.* A. allegorises the repeated mention of 'morning and evening' in Gen. i as a reference to the phenomena of advance and decline which run throughout all nature. 'Priuatio' in contrast with 'species' seems to mean 'priuatio formae,' the declension towards formlessness, in contrast with that perfection of form which constitutes beauty; cf. below, 'speciem de informi materia.'

3. **habent ergo** etc.] *they have thus their sequence of morning and evening* (lit. the successive things, morning and evening), *whether manifestly or no.*

6. **concreata ... materia**] See XII 40.

XXXIV. *A. proceeds to summarise the allegorical interpretations which he has given above.*

12. **propter quorum figurationem**] 'what were the spiritual truths which Thou didst design to set forth by causing these things to be, or to be written, in this order.'

19. **super nos erant peccata**] Ezek. xxxiii 10 'peccata nostra super nos sunt.' Cf. § 8 *sup.*

subueniendum nobis in tempore opportuno—et iustificasti inpios et distinxisti eos ab iniquis et solidasti auctoritatem libri tui inter superiores, qui tibi dociles essent, et inferiores, qui eis subderentur, et congregasti societatem infidelium in unam conspirationem, ut apparerent studia fidelium, ut tibi opera misericordiae parerent, distribuentes etiam pauperibus terrenas facultates ad adquirenda caelestia. et inde accendisti quaedam luminaria in firmamento, uerbum uitae habentes sanctos tuos et spiritalibus donis praelata sublimi auctoritate fulgentes; et inde ad imbuendas infideles gentes sacramenta et miracula uisibilia uocesque uerborum secundum firmamentum libri tui, quibus etiam fideles benedicerentur, ex materia corporali produxisti; et deinde fidelium animam uiuam per affectus ordinatos continentiae uigore formasti atque inde tibi soli mentem subditam et nullius auctoritatis humanae ad imitandum indigentem renouasti ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam praestantique intellectui rationabilem actionem tamquam uiro feminam subdidisti, omnibusque tuis ministeriis ad perficiendos fideles in hac uita necessariis ab eisdem fidelibus ad usus temporales fructuosa in futurum opera praeberi uoluisti. haec omnia uidemus et bona sunt ualde, quoniam tu ea uides in nobis, qui spiritum, quo ea uideremus et in eis te amaremus, dedisti nobis.

XXXV. Domine deus, pacem da nobis—omnia enim praestitisti nobis—pacem quietis, pacem sabbati, pacem sine uespera. omnis quippe iste ordo pulcherrimus rerum ualde

1. **et iustificasti inpios**] See X 2, note.

2. **auctoritatem libri tui**] the firmament: cf. § 16.

4. **congregasti** etc.] Cf. § 20.

5. **studia fidelium**] See §§ 21, 37.

8. **luminaria**] Cf. § 25.

10. **ad imbuendas infideles... sacramenta**] Cf. § 26.

13. **fidelium animam uiuam**] Cf. § 29.

15. **nullius auctoritatis humanae...indigentem**] Not 'secundum genus'; cf. § 32.

18. **omnibusque...uoluisti**] *To all thy servants* (ministeriis—abstract for concrete) *whose work is at present necessary for the edification of the faithful, Thou hast willed that these same faithful should render services which should bear fruit for the life to come* (see § 39 sq.).

XXXV. *A prayer for peace, suggested by the Sabbath rest which followed the creation.*

24. **Domine...pacem da nobis**] Cf. Num. vi 26.

bonarum modis suis peractis transiturus est: et mane quippe in eis factum est et uespera.

XXXVI. Dies autem septimus sine uespera est nec habet occasum, quia sanctificasti eum ad permansionem sempiternam, ut id, quod tu post opera tua bona ualde, quamuis ea quietus feceris, requieuisti septimo die, hoc praeloquatur nobis uox libri tui, quod et nos post opera nostra ideo bona ualde, quia tu nobis ea donasti, sabbato uitae aeternae requiescamus in te.

XXXVII. Etiam tunc enim sic requiesces in nobis, quemadmodum nunc operaris in nobis, et ita erit illa requies tua per nos, quemadmodum sunt ista opera tua per nos. tu autem, domine, semper operaris et semper requiescis nec uides ad tempus nec moueris ad tempus nec quiescis ad tempus, et tamen facis et uisiones temporales et ipsa tempora et quietem ex tempore.

XXXVIII. Nos itaque ista quae fecisti uidemus, quia sunt: tu autem quia uides ea, sunt. et nos foris uidimus, quia

18 uidemus BCGHMOPQVW *edd.*

XXXVI. *The seventh day has no evening; it abideth ever. The faithful look forward to sharing the Sabbath of eternal life.*

5. **ut id, quod ... hoc praeloquatur...quod]** *that Thy resting* (lit. the fact that Thou didst rest)... *may declare beforehand to us this, namely that etc.*

XXXVII. *God shall then rest in the faithful as now He works in them. God both rests and works eternally.*

11. **requies tua per nos]** Cf. *de Gen. ad Lit.* IV 9. 16 'sicut enim recte dicitur Deus facere quidquid ipso in nobis operante fecerimus, ita recte Deus dicitur requiescere, cum eius munere requiescimus.'

15. **et quietem ex tempore]** 'Ex tempore' seems to be used here in the sense of 'temporal.' Cf. above, § 48.

XXXVIII. *With us rest follows work in temporal sequence. God's rest is eternal, for His rest is Himself. This none can understand without God's aid. 'Ask and ye shall receive.'*

18. **quia uides ea, sunt]** Cf. *de Ciu. Dei* XI 10 'quoniam Deus non aliquid nesciens fecit, quod nec de quolibet homine artifice recte dici potest: porro, si sciens fecit omnia, ea utique fecit quae nouerat. ex quo occurrit animo quiddam mirum, sed tamen uerum, quod iste mundus nobis notus esse non posset nisi esset; deo autem nisi notus esset, esse non posset.' See also *de Diu. Quaest. lxxxiii* 46. 2 where, referring to the Platonic doctrine of the 'ideas,' he says: 'sunt namque ideae principales formae quaedam, uel rationes rerum stabiles atque incommutabiles...quae in diuina intellegentia continentur.'

sunt, et intus, quia bona sunt: tu autem ibi uidisti facta, ubi uidisti facienda. et nos alio tempore moti sumus ad bene faciendum, posteaquam concepit de spiritu tuo cor nostrum; priore autem tempore ad male faciendum mouebamur deserentes te: tu uero, deus une bone, numquam cessasti bene facere. et sunt quaedam bona opera nostra ex munere quidem tuo, sed non sempiterna; post illa nos requieturos in tua grandi sanctificatione speramus: tu autem bonum nullo indigens bono semper quietus es, quoniam tua quies tu ipse es. et hoc intellegere quis hominum dabit homini? quis angelus angelo? quis angelus homini? a te petatur, in te quaeratur, ad te pulsetur: sic, sic accipitur, sic inuenietur, sic aperietur.

8 bonum] bonus M. 12 accipietur BCGHMOPQW *edd.*, accipiatur V.

8. **bonum**] 'the good' (the 'summum bonum'). 'Indigens' is probably neuter, agreeing with 'bonum.'

11. **petatur ... quaeratur ... pulsetur**] Cf. Mt. vii 7, 8. The text forms a kind of refrain caught up from XII 1.

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CORRIGENDA.

7 n. 3. In the reference to *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, *for* p. 665 *read* p. 619.

29 n. 11. *For* 'delectationes tuas' and Ps. xv 11 *read* and, for 'delectationes tuas,' Ps. xv 11.

31 n. 11. *For* Ps. xxx 23 (xxxi 12) *read* Ps. xxx 23 (xxxi 22).

41, 16. *For* 'cohercere' *read* 'coercere.'

79 n. 3. *For* Ps. cv 41 (cvi 41) *read* Ps. cv 47 (cvi 47).

82 n. 4. *For* Ps. xci 1 (xcii 1) *read* Ps. xci 2 (xcii 1).

107 n. 7. *For* Ps. cxxxviii 15 (cxxxix 16) *read* Ps. cxxxviii (cxxxix) 15.

120 n. 19. *For* 'cohercitione' *read* 'coercitione.'

126 n. 1. *For* Ps. cxix (cxviii) 1 *read* Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 1.

148, 1. *For* 'Mediolanensem' *read* 'Mediolaniensem.'

203 n. 6. *For* Cod. Colbert. (C) *read* Cod. Colbert. (c).

208, 19 and 380, 5, and nn. *For* 'humeris' *read* 'umeris.'

210, 16 (textual note). *Add* flagra BGHMVW *edd.*

253 n. 9. *For* Deut. xxviii 28 *read* Deut. xxviii 8, and *for* 'in cellariis tuis' *read* 'super cellaria tua.'

341 n. 20. *For* Ps. xxx (xxxi) 11 *read* xxx 11 (xxxi 10).

394 n. 16. *For* 'Animal' *read* 'Animalis.'

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